

THE
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REVIEW.

JULY AND OCTOBER,
1884.

"Truth can never be confirm'd enough,
Though doubts did ever sleep."

SHAKESPEARE.

Wahrheitsliebe zeigt sich darin, daß man überall das Gute zu finden und zu schätzen weiß.
GÜTHER.

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THE
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FOREIGN QUARTERLY
REVIEW.

JULY, 1884.

ART I.—CODIFICATION OF ENGLISH LAW :
A PROSPECT.*

THE current objections to Codification in the abstract—that is, irrespective of time and place—have been very vigorously dealt with by that somewhat perilous advocate of the cause, Jeremy Bentham, and have been not only vigorously but effectually disposed of once for all by Austin. It is too late in the day now to do more than just recapitulate these objections, and the answers to them. Briefly, then, the objections are :—(1) That any code must needs make an unreal show of finality and comprehensiveness ; it will and must necessarily assume both of these characters, though it cannot in the nature of things possess either the one or the other ; not finality, because fresh circumstances will demand fresh legislation, and fresh legislation must either be incorporated into, or exist as a body of law outside the code, in either case giving the lie to its pretensions in this respect ; not comprehensiveness, because there must arise some cases or combinations not contemplated by the codifier, whose prescience is limited, and these will constitute a medium for the development of a mass of commentary or “jurisprudence” in the French use of the term, which species of superfetation not reason only but

* For a list of the books on Codification forming the subject of the present and the preceding part of this essay, see the heading to Part I. (Retrospect) in the April number of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

experience, as derived from the working of the codes of Justinian, Napoleon, Frederick, and others, shows to be an absolutely inevitable consequence ; (2) that, if a code is to represent any existing body of law, it will on its face reveal—and the more systematic it is, the more certainly it will reveal—glaring contradictions or “antinomies,” which might otherwise be smoothed over or reconciled, and it will thus stultify itself ; (3) that it will also in all probability repeat itself in places, and manifest “homoionomies” (to adopt Bacon’s expression) will be exposed to view ; (4) that observation of human nature, as declared in history, warrants the belief that codifiers will always be prone to import their doctrinaire opinions and perverse prejudices into their handiwork, and either (like Bentham) use the code as a mere peg on which to nail up their philosophical fads, or (like Justinian) see in it an instrument whereby to translate their political theories into practice, whether to serve their own ends or not, or (like the Canonists), under cover of pretended rearrangement, contrive to force ecclesiastical dogmas down the throats of a people.

The first objection forms a large part of the entire argument of W. M. Best against Codification in general, and is advanced by way of counterblast to Bentham’s attack on “Judge-made Law.”* So too that eminent and clear-headed American jurist Story, in discussing projects for the Codification of the law of Massachusetts, expressed his belief that no code can be either complete or final, though it is not certain how far he regards the absence of these qualities as a defect.† If again we look to the German jurists, we find Savigny, the most powerful advocate on abstract principles for the opposition, maintaining the existence of a necessary incompleteness in any code accompanied with a delusive appearance and profession of completeness and finality,‡ and Meijer § speaks of the vain attempt of the first Roman Codifiers to exclude all future commentary on the code, or the citation of any opinion other than those of the five sages, Papinian, Gaius, Ulpian, Modestinus, and Paulus ; the futility of such a decree having soon

* See his Essay above referred to against codification :—“Juridical Society’s Papers,” vol. i. pp. 214, 217, 218, 225. To the same effect Mr. Sheldon Amos, pp. 217 *seq.*, of his “English Code:” also a paper, not, however, on the whole, unfavourable to codification, by Walker Marshall, printed in the Juridical Society’s Papers, vol. ii. pp. 502, 503.

† “Miscellaneous Writings,” pp. 709, 717. He alludes, in support of his contention, to the number of commentaries which have accumulated around the French Code, and to the “jurisprudence” or judicial discretion, based on rules existing *in gremio judicis*, necessary to develop its principles in detail, and growing up independently of, and side by side with, the written laws.

‡ “On the Vocation of our Age,” &c., (translated by the late Mr. Hayward), pp. 38 *seq.*

§ “De la Codification,” pp. 105, 111 *seq.*

manifested itself in the "camel-loads" of explanatory law-books under which the original Digest became buried (see Gibbon, vol. v. p. 287.)* The answer to this objection is, that while no temperate or rational advocate of Codification thinks now that a code will be final or comprehensive, so neither does he regard it or hold it forth as promising so much and so delusively on its face. We cannot say, it is true, that this has always been the case; to confute any such assertion, we have not only the express decree of the Roman Emperor (to which we have just referred) that no one should presume to develop the sense of the Digest apart from the specified and privileged persons; but (coming nearer to our own times) we know also that even some of the French codifiers, though not the majority of them, were excessively eager to prevent their code being tampered with at any rate until after the lapse of some considerable time (Locré, vol. i., p. 112), and that the Commissioners appointed to draw up the Civil Code of Lower Canada expressed a somewhat similar anxiety, while Bentham does not desire his draft "Complete Code of Laws" to be touched except at secular intervals of every hundred years (Part ix. p. 210), and, after noting the absence of completeness in all other codes, anticipates that his code will be distinguishable in this respect, besides entertaining in other matters the most extravagant ideas as to a codifier's capacity of "foreseeing and preventing" everything. Common Law he describes as "that many-headed monster, which not capable of thinking of anything till after it has happened, nor then rationally, pretends to have predetermined everything" (*Draught for the Organization of Judicial Establishments*). It is not an unfair presumption that a code, in contrast to this state of things, *is* in Bentham's view to "rationally predetermine everything." In Part iv. pp. 537, 538, he says that

* By the terms of the French Code it was thought necessary to allow the judge to have recourse (in a novel case) to any one or more of the following:—Natural equity, Roman law, customs, "jurisprudence," "droit commun," general principles, maxims, learning, science. No provision, however, having been made for periodical revision of the code, there soon grew up, notwithstanding the liberal aids thus supplied to the courts, the inevitable "rabble rout of commentators." The Prussian Code confessed its possible incompleteness by requiring the judge in a doubtful case to apply direct to the legislature for counsel and interpretation. "Præjudicia" or precedents were to have no influence on the judges, though, as Austin remarks, such decisions were habitually reported in his day, and probably for the use of practitioners. Any code, it must be admitted in deference to these objectors, which attempts to ignore or stifle both interpretation and revision, must be incomplete. The answer is that no code has yet forbidden, and no code ever will forbid both. Where interpretation is forbidden, revision or "Novellæ" are provided for: where the latter are not contemplated, the former will be allowed, or indeed (as in the French Code) peremptorily imposed, under penalty of the judge being sued for declining to give a decision.

"all-comprehensiveness" is not only indispensable but practicable. It is this sanguine spirit, and these fallacious promises of what codification is going to do, which have done so much harm to the cause. However, at the present day we may safely say that no one really supposes that any code is to be final or comprehensive, or is to purport to be either. Even going back to the Napoleonic period, we do not find that the enthusiasm as to codification which characterized the epoch and the nation went so far as to assume that the code would include all possible cases which might arise in the future, or deliver to the people the last word which could be said on any question of law. Future legislation, as well as the "jurisprudence" of the tribunals, was contemplated by the clearest heads among those which assisted at the very interesting debates presided over by Napoleon himself, as assisting the interpretation, development, and proper working of the code.

Treilhard (*Procès Verbaux de la Discussion du Code Napoléon*, tom. iv. p. 366) sensibly observes :—

On ne peut espérer que le Code Civil, avec quelque sagesse qu'il ait été fait, soit entièrement exempt de fautes et ne présente aucune lacune. La science humaine ne va point jusqu'à faire un ouvrage parfait : mais c'est à l'expérience seule qu'il appartient d'indiquer les modifications véritablement utiles ; et *après que le temps aura essayé la législation nouvelle, on la revisera dans son universalité*, et on y mettra la dernière main. Les changemens partiels en détruiraient l'ensemble, et seraient hasardés. Du moment qu'on s'en permettrait un seul, on verrait arriver de tout côté des réclamations et des demandes produites par l'esprit d'innovation, ou par l'intérêt personnel.

It is clear from the above that, though very far from eagerly inviting future reforms or restatements, the framers of the French code were on the whole convinced of the impossibility of its proclaiming to the world or arrogating to itself anything like finality. That the aim of a code is merely or mainly the analytical simplification of existing materials—an aim in which any attempt to control the future must be ridiculously out of place—was also the belief of M. Portalis (as expressed in his "Discours Préliminaire du projet du Code Civil"—see Locré, vol. i.)—"Tout simplifier, c'est une opération sur laquelle on a besoin de s'entendre, tout prévoir c'est un but qu'il est impossible d'atteindre." The remedy for this necessary non-finality of any code is of course, as we shall see hereafter, periodical revision and republication. The remedy for its non-comprehensiveness (equally inevitable), and the means of supplying the "casus omissi" which must inevitably arise, are provided either in the form of judicial decisions (as would be the case in England)—the effect and purport of which would have to be incorporated

in the shape of "Novels" or Amendments into the code at the several periods of revision and republication above referred to; or in the form of "jurisprudence" in the French sense existing outside of and supplementary to the code (as would be the case in France*), or in the form of suggestions of judges to be made from time to time, as each case unprovided for by the text of the code arises, and communicated to the Legislature or permanent commission appointed by them for the purpose, who would be required at once to make the necessary corrections or amendments there and then demanded.† The last-named process was Bentham's idea—the very idea so strenuously opposed by the French codifiers, and which arose from the English jurist's horror of permitting any legal principle or shadow of a principle to remain for a single instant unwritten and uncodified, or in any way dependent for its existence on judicial discretion or the "gremium judicis."

Another objection to Codification in general, which may be dismissed more summarily, is conveyed in the statement that a code must necessarily carry on the face of it discrepancies and contradictions, at any rate if it attempts nothing more than the systematization of existing law. [This objection is stated and dealt with by Austin, vol. ii. pp. 653, 683-688, 1065, 1066; and Mr. F. Vaughan Hawkins, in a paper on "Digest and Codes, with reference to Law Reform," *Jurid. Soc. Papers*, vol. iii. p. 113. Compare Mr. Pollock's "Digest of the Law of Partnership," Introduction, pp. xiv., xv.] The answer is that the law as expounded in a code can convey in explicit terms no other or greater inconsistencies or discrepancies than were implicit in the pre-existing law not so expounded: and that to set a proposition face to face with its opposite is the first and best step towards getting the two reconciled, or one of them removed. That a code thus becomes conducive to judicious amendment and assists legislation is recognized in the Report of the Law Digest Commissioners of 1867, p. 6. And Sir J. Stephen very justly remarks in the essay, the title of which heads these articles, that even branches of law thrown into the form of a code, and published

* So M. Portalis says: "It is to jurisprudence that we must abandon those rare and extraordinary cases which cannot enter into the scheme of a rational legislation; the variable, unaccommodating details, which ought never to occupy the attention of the legislator; and all those objects which it will be in vain to attempt to foresee, and dangerous prematurely to define. Experience alone can fill up the void spaces *which we might leave*." (Preliminary Discourse to the Project of the Civil Code.)

† The above represents substantially the opinions of such differently constituted minds as those of Austin (vol. ii. p. 1064), Meijer, ("De la Codification en général," &c., pp. 111, 112 *seq.*), and Mr. Holland, ("Form of Law," pp. 24, 57).

as textbooks (we may instance his own "Digest of the Law of Evidence," and "Digest of the Criminal Law,") so far as they accurately but more obviously than before express on their face the defects, anomalies, and contradictions of the existing law, draw the attention of the Legislature to them in a manner in which it might not be drawn otherwise, and so invite or rather cry aloud for either the alteratives of the amender, or the more drastic knife of the repealer. Such a process "would enable Parliament to legislate on legal subjects with its eyes open, and with an infinitely clearer perception of the nature and probable results of its legislation than it is now possible to obtain."—*Nineteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 200. The vice of inherent contrariety, like any vice in the field of morals, is half-removed directly it is made ridiculous : and it is made ridiculous directly it is stated in plain terms. Nothing good in substance can be made bad in substance by alteration of its form. If the code, containing no more and no less than the pre-existing law, shows antinomies, it is because these antinomies existed in a latent state before. When, by the latent contradiction being rendered patent, the mischief breaks out on the surface, it is in its least dangerous state. If the curing of antinomies when thus brought to the surface may be called the office of therapeutic jurisprudence, codification may be said to provide the means of a preliminary diagnosis. A corresponding answer applies with equal force to another objection (which, however, is really the same in another form), that a code (so far as it accurately reflects the condition of existing law) will repeat itself in places and present homoionomies. If it does, then the remedy is obvious, since it is clear that the pretended code is as yet not a code—that is, that it has not been sufficiently boiled down or reduced to its simplest terms. It is obvious that by stating a proposition once, the substance of the pre-existing law will be expressed as well as by stating it twice. There is this much, however, to be fairly urged by way of objection, that it may be necessary in a thoroughly good code to repeat a principle once, twice, or more times under the different heads to each of which it may properly belong. Nor are we prepared to say that such "*leges geminatæ*" might not, so far from being a necessary evil, be possibly a gain in the long run, notwithstanding the extra space which the reduplication would demand. However, this difficulty may always be obviated by a liberal use, where advisable, of the device of cross-references.

A more subtle form of raising this same objection is adopted by those who urge that in working any code decisions will continually have to be based on the consideration of "competing analogies." This however may be admitted at once. It is sufficient to answer, that under any possible human

system of law, written or unwritten, statute or judge-made, codified or uncoded,—and, we may add, in any operation of the intellect, whereby general laws are applied to particular cases or phenomena,—there must always be a competition of analogies, and that the burden of deciding between the relative values of such analogies is necessarily incident to any such operation.

The remaining objection to codification in general, though not very scientific or rational,—(indeed it is almost doubtful whether it ought not rather to be reckoned as a mere prejudice),—is no doubt strongly felt, if not very logically thought. It is said that the formation of codes on a large scale at all events must always be entrusted to thinkers and theorists,—that the practical lawyers of a nation will at most only assist, and cannot be expected to devote the necessary labour to the work of presiding and superintending,—and that the theorists therefore, having it nearly all their own way, will inevitably (whether designedly, or in spite of themselves) air their own pet doctrines, ethical, metaphysical, or political, and saturate the code with them, which, when once issued, no one will be able to extricate from the bonds of a system perhaps false *ab initio*, but at any rate sure to eventually appear antiquated by the light of the experience and thought of future generations. The code, in fact, it is implied, will be merely the platform on which to exhibit the philosophy, the religion, the moral ideas, or the state doctrines of its formulator, or of those whose conscious or unconscious tool he is. The objectors refer to the “*quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem*” of the Roman Digest or to the “pathological axioms” which Bentham announced as constituting the theoretical basis, and necessarily pervading the fabric of his code. They fear that the nominal office of technical reconstruction assigned to the codifier will be a pretext for the introduction of material legislation, and of legislation of the kind most likely to be pleasing to the Republic or Dictator,—the Cæsar, Napoleon, or Justinian of the day. ‘Even Bacon is careful to provide for his “new proposed Digest of the Laws” being carefully watched in the successive stages of its growth, “lest, under pretence of digesting old laws new laws be secretly imposed.”’ (“*De Augm. Scient.*,” Bk. viii. Aph. 63.) Meijer also alludes to this prevailing fear that, tampering with the form will let in tampering with the matter. (See his *De la Codification*, &c., pp. vi., vii.)* The answer to this is, that no code or proposal of a code can ensure the purity of national officials where it does not exist already, or render public life less corrupt than before. If a Charles II. promulgates a code, the cor-

Codification of English Law :

ruption and servility of public ministers will doubtless appear on the face of the code, but not more, indeed very much less (in proportion to the greater publicity attending such a manifest proclamation of servility) than it would otherwise appear in the judgments of the courts at State trials. It would require a greater degree of subservience and a more shameless degradation to place on record in the forefront of a code an article such as "*quod principi placente legis habet vigorem*," than, for instance, by using every tortuous expedient and wresting the law so as to ensure the conviction of a political offender, to indirectly give the sovereign's pleasure the force of law. As to the fear of "idéologues" being necessarily mixed up with any code-project, it must be admitted that theories have manifestly dominated several *drafts* of codes which have never obtained legislative sanction, such as the draft-schemes of Bentham.* And this is only natural, for in such cases the legitimate object of the theorist is by means of his draft to draw public attention to what he conceives to be of public utility in his ideas and proposed methods ; but there is no evidence that, as to the codes that have actually been put into working order and imposed upon a nation, there has been in any case a very great preponderance of theory and ideas over administrative capacity and matters of executive detail. Certainly there was no such preponderance visible during the formation of the French Code, in which the imperious mind of Napoleon, impatient to a degree of "idéologues," gave little opportunity to doctrines to assert themselves. The rapidity with which the original scheme was worked out, and the not infrequently expressed impatience of the imperial president if too much time were taken in giving play to fancies and fads, at the *séances* in which the articles were being discussed (see *Procès Verbaux*, &c., vol. iv. p. 57), operated to give mere executive capacity its full share in the framing of the code—indeed more than its full share. In the opening words of the *Exposé des Motifs*, composed by Portalis,

* There is undoubtedly some justification for charging Bentham with promulgating, in the form of a code, a careful and detailed *exposé* of what Carlyle calls "the Gospel according to Jeremy." The title-page to his "Codification Proposal," and his proposition (referred to below) to interweave with the text of his Draft Code a *rationale* or justification of its articles on the greatest happiness principle—proclaim clearly Bentham's deliberate determination in this respect. The title runs thus :—"Codification Proposal addressed by J. B. to all nations professing Liberal opinions ; or idea of a proposed all-comprehensive body of law, with an accompaniment of reasons applying all along to the several proposed arrangements, these reasons being expressive of the considerations by which the several arrangements have been presented, as being, in a higher degree than any other, conducive to the greatest happiness of the greatest number, &c. &c."

on introducing to the Corps Legislatif Bk. ii. tit. ii. : "De la Propriété," we seem to read Napoleon's character—"dans cette matière, plus que dans aucune autre, il importe d'écarter les hypothèses, les fausses doctrines, et de ne raisonner que d'après les faits simples, dont la vérité se trouve consacrée par l'expérience de tous les âges." The danger here was of the opposite kind. Under seeming practicability and aversion to idéologues lurked a very shrewd disposition on the part of Napoleon (who was not going down to posterity with the code in his hand without first writing his name all over its leaves) to take care of himself. In other continental codes and in the Roman Digest we find a few, but very few, traces of the undue influence of philosophical ideas, intruding themselves into an alien sphere; and in any case the evil anticipated is easily guarded against at the outset by securing for the work of construction [as Thibaut, Austin (p. 1059), Mr. Amos (p. xiii.), Professor Holland, and indeed all who have written on the subject very rightly insist should be done] equal or fair proportions of men versed in theory on the one hand, and men skilful in practice on the other. Of the two, theory should predominate, that is, should guide, and administrative aptness should follow. Codes drawn by men gifted with only the technical knowledge of practitioners and hidebound in forms would undoubtedly be a greater calamity even than codes based on principles of classification and division smacking somewhat of some far-off Utopia or Cloud Cuckoo Land: Bentham's pathological axioms, for instance, might almost seem preferable to some of the "specimen Digests" furnished to the Law Digest Commission of 1867.

Those [says Mr. Sheldon Amos, after defending the claims of theory against the shallow attractions of so-called "practical men"]—those who would wish to compare the advantages of theory of the best sort directed to and controlling the most important sort of practice have only to bestow a careful and minute study upon the Indian Evidence Act (*i.e.* the Digest of the Law of Evidence, altered to meet the requirements of Indian legislation) accompanied by Mr. Fitzjames Stephen's *Introduction* (p. xiii.).

So, too, Mr. Holland would like to see such men as Mill and Mansel included in any commission for general codification of English Law as well as the ablest practitioners (p. 121). And the claims of philosophy to underlie, as justificatory groundwork and principle, any attempt at codification are powerfully but temperately urged by Thibaut, the great German advocate of codes and opponent of Savigny, in his essay, "On the influence of Philosophy on the Exposition of Positive Law." But it is equally unnecessary and undesirable that codification should be at the exclusive mercy of the "philosopher who does not know

his way to the law courts," as that it should be entirely in the hands of (to turn to Plato's companion picture) the glib lawyer who is pained and puzzled at the contemplation of first principles and general ideas. There was a sect of "anti-Tribonians" in the days of the later Emperors at Rome (see Gibbon, vol. v. pp. 258, 275, 276), who considered that codification was inextricably bound up with philosophies and dreamland: and there are many such alarmists and rule-of-thumb anti-Tribonians in our day,—men who triumphantly point to the ominous circumstance that the most daring speculators in the business of amateur law-framing have always either invited themselves (like Bentham), or been invited (like Plato), to draw up codes for foreign countries, not for their own, and generally for a despot, whether the Emperor of all the Russias or a Dionysius of Syracuse. These despots, it is alleged, were fully cognizant of their own interests, and saw that nothing would serve the purposes of absolutism so well as the subtlety and originality which can evolve comprehensive schemes from a leading principle. Once let the comfortable idea of a benevolent despot working by wise paternal legislation, or of the Divine right of kings, sink into the mind of a philosopher, and the despot can then rule by philosophy in a very different sense to that contemplated by Plato. Bentham himself, say these objectors, though a glaring instance of the worst consequences of using a code as a pulpit from which to preach a philosophical crusade, is keen-sighted enough in discovering the evil effects of the introduction of the other kinds of poison through the same channel. Witness his denunciation of the "preliminary discourse" prefixed to the Napoleonic Code, which, says the "Newton of legislation," was adopted in preference to another candidly pronounced by Napoleon an "*ouvrage de génie*," because the former contained in conveniently ambiguous generalities, while the latter did not, a proper infusion of the Napoleonic ideas (Part ix. p. 543, *Codification Proposal*); and also his (*mirabile dictu*!) criticism of the anti-lawyer animus imported by Frederick the Great into his code. One would have expected Bentham to sympathize here at least, as Carlyle certainly did (vol. xiv. pp. 132, 168; vol. xvi. p. 126); but so great was his love (in theory) of a code untainted by personal, political, historical, or philosophical influence, that he pronounces this controversial element a distinct blot on the Prussian Code ("View of a Complete Code of Laws"). To these anti-theorists of modern times we recommend a perusal of some of the utterances of "The Ghost of Sir Edmund Saunders" (in J. G. Phillimore's pamphlet above referred to, pp. 18, 19, with which compare pp. 1, 2, of the same writer's "Thoughts on Law Reform"), and these words of "large-browed Verulam" (vol. v. p. 88,

Spedding's edition):—"All who have written concerning laws have written either as philosophers or lawyers" [*i.e.*, theorists or practitioners]. "The philosophers lay down many precepts fair in argument, but not applicable to use: the lawyers being subject to and addicted to the positive rules of the laws of their own country . . . have no freedom of opinion, but, as it were, talk in bonds" ["*tanquam e vinculis sermocinantur*"]. In his *Epistle Dedicatory* to the "Advertisement touching a Holy War" Bacon claims to have himself (*i.e.* in the "*De Augmentis*") followed a middle course "between the speculative and reverent discourses of philosophers, and the writings of lawyers which are tied and obnoxious to their particular laws (vol. vii. p. 14). There is of course nothing in the character or the business of codification which requires that it should be taken in hand either exclusively by the "*doctissimum genus indoctissimorum hominum*," as Erasmus styles lawyers, or exclusively by the "*indoctissimum genus doctissimorum hominum*," as we may conversely and with equal truth term the class of pedants and "*idéologues*."*

The advantages of Codification *in general*, to be set off against the above-named objections also to Codification *in general*, are so obvious, and so generally believed in, and even were they not so, have been dealt with so fully and forcibly by such writers as Bentham, Austin, Story,† Mr. Sheldon Amos,‡ Mr. Holland,§ Sir J. Stephen,|| and hosts of others, that we shall do no more than name them before passing on. Accessibility, intelligibility or cognoscibility (in Bentham's phrase),¶

* For a good *résumé* of the ordinary objections to codification in the abstract—rational as opposed to empirical objections—and for a description of the classes of persons who may be expected to raise them, see Mr. Sheldon Amos's "*English Code*," &c., pp. 228 *seq.*, also Vaughan Hawkins's article on "*Digests and Codes*" (*Juridical Society's Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 116–119); with which compare the answer of the judges to Lord Cranworth's circular letter addressed to them in 1853 on the expediency of consolidating the Criminal Law (*Parl. Papers*, 1854, vol. liii. p. 391). The various objections to, and limitations of codification in general, are *seriatim* though very briefly considered in the Report of the Commissioners of the Criminal Code Bill, 1879.

† "*Miscellaneous Writings*," pp. 721 *seq.*

‡ "*An English Code*," &c., p. xiv.

§ "*Form of Law*," pp. 58, 59.

|| Introduction to the "*Digest of Evidence*," pp. xv.–xviii., and article in the *Nineteenth Century*, vol. ii. pp. 214, 215.

¶ Accessibility is procured by means of intelligibility in modern times, and (for the present purposes) denotes much the same thing. But it meant something very distinct in the days of the earliest and rudest codes. Sir H. Maine ("*Ancient Law*," pp. 19, 20) has shown that the desire for accessibility which leads to the formation of a code in the infancy of a nation takes the shape of a desire for publicity only; in the later stages of the nation's growth, when the law has become complex and unwieldy, it is again a desire for accessibility which creates the advanced type of code, but a desire which takes only the form of a

and certainty,—all these are clearly the peculiar properties of a Code as distinct from a body of uncoded law to be extracted from different sources, administered by differently constituted

demand for compactness, order, and perspicuity—(“*jus civile ad certum redigere modum, et optima quæque et necessaria in paucissimos conferre libros*,” as was the intention of Julius Cæsar.) In the former case, publicity alone gives accessibility, the grievance being that the laws are not and cannot be known to *all citizens*: in the latter, only certitude and arrangement give accessibility, the grievance being that *all the law* cannot be grasped even in outline by any one citizen. Before the primitive type of code is framed, the law is entirely unknown and physically unknowable by a portion of the community—the portion other than the aristocracy, king, or clerical caste who are in the exclusive possession of the mysteries: but when the construction of the later and more artificial code is demanded, the laws are public enough; indeed, in some countries, as in England, every citizen is presumed by a cruel fiction to know them, and can know them as far as going to a shop and buying the materials and reading them afterwards is concerned: they are accessible to everybody alike, in the sense that they are physically procurable by everybody alike; but are equally inaccessible to everybody, in the sense that it is equally impossible for anybody to master them when procured. And here we should state that not only is the popularization of English law an advantage attending codification, but it is a duty incumbent on the legislature, in order to render capable of fulfilment the obligations resting on the citizen in virtue of the maxim above referred to—“*ignorantia juris neminem excusat*,” which Bentham or some other advocate of codification sily puts side by side with that other maxim of the English law, “*lex neminem cogit ad impossibilia*.” If the citizen is compelled to know the law, he should, in natural justice, be put by the legislature in the possession of the best means of knowing it—the only means of knowing it as a whole. The duty of the State in this respect is not only insisted upon by the belligerent supporters of codification, but admitted (though on different grounds) by the representatives of the State both in England and in France. As regards this country, the Report of the Digest Commissioners of 1867 contains the following memorable passage:—“Your Majesty’s subjects are expected to conform to the laws of the State, and are not held excused on the plea of ignorance of the law from the consequences of any wrongful act. . . . It is, we conceive, a duty of the State to take care that these laws shall, as far as is practicable, be exhibited in a form *plain, compendious, and accessible* and calculated to bring home actual knowledge of the law to the greatest possible number of persons.” As regards France, in the discussions preliminary to the execution of the Code Napoléon, we read (“*Procès Verbaux du Conseil de l’Etat*,” &c., tom. i. p. 8) that the Counsellor Tronchet expressed himself thus:—“*Dans cette matière, il faut distinguer le fait de la théorie. La théorie est que les lois ne sont obligatoires que lorsqu’elles sont connues*” (the exactly opposite rule, it will be observed, to that of English law; consequently, that which is in England a duty of the State in fairness to the individual citizen, is in France considered a duty of the State in fairness to themselves, and for the protection of the community at large, and to ensure the observance of those laws, the non-observance of which would otherwise be in theory excused), “*Mais, dans le fait, on ne peut trouver de formes pour donner connaissance de la loi à chaque citoyen individuellement: la difficulté augmente même par le peu d’empressement que met le commun des hommes à s’instruire des lois: lorsqu’ils ont besoin de les interroger, ils s’adressent aux jurisconsultes. On doit donc chercher un moyen qui fasse connaître les lois à ceux qui veulent s’en instruire.*”

tribunals, and using different kinds of procedure-machinery, or, in Bentham's astounding hexameter originally applied to the English Common Law, a "nullis lex verbis, a nullo, nullibi, nunquam." Other advantages may be inferred from the answers which have been given to the various objections on general grounds. Beyond these, however, we may draw more particular attention to one or two benefits which have recently come into greater prominence than before, and have been specially insisted on by careful writers as peculiarly the outcome of modern codification. It is one of the great merits of Sir J. Stephen's writings on this question, that he has again and again insisted on the *educational* value of a good and complete code, whether of the whole or of some severable portion of the laws of a country, not only as rendering the study of the national jurisprudence less distasteful to the professional student, but as elevating it to an object of legitimate and lively interest to the public at large. "A student," says this writer (*Nineteenth Century*, vol. ii. pp. 214, 215), "who has got up the Indian Penal Code as he might get up a work on mathematics, learns more from a year's practice in Indian Courts than he would have learnt from a year's practice in the same Courts where the law was not codified and could be learned by practice only. . . . My belief is that a good general digest of the law, which could be systematically taught to students of it, would go a long way towards solving the difficulties of legal education" (cf. his "Introduction to Digest of Law of Evidence," pp. v.-viii. xxi.). So, too, the instructional value of the study of English Law as a whole, which would be facilitated by a Digest, is urged, amongst other of its advantages, in the First Report of the Law Digest Commissions of 1867 (p. 6). And not only would such a systematic analysis of the whole law (or of any logically severable part, as we venture to add), make juridical knowledge more easily and scientifically attainable by professors and practitioners, but it would attract to its study the outside world, and the brightest intellects of that world, where it now only repels. As Austin remarks (vol. ii. p. 1060), it would be the means of "leaving more leisure for the study of law itself and its rationale, and so inviting minds of a higher order into the profession." Moreover, it would tend "to improve the character of the legal profession," and even "through improvement of their character would lead to still further advances in legislation and generally in ethics" (cf. p. 703). The peculiar advantage of even an experimental code in assisting legislation, in probing and proclaiming defects in existing law, in "reading each weakness clear and saying 'thou ailest here and here,'" has been already noticed. Such a code or systematic analysis is in fact a careful overhauling and taking stock of the nation's juri-

dical possessions, and acts as (if we may coin a word) a nomoscope. And any code, whether experimental or authoritative, since it would presumably become more generally known than a corresponding body of uncodified law, would on that ground be more calculated to induce the people (in Austin's words) "to call more discriminately, as well as more decidedly, for legal reforms." And to the four special classes of persons already mentioned, whom codification ought for the above reasons to interest—viz., statesmen, legal practitioners, professional students, and unprofessional students,—we may add, with Mr. Sheldon Amos, a fifth—viz., foreigners. A foreign diplomatist or merchant would obviously get through a code a better general idea (he would not need more, nor probably less) of, say, so much of English law as might affect his duties or interests than through any other medium. For instance, a French merchant could easily grasp the 100 sections of the Bills of Exchange Act, or a French diplomatist the contents of the Criminal Code Bill; but how will the merchant set about to understand, say, the law relating to patents? or the diplomatist to discover the principles of the law relating to blasphemous libels? Again, as Mr. Holland justly remarks ("Form of Law," p. 59), "Were our commercial law embodied in a definite division of a code" (or just as well in a code, according to our view), "it would be possible by mutual concessions to assimilate it to the corresponding division in the codes" (corresponding code) "of the Continent."

It is clear that codification in general can claim to confer quite enough real benefits without putting forward illusory pretensions. To some of these we ought to allude before passing on. Bentham has set the bad example (we have incidentally noticed two or three instances already) of promising too much on its behalf. Later writers, such as Austin, Mr. Pollock ("Digest of Partnership," *Introd.* xii., xiii.), and Mr. Amos ("An English Code," pp. 226, 227), have wisely endeavoured to correct this tendency, and explain that the code is not a panacea. Nor is its construction unattended by many and serious difficulties, and Austin has again done good service by pointing out "the great evil done to the cause of codification by representing it as easy" (vol. ii. p. 1058), an obvious hit at Bentham,* by explaining what the circumstances and conditions are which render it an arduous and intricate labour (pp. 1058 *seq.*), and by emphasizing again and again the very true proposition (denied or ignored by Bentham)

* Who says (*Part ix.* p. 545) that "the easiest of all literary works, bulk for bulk, is a code of law stark-naked," (such a code as is generally contemplated now). A "properly interwoven rationale," he adds, "would make it a most difficult task;" nor are we concerned to dispute this latter proposition, but we do dispute the other.

that what is "commonly called the technical part of legislation is incomparably more difficult than what may be styled the ethical. In other words, it is far easier to conceive justly what would be useful law, than so to construct the same law that it may accomplish its object." [So, too, Mr. Sheldon Amos begins his treatise by deprecating any making light of difficulties, and by expounding what the real difficulties are:—"An English Code," pp. 1, 2; cf. Meijer, pp. 286-290, Letter IV., for a statement of these, and for suggestions of practical devices for overcoming them.] And for the working out of this technical problem, two capacities, as Sir J. Stephen has pointed out (*Nineteenth Century*, vol. ii. pp. 198-200, 212), are required, the one a logical, the other a literary capacity, which should be of no common order. Scientific classification, the first criterion of sound logic, and apt expression, the best evidence of the literary faculty, should both be present. We need say no more to combat any idea, begotten of too much absorption of the otherwise admirable writings of Bentham, that codification is a simple business. Another promise held forth by indiscriminate glorifiers of codification, and not by Bentham only, is the promise that a code will be very short (Bentham's favourite allusion is to the pocket code of Norway) as contrasted, for instance, with the "immensa et diffusa legum copia" of the then uncoded Roman Law mentioned by Cicero,* or the thousands of volumes of reports of English Law so constantly referred to by all writers on the subject, from Bentham to Sir J. Stephen. Now the claim thus put forward, and the alleged contrast, assume that compactness necessarily involves brevity, and that copiousness of range necessarily involves superfluity of matter. Now we do not say that both these propositions are untrue, but we do say that both the one and the other are commonly exaggerated. We do not believe that a good "all-comprehensive" code of English Law would be by any means short; on the contrary, it would probably be of very vast proportions indeed, that is to say, if it properly represented everything that is to be found in the existing law; since there is no system in which principles are so much pushed into branches, subdivisions, details and bypaths, than the English; and to represent these various divergences fairly, a code very unlike the pocket code of Norway would be requisite. In the entire body of English Law there are at least 500 subjects of equal extent and bulk with the branch dealing with Negotiable Instruments, which when codified has necessitated an Act of 100 sections. This would give an entire code of at

* Who, by the way, was quite conscious how vast a labour a Digest, which he had himself thought of executing, would involve. See the "De Orat." i. 43, and compare Bacon's "heroicum opus."

least 50,000 articles, and we should be surprised if a really *complete* code were made with anything like so few a number. But on this subject we shall have a few words to say presently in dealing with the various specific objections to *English* codification. Nor—to come to the other proposition on which the pretended contrast is based—do we believe that there is anything so very formidable in mere numbers of law-books, reports, and the like. A very great deal of rhetoric, we know, has been and is being expended on this theme. Take for instance an anonymous pamphlet (London: 1826) entitled, “Some Remarks on the Present State of the Law, its Administration and its Abuses,” printed in “The Pamphleteer,” vol. xxvi., the author of which speaks dolefully of wading through masses of irrelevant matter to search for cases, of lumber-hunting, and the like. From the language here used, which is fairly typical of the pamphlets of that date and the journalistic effusions of this, one would imagine that these complainants really supposed, or wished their readers to suppose, that when a practitioner sits down to search for the cases applicable to a given point, he makes a solemn chronological “progress” through all the volumes of reports from the Year Books to the present time, seeking what he may devour, till he, so to speak accidentally, hits upon the desired reference. Whereas, provided that one has good indices, of which it is absurd to contend that there is not an abundance in any law-library, what difference does it make whether, in tracing a proposition of law, the lawyer has to select the reported cases applicable thereto from one shelf or a thousand shelves? He knows from his index or textbook the cases he wants, and the reports are arranged in chronological or in alphabetical or in some order. The order, whatever it be, directs him to the volume in the one case as easily and as surely as in the other. In mere multitude of authorities we see no great evil, and one very obvious advantage, that, owing to the wealth and variety of topics with which they must deal, there is always a fair prospect of finding some principle sufficiently definite and precise to be more or less directly applicable to the individual circumstances.* This beneficial peculiarity of our English system

* We do not of course mean to deny that great benefits would result from Sir J. Stephen's proposed plan of eliminating from the volumes of reports all overruled and obsolete cases, and doing, in fact, for the Reports what the Revised Statutes have done for the Statute Book (see his Essay in the *Nineteenth Century*, vol. ii. pp. 205–207); also of classifying the decided cases, when purged in the above manner, according to subjects, while preserving in a separate form (for historical purposes only) a result of those cases (such as State trials and the like) which have an antiquarian, but no jurisprudential interest (pp. 208–210. It will be remembered that, on this last-named point, Bacon, as cited above, entertained similar views, “De Augm. Scient.,” Bk.

must be preserved by any code claiming to exactly re-express our law—no more and no less—and, it may confidently be added, it cannot be preserved except by a code of exceedingly bulky dimensions.

The above leads us to a more important branch of our subject—a consideration of the special objections to the codification of law in this country and at this time. Admitting the advantages of codification in the abstract, and as an ideal without reference to time or space, several eminent jurists have brought forward serious reasons why codification should not be attempted here and now. First, it has been argued that *because* codification has been unsuccessful as a matter of history in certain other times and places, it would probably be unsuccessful in this country and at this time. Secondly, it has been argued from an opposite standpoint that, *though successful* elsewhere and at other epochs, the incidents and conditions of its success then and there were exactly such as to show that it would be a failure now and here in the absence of those incidents and conditions. Thirdly, it has been urged that the historical circumstances under which codification was introduced and succeeded at those other times and places are such as to indicate that its introduction here, though quite feasible, and its success, would constitute infallible, or, at all events, probable evidence of co-existing national degradation, and that the price for such a success would be too heavy for Englishmen to pay. We will deal with these objections in order.

The first objection, which has not been often urged of late, was sufficiently disposed of once for all by Austin (vol. ii. pp. 689–698, 1069–1071), who shows that the defects and inadequate results of the Pandects, or of the modern codes of France and Prussia—to which we may now add some of the codes of the American States, such as that of New York—were accidental, and not necessary; and further that, in spite of them, the codes were a vast improvement on the unsystematized bodies of law which they respectively superseded.

The next type of objection is more serious. It will be convenient to bisect it. There is to be considered, first, the argument that the very reasons for the success of codification in other

viii., Aph. 63. Austin also thought that there should be framed a chronological and historical, as well as an analytical Digest.) This scheme would, doubtless, possess a great educational value. All that we are here concerned to maintain is, that the inconvenience arising from the necessity of consulting a textbook or index, and looking out the references in a library, is absurdly exaggerated, being no greater than in the case of any other branch of knowledge, and, at any rate, is in no way dependent on the total number of volumes in some one or more of which the authorities referred to are to be found, when once the references are given.

[Vol. CXXII. No. CCXLIII.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. LXVI. No. I. B

countries are reasons for its probable failure here ; then, the argument that the very reasons for its success at other times are reasons for its probable failure now.

It is urged, then—to take the first branch of this two-handled argument—that the framers of the codes which have found acceptance in foreign countries had to deal with a material as different as possible from that with which an English codifier would have to deal. The rules of the English Common Law, extracted as they are from reports of cases, each containing its particular circumstances or setting, so to speak, are rules of a peculiarly and delicately malleable character. To take them out of this setting, and to give them in the abstract, with no qualifications, would be to invest them with an absoluteness and a rigidity which did not belong to them in their uncoded state, and thus to divest English law of its distinctive merit, and of a quality of which the laws of those foreign nations whose codification has been successful, were, prior to codification, singularly devoid.* This, at first sight, may appear to be the same objec-

* It is to be observed that nearly all these foreign codes were based either (in the case of those prior to the French Revolution, such as the Danish Code, 1683, the first Swedish Code, 1734, the Code Frédéric, 1750, and the Sardinian Code, 1770) on the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, or (in the case of those subsequent to that date, such as the Codes of Italy, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, Russia, Austria, Greece, Servia, Hayti, Mexico, Buenos Ayres, Lower Canada, &c.) on the Napoleonic Code. (Cf. Meijer, "*De la Codification*," &c., pp. 42, 43, on the Influence of Roman Law on the earlier Continental Codes). Thus they were in a position to enunciate very general—almost axiomatic—propositions, which is what an English Code, having for its object the exact representation of English law as it is, could never do. Of the American Codes the New York Code, as Mr. Amos has very clearly pointed out, was drafted in a great hurry to meet the supposed pressing exigences of political and commercial existence ; and its framers, moreover, worked on two very opposite lines, the Institutes of Justinian constituting the exemplar in the one case, and English textbooks in the other. Besides which, the New York Commission were furnished with ample powers of incorporating new matter and legislating in a material sense, and therefore were in a position to cut several Gordian knots, instead of unravelling them and expounding their intricacies, and to state the law in a series of more succinct and perfunctory propositions than it would be possible for an English codifier to do. And after all can this code be claimed as one of the successes of codification ? A very short examination will show the inextricable confusion into which the whole scheme of the code is plunged, even as it is, by a disastrous craving for brevity. However useful elsewhere, it has as yet "failed to become law in its own birthplace" (Pollock's "*Digest of Partnership*," Introd. p. xi.). The above remarks are offered in support of the arguments of the objectors, and, so to speak, "*ex parte advocati diaboli*," to this extent, that the conditions and circumstances under which most of the foreign codes have been drafted are such as to raise no presumption in favour of English codification from the success of these codes, where they have succeeded ; but we by no means aver that they are such as to render the success of the codes a positive argument in favour of the impracticability of English codification. For the history and

tion as that already mentioned to codification in general—namely, the objection of non-finality ; but in reality it is quite distinct : for whereas the non-finality objection is, that a code of any kind will not and cannot possess rigidity, finality, or completeness, but will make a fallacious pretence of so doing—*this* objection involves the contention that an English Code will in fact, as well as in form, be or become rigid and unpliant, and that this rigidity will be an unmixed evil. The law of grammar or language (to use Savigny's phraseology) will be substituted for a law of principles : a law dependent on mere textual interpretation for a law demanding a deep historical sense and a refined juridical conscience. The theoretical answer, of course, is that the rule, in any instance, has to be extracted from the reported cases and other authorities, that when so extracted it has a certain measure of elasticity, qualifiedness, and applicability to new cases—more or less, as may happen,—and that just this measure of elasticity and qualifiedness—neither more nor less—it will possess and exhibit when stated as one of the propositions of a *good* English Code.* The decision of every case involves, as Austin observes, exactly the process which takes place in the solution of every scientific problem—that is to say, a process consisting of (1) the induction of the rule from the comparison of the particulars, (2) the application of that rule to the fresh case to be dealt with. A code, by stating the rule in express terms, and recording it for reference, saves the trouble of going through the first of the two stages above mentioned on each several occasion. The full process necessary where the law is uncoded is as if, in solving any problem of mathematics, one were obliged, instead of being entitled to assume once for all that two straight lines cannot enclose a space, to make an induction, before proceeding any further, from several instances of two straight lines not enclosing a space. Moreover, it must be remembered that abstractness of form and directness of language does not necessarily imply rigidity ; on

essential features of modern foreign codification generally (Europe, South America, the United States, Canada, and British India), see Mr. Holland's "Form of Law," pp. 42-51, Mr. Sheldon Amos's "An English Code," pp. 95-130, and the "First Report of the Digest Law Commissioners of 1867," pp. 12-34. For the French Codes (1803-1810) particularly, see the "Recueil Complet des Travaux Préparatoires du Code Civil," par P. A. Fenet (15 vols.), the "Dictionnaire Universel," vol. iv. (sub. tit. "Code"), Loaré's "Legislation de la France" (especially the first volume), Blaxland's "Codex Legum Anglicarum" (1839), and W. H. Best's essay in the Juridical Society's Papers, vol. i.

* See Holland's "Form of Law," pp. 24, 56, 57. The objection is also stated and answered by Austin, vol. ii. p. 1058 ; Story ("Miscellaneous Writings," pp. 719 *seq.*) ; and Mr. Sheldon Amos ("An English Code," &c., pp. 55 *seq.*)

the contrary, the more absolute a proposition, the more elastic it is usually found to be in its application.*

The truth is that those who urge the objection which we are now considering express in a clumsy formula involving, as stated, an untenable argument, what is in reality a legitimate and well-grounded apprehension. If pressed, they would admit that their fear is not that a scheme of general propositions is theoretically incapable of expressing every one of the numerous qualifications and limits to each rule of the Common Law to be found in the reports of judicial decisions, just as much as a textbook can, but with greater brevity and with better logic and method,—but that, as a matter of fact, an English Code which should faithfully and accurately achieve this end would be soon found to have assumed such enormous proportions, that in despair the limitations would come to be dropped, and more conveniently unqualified and abstract propositions would remain, fashioned after the model of the foreign codes, and therefore incomplete, inaccurate, and not translating English law as it stands. The temptation to do something smart, and to reduce hundreds of cases to an article of half a dozen lines, and so make unfair capital, would be too great for reforming human nature.† And they point not unreasonably to the announcements and promises of such men as Bentham,‡ and might point, we may add, in some few cases, to the performances of the school of Sir J. Stephen. The objection, or rather the apprehension, so formulated is quite intelligible. There is too lively a tendency even among such men as Sir J. Stephen—certainly among some of his disciples in codification—to point, with a pride not quite justified, to a neat little series of one or two hundred propositions, and say to the public—"See in what a compact little code I have represented the net result of all these cartloads

* See Maine's "Ancient Law," p. 20.

† This appears to be the real ground of the recommendation of the various Commissions on codification during the last fifty years, that a Digest, rather than a Code, of English Common Law, should (if anything) be attempted: as also of G. Sweet's objection to any attempt "to enunciate principles in axiomatic form" ("Juridical Society's Papers," vol. ii. pp. 577-584). Neither the Commissions nor Mr. Sweet probably objected to the axiomatic form in itself; what they did object to was the dropping of the most valuable part of the contents of English law; this valuable part they thought would be preserved in a Digest, but not in a Code, which they anticipated, not perhaps without reason, would aim at the pernicious brevity which spoils the French and the New York Codes. In our view, a good English Code would be quite as long and as elaborate as the largest Digest contemplated by them. But its principles could none the less be expanded in axiomatic form; nor would it shirk the *media axiomata*.

‡ Bentham, part ix. p. 206, "View of a Complete Code of Laws." Cf. also part vi. pp. 546-548 ("Petition for Codification").

of authorities" [and, "see how easy it is," Bentham, though certainly not Sir J. Stephen, would add]. "Is it not apparent what a monstrous waste of time and labour is involved in the existence of these multitudinous shelves of uncoded matter, and into what a pretty pocket-code the whole thing might be reduced." The class of objectors to whom we are referring reply, or rather would reply, if they properly appreciated the strength of their position in the matter—You take unfair credit to yourselves and to the cause of codification by claiming to have done what you have not. All astronomy might be reduced to one hundred or so propositions, if any one chose to take such *summa axiomata* as Kepler's laws, string them together to the neglect of the more fruitful secondary propositions, and say, "This is astronomy." In a sense no one could deny that all the subsidiary propositions are included under the most universal: but the discoveries of science are not represented (as Bacon long ago pointed out) by a bare statement of unqualified and colourless generalities (true and all-embracing though they be), but are the result of following these out into, or recognizing them as the justification for the far more fruitful *media axiomata* obtained direct from phenomena. Apply this principle to one of the very best books of its class—Sir J. Stephen's "Digest of the Law of Evidence." Do we find in this volume the total wealth of matter—all the deviations and varied applications—to be found in the recorded judgments of the Courts? We do in a sense—that is to say, the first principles and most general axioms, under which all others may be subsumed, are set down. We have the "fontes" as opposed to the "rivuli." But where are the less general propositions, the ramifications and diversions, the very propositions demanded by the student, the practitioner, and most of all perhaps the non-professional inquirer (though the exact contrary is often asserted)?*

* This peculiarity of "The Digest of the Law of Evidence" is the more unaccountable, when we consider the excellent theoretical principles laid down by Sir J. Stephen on this topic in the 34th (and concluding) chapter of his recently published "History of the Criminal Law of England" (vol. iii. pp. 347 *seq.*), which is devoted to "The Codification of the Criminal Law." Take this admirable sentence, expressing views perhaps a little lost sight of by the author when, as in "The Digest of Evidence," engaged in translating theory into practice:—"The great richness of the law of England in principles and rules, embodied in judicial decisions, no doubt involves the consequence that a code adequately representing it must be elaborate and detailed . . . &c. . . . One great characteristic of the law of this country . . . is that it is extremely detailed and explicit. . . . This precise and explicit character of our law is one of its most valuable qualities, and one great advantage of codification would be that it would preserve this valuable quality by giving the result of an immense amount of experience in the shape of definite rules" (pp. 352, 353). Again:—"The generality of language common in continental

And in this matter, and in this sense, the "rivuli" are, *pace* Sir E. Coke, the important thing, and not the "fontes." It is a great mistake to suppose that even the ordinary public want the general principles of law, any more than in ethics they want the general principles of morality: what they want are the more precise and particular mandates of law or morality—the casuistry of the one no less than the casuistry of the other, if the code in the one case, or the hortatory treatise in the other, is to be of any use to them. But, just as we must give up the notion of a pocket-code for England, so we must get rid of the corresponding notion of an English Code as a pet-book or bible of the average citizen, to be found by the traveller, like the Norwegian Code, "in every peasant's cottage," or a *carmen necessarium* to be pored over and learnt by heart by every schoolboy (like the Twelve Tables at Rome), as Meijer, for instance, expects a code to be (pp. 129-232 *seq.*). A code for this, or for any country, should not, it is true, be written in a *langue hieratique*, the other alternative mentioned by Meijer; but, if a good one, it will never be more or less than a somewhat bulky book of reference to assist him in the affairs of life. If it gives him nothing but the generalities of law (of which he already knows something from periodical literature and popular rhetoric) it will give him a stone instead of bread; in such a case, moreover (and this constitutes the grain of truth and substance in the objection we have been considering), codification will thereby have been instrumental in the deliberate effacement of the distinctive and most meritorious feature of the English law—a feature which the legal system of no other country can boast to the same extent,—the diligence with which first principles have been pursued and pushed to their ultimate consequences, and applied to the most various subject-matters with the most prolific results. This wealth of subsidiary laws or *media axiomata* would be unrepresented in a code after the model of those digests to which we have alluded. Not that we dispute the very great merit in point both of logic and literary expression which characterize such digests: we no more dispute it than we impugn the definitions and axioms of Euclid: but just as in the latter case, if we had nothing else before us, we should say, "we have nothing to complain of; so far, so good; but proceed, build something useful upon your foundation"—so in this, we say, "give us

codes raises a false impression that they are specially complete and systematic, and that the law of England is less exact, and more elastic. The very opposite is the truth" (pp. 353, 354). On this quality of so-called "elasticity"—to which reference has already been made—the author has some further excellent remarks at pp. 349-352.

the consequences in some useful and material form of that which is so far true and admirably stated, but to us absolutely useless." The device of examples and illustrations (to be referred to below) would do a great deal to reflect some of the intricate mechanism of the original in the reformed substitute; but, after all, we are soon face to face with the identical problem in another form, since these examples (if it be not expressly provided that they are not to be taken to limit or qualify but only to illustrate the propositions of the code) must be comprehensive, and therefore of enormous bulk. We would ourselves prefer not to see all the particulars or "single instances" (to come back to our logical metaphor) set down ("ἀρεπον γὰρ εἶναι," as Aristotle would say), but we would insist on assigning its proper place to every subsidiary law of whatever scope or generality, down to the least comprehensive subsidiary law ranking above an individual case, for which any good warrant can be found in the reports, at whatever expense of labour, time, and space. We think the objectors, whom we have in mind, are possibly right in demanding so much. We should not be led away in this matter by fallacious foreign analogies,* or by a ridiculous ambition to outdo our neighbours in brevity and conciseness. The sign of a good code is good method and logic and aptitude of expression: if we have these, and if the code represents no more than the previously uncoded material, then the longer it is the better; for greater length *under such conditions* is an evidence of the greater variety of matters of which the law so codified takes cognizance, and therefore the greater probability of its giving a direct answer to any given one of the multitude of questions which may be demanded of it. So

* On the fallacious brevity of the French Code, see Austin, vol. ii. p. 1071. Sir J. Stephen, in his "History of the Criminal Law" (vol. iii. ch. xxxiv.), also calls attention to this, and to the vital distinction between mere want of bulk and conciseness of expression. He alludes to the Draft Criminal Code of 1878-9, comparing it with the French Code, with the view of showing the fulness, precision, detailedness, and therefore certainty of the one, and the deceptive tenuity of the other. Thus at pp. 354 *seq.* of the third volume, we have a very instructive contrast between the 64th article of the French "Code Pénal"—relating to insanity and compulsion as excuses for crime—and sections 22 and 23 of the English Draft Criminal Code of 1879, relating to the same subjects respectively. The article of the French Code contains a nude proposition in two or three lines of print, of no help to anybody: while the thirty-five lines of the corresponding portion of the English Draft Code define minutely and exhaustively—yet without using a superfluous word—what it is that constitutes madness on the one hand, and compulsion on the other, in contemplation of law: which, in the French Code, is left entirely open. In the latter, we are merely told that madness and compulsion are excuses in law: but to find what is madness in law, or what is compulsion in law, the French jurist may search his code in vain.

many rhetorical flourishes have been dimmed into our ears concerning the "cartloads" of our Reports, that it is high time that the public should be informed that there is a fully proportionate number of cartloads of sound sense and excellent logic to be found in them : just as many cartloads as are to be extracted from any corresponding number of volumes relating to any other science.

Of those jurists who contend that the conditions of ancient^r (e.g., Roman) codification, and of its success so far as it succeeded, were such that their marked absence is alone sufficient to ensure the failure of any attempt to codify in modern times, the first in order of time, and by far the most ingenious and learned, is Savigny, whose essay "On the Vocation of our Age for Legislation and Jurisprudence" (translated by the late Mr. Hayward) is a masterpiece of reasoning, and, like many other such efforts in support of an untenable thesis, abounds in fruitful cautions and suggestions, and in detailed criticisms of great nicety and value. He takes as his text, we may say, the very wise aphorism of Bacon ("De Augm. Scient.," Book viii. Aph. 64) :—"It is desirable that this instauration of the laws should be undertaken in such times as are superior in learning and experience to those more ancient times whose works and acts they revise. For it is an unfortunate circumstance when by the taste and judgment of a less wise and less learned generation the works of the ancients are mutilated and reconstructed." [It is noteworthy that Cicero was of exactly the same opinion, "De Oratore," i. 41]. Savigny's argument amounts to this : granting that the Roman system was a success, that success was due not to the code, but to the living jurisprudence which lay behind the code, and to the trained intellects who expanded and administered it and whose opinions formed the basis of the Digest, as well as to the sterling qualities of the nation. This, being so, the code was a superfluity. The nice historical sense, the delicate application of sound juristical principles to complicated facts, the masculine logic, and the aptitude in legislative expression, which characterized the Roman jurists, would have produced a good jurisprudence, code or no code. Having been constructed (quite unnecessarily), the code became merely one amongst other mirrors of the sound underlying law ; consequently, that which was in reality only a symptom has been mistaken for a cause, and the sole cause ; that which seemed for that within which passed show. The existence and ability of trained juriconsults to interpret and administer the gradual accretions of jurisprudence built up by equally well-trained juriconsults in the past, was the really essential and necessary condition without which neither the Roman law, as we have received it, nor the

code which merely manifested it, could have succeeded as they did. In modern times this *conditio sine qua non* is conspicuously wanting; there can, therefore, be no such sound jurisprudence, and consequently no good code ("On the Vocation," &c., pp. 43 seq., 131 seq., 147 seq., 183).* If a code were to be framed now, it would have no living fountains of adequate jurisprudence to feed it; it would be a *caput mortuum*, a system of grammar to be interpreted by individual caprice, not a system of principles to be expounded and applied by men capable, both by reason of

* Savigny goes even further than this, and says that the Roman Code was not only theoretically unnecessary, and added nothing to the vital jurisprudence which was at its root and kept it alive, but that *as a fact* it was not wanted by Rome's jurists when at their best. Neither circumstances nor men, he alleges, demanded it. And on this allegation of fact he proceeds to found a generalization, or rather to support a generalization rationally deduced beforehand, to the effect that when the jurists of a State are in the best condition to produce a Code, they are the least anxious for it. We would point out here that, as to the Romans at any rate, the statement of fact is of questionable accuracy, and that so far as Savigny attempts to derive support for his thesis from history, as distinct from argument, he is hardly justified. A Code, in the sense of a systematic reduction of the dispersed chaos of the then existing law to an accessible cosmos—the thing, though of course not the name—*was* emphatically desired both by the orator Cicero (see the language used by him in the "De Oratore," Bk. i. ch. 43, 44, and in the "De Legibus," Bk. ii. ch. 23), and the historian Livy (iii. 34, where he speaks of the "*legum aliarum super alias coacervatarum cumulus*"), and Tacitus (Annal. iii. 25,—"*hanc multitudinem infinitam ac varietatem legum*")—as emphatically as if they had used the word "Code," or had sketched out a skeleton after the most approved modern method. Cicero, indeed, like Bacon, himself distinctly contemplated preparing a Digest of the Civil Law ("De Orat.," i. 43). But not only did the pleader, familiar with the practical working of the existing system, and the historian, tracing its origin and growth and watching its influence on social conditions, feel the want of a Code: we know also that Julius Cæsar, in his capacity as legislator, was so impressed with the necessity for it, that he actually contemplated supplying this deficiency. It was one of his numerous projects, nipped in the bud by the Ides of March, "*jus civile ad certum modum redigere atque ex immensâ diffusâque legum copiâ optima quæque et necessaria in paucissimos conferre libros*" (Suetonius, Jul. 44. Compare Cicero, "De Orat.," i. 41, 42, who also mentions the project, and Merivale, vol. ii. pp. 401, 402, with Mommsen, vol. iv. p. 552). We have here all the essential elements of codification; logical method ("*certum modum*"), brevity ("*paucissimos libros*") controlled by the ruling principle of reconstructing everything material in the existing law as it stands ("*necessaria quæque*") though purging it of excrescences and superfluities ("*optima*"). Those who wish for a brief general account of the history of Roman codification may refer with advantage to the famous 44th chapter of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall;" Hunter's "Roman Law," pp. xli.-l.; Sandars's "Justinian," pp. xxiv.-xxxi.; Ortolan's "Roman Law" (Mears's abridgment), pp. 50-61; Sir H. Maine's "Ancient Law," pp. 15-20; Mr. Holland's "Form of Law," pp. 14-16, 32-42, and Meijer, "De la Codification," &c., pp. 66-103. For an account of another ancient code (not, however, mentioned or used as part of his argument by Savigny), namely, the Hindoo, see Maine's "Ancient Law" (*ubi sup.*)

their historical and their logical attainments—their theoretical and practical aptitudes—of doing so efficiently (pp. 21 *seq.*, 32 *seq.*). The argument, then, of Savigny and his disciples in England such as Best, and others of the historical school, as it is sometimes called—as against the contention of Thibaut, Austin, Sir J. Stephen, and generally the analytical, pragmatical, or dogmatical school, as it is variously styled (see Meijer, the whole of Letters ii. and iii., and pp. 4, 5, 9 (*n*), 62, 104, 284, 286), is that a code is either needless or positively harmful; needless, where the law which it is to re-express is both good in itself, and scientifically studied, expounded, and administered; pernicious, where either of these elements is wanting, because it must show on its face the defects and incongruities which would otherwise be concealed, and so induce jurists to condemn its logic, and knaves and pettifoggers to evade its mandates. This dilemma (even if we admitted either of its branches), like the Caliph Omar's dilemma concerning the books of the Alexandrian library,* and like most other dilemmas, may be confronted by a correlative and equally unanswerable dilemma on the other side. It may be said, of course only by way of *argumentum ad hominem*, that a code must either be beneficial or harmless; beneficial in the first case put, as revealing to the public on its face those merits and that "elegantia" or consistency of the law which otherwise might escape notice save at the hands of jurists and special students; harmless in the second case put, because the law is bad to start with, and cannot be made worse by any mere alteration of the form in which it is stated. But, as we have seen, it cannot be admitted that, if the law is bad, or badly administered, or both, a code is no more than harmless; on the contrary, its great positive merit is that it discloses to the Legislature and to the public the absurdities or anomalies of its contents; and further, it must stimulate practitioners to a more efficient study and administration; because, bad though it may be, it is more capable of being studied and mastered, and known for what it is, in this than in any other form. A code is, so to speak, the syllogizing of an involved argument—a process which is always useful, whether the argument be in itself good or bad. Moreover, Savigny ignores the inalienable natural right of any people to have recorded in an accessible form the laws under which they live, bad as they may be; and the worse they are, the more pressing the right. Whether the laws of a country be inac-

* "The Koran is irrefragable: now either these books are for or they are against the Koran: if they are for, they are useless, if they are against, they are pernicious; therefore let them be burnt." Counter-dilemma: "if they are for, they will do good: if they are against, they will do no harm; therefore let them be preserved."

cessible by reason of their having been kept secret by a caste, or from their having been buried under their own weight,—whether the fact of their being known to some only, and not to all the citizens, or the fact of every citizen knowing some, but not all the laws, be the cause of their general inaccessibility,—in either case the inaccessibility is a wrong. Finally, we may cite the wise saying of Bacon, which concludes the very aphorism on which Savigny so much relies—"that is often necessary which is not best." If a bridge or a constitution has to be constructed, a nation does not wait a hundred years till the ideal bridge be invented, or the "*καλλιπολις*" of Plato approaches realization. Similarly the formation of a code, if desirable on other grounds, should not be delayed merely because theory can suggest a better, or show grounds for believing that a later and more instructed age would be fitter to undertake the work. It would be curious to see what Savigny would say if he were living now; would he still counsel delay?

The third species of objection to English codification* is somewhat peculiar, and comes, as might be expected, principally from historians, or those who come to the question saturated with historical learning, and look at it with historical eyes,—such men as Merivale, Renan, Savigny, and Best. It is argued, indirectly, if not in express terms, that to codify our laws would be a probable evidence or admission (judging from what has happened in other countries at other times) of national imbecility, decline, or even degradation; or that it would indicate the existence of a state of government or society alien to the genius and wishes of the country; or, at all events, that it would not indicate any access of national vigour. For at what times and under what circumstances has, it is asked, codification been most successful elsewhere and in the past? Generally at periods either of national servitude and decline, or at periods of national disruption, revolution, military dictatorships, and the like. Even in the exceptional instances which appear, at first sight, most favourable to English codification, the codes will be found to have been merely the means of cementing, and proclaimed as the symbol of the attainment of national unity or consolidation; and so these, though not positively instances against, at all events are not applicable to, or capable of being brought forward in favour of, English codification. Of the first class of cases, ancient Rome is, of course, the typical example; of the second, France under Napoleon; of the third, regenerated Italy. It is useful to

* We include under this head those which, though directly aimed by *foreign* writers at the codification of the laws of their own country would equally, on the grounds alleged by them, apply to the codification of English law.

mention this type of objection, because however absurd the extreme views may be of those who look upon the success of codes in other countries under conditions of decline or revolution as proving that any systematic republication of English law would be a probable token or symbol of the existence of such degradation or internal upheaval in our own country,—in fact, it is difficult to tell whether the objectors do really go this length, all that can be said is that their contention tends to this issue,—yet it should not be forgotten that it is equally absurd to deduce from the success of codes elsewhere any argument in favour of the practicability or probable success of a code here ; and so far as the line of argument adopted by such opponents serves as a reminder or warning against the employment of fallacious historical analogies, it is to this extent valuable, though fallacious itself.

The “ badge of servitude ” doctrine is advanced in its least temperate form by Best, who maintains (*“ Jurid. Soc. Papers,”* vol. i. pp. 219–230) that codification has always been hitherto indicative of a contemporaneous state of absolutism on the one side, and civic pusillanimity on the other ; that, as such, it is, or should be, alien to the spirit and tastes of Englishmen ; and that any project for its introduction into this country should, if on no other ground, be regarded by them with the greatest distrust. This is one other of the many and various forms of the “ constitution in danger ” cry. But, strange to say, the careful historians, Merivale and Gibbon, use much the same language as the intensely conservative lawyer with reference to past codes, though they do not themselves draw the same inference in direct terms, rather leaving their views on the subject of future codification to be gathered by the reader from their disparagement of the experiments already made ; the former asserting (vol. viii. p. 298) that “ the most comprehensive, exact, and logical codes from Justinian downwards have been the actual badges of national servitude and degradation ; ” and the latter appearing to contemplate a code as almost necessarily involving arbitrary and despotic administration to secure its success (vol. v. 328.)* M. Renan (a thinker accustomed to seize upon the real forces at work behind the bare events which so many mistake for history) contents himself with a proposition which may or may not be intended to imply a depreciation of codes, when he says, as the result of his researches into the past :—“ rien n’est plus dangereux en histoire que d’apprécier la force et la moralité d’un peuple par la perfection abstraite de son code.” In its naked terms, and as a caution against reason-

Cf. Savigny, “ On the Vocation, &c.,” pp. 21 *seq.*, 70 *seq.*

ing on misleading analogies, either *pro* or *con*, every rational advocate of codification would probably accept M. Renan's maxim. And to the others referred to, the short answer is, as above stated, that from the historical circumstances attendant upon the birth of a code no safe argument one way or the other can be drawn; since these circumstances were not essential even to the codes which they accompanied, and therefore like circumstances cannot be assumed to be a necessary or even probable preliminary to, or accompaniment or consequence of, any English Code at the present day, assuming such a code to be of the pattern promulgated in the instances adduced, which it certainly would not be. The reply is well put by De Lolme in combating a somewhat similar argument (p. 105, "*Brit. Constit.*") :—

Even at present the English lawyers attribute the liberty they enjoy, and of which other nations are deprived, to their having rejected, while those nations have admitted, the Roman law: which is mistaking the effect for the cause. It is not because the English have rejected the Roman laws that they are free; but it is because they were free (or, at least, because there existed amongst them causes which were, in process of time, to make them so), that they have been able to reject the Roman laws.

This remark of course applies to the matter as well as to the form of the Roman law; and, in respect of the latter, it may be freely admitted that for any country to adopt, servilely and wholesale, the divisions, definitions, and conceptions of the code of another country, as the French adopted those of the Roman Code, and most other continental nations those of the French, would—far more than any of the accidental historical circumstances on which Merivale and Best lay so much stress—argue poverty of thought and lack of originative power on the part of the country so adopting; but this is a very different thing from codification in accordance with native method and by means of native resources.

The same answer applies to the objection based upon a consideration of the genesis of the French Code, in the circumstances attending which Savigny finds combined the several vices and symbols of national decline and distress which other thinkers have detected singly in other instances. Not only, it is urged, did this code issue in the first instance from, and reflect a state of national chaos and an insane greed of innovation, but the fact of its having shortly afterwards become the adopted child of military despotism indicated a yet lower deep of degradation and was a badge of national servitude (Savigny, "*On the Vocation*," &c., pp. 21 *seq.*). And Savigny concludes generally of the three codes of France, Austria, and Prussia (after a critical examination of the history of each), that they were born of

and symbolized the peculiar vices incident both to revolution and to tyranny (pp. 70, 99 *seq.*, 114 *seq.*).* To this he adds that the French Code in particular was far more designed as a means of achieving, and as a memorial and emblem of the having achieved, a substantial unity, political and territorial, of law throughout the length and breadth of France—a country in which previously, according to Voltaire's sarcasm, a traveller changed laws as often as horses—than to serve the interests of technical systematization, or to achieve the objects proper to a code of laws as jurists understand the term. And so to a less extent of the Prussian Code. We may extend Savigny's argument, however, to a number of states and nations, besides France and Prussia, which have codified their laws in this century—to American States, such as Louisiana, and to nations, such as Italy (Mr. Sheldon Amos† has very successfully shown this) and Spain, not to speak of many other continental countries whose codes were framed after the date at which Savigny wrote his treatise.

The objection last mentioned may, therefore, if expressed in the form of a caution or limitation, be accepted; and there is every reason to ignore, with Mr. Sheldon Amos and Mr. Walker Marshall,‡ whether in defending or impugning the case for English codification, all historical events and circumstances shown to have been the outcome of national needs or political crises, and which may not, consequently, be pronounced essential conditions of codification in general and as such incidental to the codification of English as of any other body of laws.

Looking now to the future, and having noticed the principal objections, both rational and empirical,—both to codification in

* This double charge seems at first sight odd and self-destructive. But it is certainly true that the French Code is, and may fairly be claimed as, *spolia opima* by both the Revolutionary and the Napoleonic party. On the one side we have the proud boast of Republicans that the code "inspires Frenchmen like a conquest or a testimony;" on the other, Napoleon anticipating the glory which would follow him for having fathered it. It is as if King John and Stephen Langton both claimed credit for Magna Charta, the one for having yielded to what the other forced upon him.

† "An English Code," &c., pp. 113–116. The main object and significance of this code was to operate in promoting, at the same time that it also symbolized and proclaimed, an organic political and social union of the nation. This is directly stated, as Mr. Amos points out, at the conclusion of the Report of the Commissioners presented to the King on June 25, 1865, and prefixed to the 1866 edition of the code: "Your Majesty will have rendered memorable another epoch in the work of *national reconstitution*, the foundations of which majestic edifice are, *thanks to the invoked unity of the laws*, now being enlarged and secured."

‡ Who objects (Paper on Codification, "Juridical Society Papers," vol. ii. pp. 503, 504) to the importation of prejudice from allusions to the results which followed, or circumstances which attended, codification of other laws than our own.

the abstract and to codification here and under existing conditions of English law,—and having found that codification here and now is both possible and desirable, we have to consider what form it should take, what practical preliminaries and precautions are necessary to ensure its success, and what should be the machinery and organization for its construction in the first place, and for its maintenance afterwards.

And first as to the much mooted question of a digest as a preliminary to a code. Such a digest, it will be remembered, was advocated by the Digest Law Commissioners of 1867 (see *First Report*, pp. 6–8), who thought the time had not yet come for a code. It is also recommended by Mr. Holland (*"Form of Law,"* pp. 17–24, 55, 60–64), who himself furnishes (pp. 79–100) a specimen, sent in in reply to the invitation of the secretary of the Commissioners, of what he understood by a digest but what the Commissioners apparently did not. This writer is supported by Mr. G. Sweet (*"Jurid. Soc. Papers,"* vol. ii. pp. 577–584) who suggests a digest of the reports, but draws the line at any attempt even in a digest "to enunciate principles in axiomatic form;" by Meijer (p. 6) whose views are substantially those of Mr. Holland as to proceeding by successive stages, and (strangest of all) by Sir James Stephen, who regards a digest as an essential preliminary to a code (*Nineteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 201). Austin thought it would be well to begin with a digest (vol. ii. pp. 1061–1063), but by no means held this view as part of an inflexible theory on the proper stages of codificatory legislation, or otherwise than as a matter of policy and convenience; indeed the object of his suggestion appears to have been solely to provide educational and institutional advantages, as we gather from his expressed desire to see no less than three digests framed (obviously to meet other requirements and interests than those of codification or "nomography" proper) on three separate *fundamenta divisionis*,—one to be dogmatic and analytical, another to be divided according to the various jurisdictions treated of, the third to be arranged chronologically for the purpose of tracing the general history of the law (p. 1062). Moreover, he seems to advocate a digest principally on the very reasonable grounds that its publication might be the means of forming a school, that it would prepare the minds of the profession for the form in which law would ultimately be cast, and that in any case it would do no harm. On the other hand, Mr. Sheldon Amos does not appear to expect much from any "scheme of mere digesting" (*"An English Code"* p. xiv.; cf. his *"Science of Law,"* pp. 367, 368), and he quotes with apparent approval expressions from a letter of an anonymous Q.C. to the *Times* of January 2, 1873: "I see no reason whatever in any further mere digest, whether it is to be authoritative

or not. *Why try to digest unwholesome food?*" And we observe the eminent name of the late Mr. Justice Willes among the minority in the Law Digest Commission (we are not sure whether he was not the entire minority) who objected to any preliminary digest, preferring a code at once (*vide* the Commissioners' Second Report). Of the same opinion was Mr. Walker Marshall (in the Essay above referred to, "Jur. Soc. Papers," vol. ii. pp. 500, 501), and, it would appear, Mr. Vaughan Hawkins ("Jur. Soc. Papers," vol. iii. pp. 110-118). What then, it becomes important to inquire, is meant by this distinction, so much relied upon of late years, between a code and a digest? Or rather, is there or ought there to be any real philosophical distinction at all between the two? So far as we can gather from the not very precise way in which the terms are used by most jurists who split hairs on this trivial subject, there is or ought to be none. The words are sometimes used by jurists (and perhaps always popularly) as if a digest were a systematic analysis of the law of a country, or a specified portion of its law, which digest if and when adopted by the Legislature, but not unless or until, becomes a code. If we look, for instance, to a popular book of reference, such as the "Penny Encyclopædia," we find this to be the distinction drawn (as it is also by Best, "Jur. Soc. Papers," vol. i. pp. 210 *seq.*). If on the other hand we refer to a more philosophical dictionary, such as the "Dictionnaire Universel," we find in its most extreme form the opposite kind of distinction,—that which disregards altogether (and very properly) the unessential and non-constitutive element of governmental sanction, and adopts as the *differentia* the element of axiomatic and abstract form. In this view, all the authorities for and sources of the law of the country, or of some specified department thereof, when logically divided and distributed under their several heads and branches, together constitute a digest: when the writings and *ipsissima verba* of the jurists, judges, statutes, and the like are further reduced to abstract propositions, but not till then, the digest becomes a code. This is the view of Mr. Holland, who makes a very great point of the distinction (see "Form of Law," pp. 17, 18, 55), owing to a perhaps excessive reverence for an assimilation of all the learning of the Roman jurists, which of course strongly suggests the idea that there is great advantage to be derived from assigning in theory separate meanings to the two terms, and acting in practice as if they represented two distinct things. (See the Essay of Vaughan Hawkins, "Jur. Soc. Papers," vol. iii. pp. 110, 111, who takes much the same line). According to this theory, the Pandects of the Romans constituted a digest of what we may roughly describe as their Common Law, and the Codes of what we may denominate

their Statute Law, and neither the one nor the other were ever strictly codified ; while the Napoleonic Code, the Anglo-Indian Evidence Act, the Bills of Exchange Act, 1882, the Municipal Corporation Act, 1882, and the Criminal Code Bill, are all alike codes—the first of the whole body of the law of a country, the second of a single department, the third both of Common Law and Statute, the fourth of Statute Law only, and all the first four sanctioned by the Legislature, but the last not. According to the other and less scientific view, the carefully and analytically arranged Criminal Code Bill is a digest, and so also is Fisher's Digest of the Common Law ; but the loose collection of imperial constitutions and of the *ipsissima verba* of particular mandates strung together in most "admired disorder," called the Codex Gregorianus, was a code ; or, again (to show in a still more marked manner the absurd and unphilosophical character of the distinction) Sir J. Stephen's "Digest of Evidence" is a digest, but the Evidence Act of India, which as the author himself states (Introd. p. iii.) is arranged on exactly the same plan, and even uses (save for the small differences necessary to adapt it to India) the same words, is a code. It will be remarked, and perhaps objected, that Sir J. Stephen and Fisher have themselves called their respective works "Digests:" but we do not dispute that the distinction has unhappily become a popular one, and that it is hazardous for any author to discard popular terminology on his title-page. What we say is, that the distinction is ludicrously unscientific ; and that there is nothing in the etymology of the words, or in the reason of the thing, to support it. Neither is the other and more philosophical classification any more satisfying to the demands of accurate logic. Taking Mr. Holland's own language in expounding the distinction—and he is by far the ablest exponent of this theory—we can discover no difference of kind, but only one of degree, between a digest and a code. A digest, as explained by him, appears to us nothing more than an imperfect code—or a half-digested, half-codified thing,—a semi-analytical exposition of law on its way to become a code. He calls it in plain terms, in one passage, "an incomplete code," and in another compares it to a statue with the arms hewed out, but the fingers not yet separated. A boy is an incomplete man, and a sapling an incomplete tree, but we do not class them as distinct species. The term "code," indeed, has no etymology even faintly suggestive of its conventionally acquired meaning ; and Justinian and Napoleon have a good deal to answer for in introducing this word into the respectable society of such expressions as digest—which does at least import the element of logical analysis and distribution, or even Pandects, which again conveys the idea of the "all-com-

prehensive" element, not indeed necessary, in our view, to a code, but in fact belonging to most existing codes. If, however, this meaningless locution cannot be altogether discarded, we would at any rate use it as convertible with the term "digest," and call every body of national law, or any department of the same, when reduced into the form of abstract propositions or articles logically arranged under heads, a code or digest indifferently, whether sanctioned by the Legislature of the country or not; while every draft which has not reached the ultimate stage of boiling down, and has not been reduced to its simplest terms, but merely ranges side by side extracts from authorities and *fontes juris* under heads,—this we would style a textbook, a handbook, a compendium—anything but a code or digest, which it emphatically is not; though of course it soon may become so.

Now again has the term "Code" any scientific claim to be appropriated to the idea of a scheme embodying the *whole* or substantially the whole law of a country; in our view the "Bills of Exchange Act, 1882," is as much a code of what it purports to codify as the Napoleonic Code is of the whole French Law, and a great deal more a code than the Roman Digest or the Codex Vetus. We would reserve the little used term "Pandects" (which has a distinct etymological propriety of its own, being the Greek equivalent of Bentham's "all-comprehensive") for that species of the genus code which purports to embrace the entire jurisprudence of a nation. This being our theory as to the proper terminology of the subject, it will hardly be necessary to add that we by no means agree with those jurists, lauded by Mr. Holland, whose views were adopted (with some reluctance, we may venture to believe) by Lord Westbury in view of practical exigencies, and resulted eventually in the issuing of the Law Digest Commission. We by no means think that a digest is any necessary preliminary to a code, or that the public would be benefited by or interested in seeing a code in a period of gestation,—an embryonic monster struggling to the birth,—any more than any one who has ordered the execution of a work of art wishes to have it by him first for several years in a half-finished state, with a possibility, moreover, of its never being finished at all; or than any one would care to receive from a bookseller, instead of a book, the first rude illegible draft of the author. If the public wants any alteration of the form of the existing law, it is a code that they want, and nothing else: how many experimental digests or other preliminary stages may first of all have to be gone through prior to its publication in completed form, in no way concerns them. Would the Society of Bankers, wanting as they did a code for their daily use,

have been content to be put off with a draft (even if it had received or was to receive legislative sanction), after the model of the Roman Digest, containing a series of extracts and wordy *dicta* from the judgments of the courts? A man wishes his pig turned into sausages: he does not want to see the process half-way, or rather does not want to receive for his money something which is neither the pig that he had before nor the sausage that he wants. In this REVIEW for April, 1862, a writer of an article on the subject of codification says, "we consider a preliminary digest would be a good thing, but a preliminary code a better" (p. 466). We go much further than this; we say that the public is entitled to demand a code or nothing, and does not want and would scarcely bestow a thought upon either a preliminary digest or a preliminary code, or any other preliminary. Preliminaries, especially in this country, act as stop-gaps, and tend to keep out anything final and substantial. If the time is not ripe for a code of all the law, as Lord Westbury said, or of any given portion of the law, then let us keep as we are. Not that we are opposed to any quantity of preliminary digests or codes, specimen drafts, and the like, to be compiled for the satisfaction of the authors or the instruction of students (the whole of this essay, indeed, has implied the contrary); let Mr. Holland's preliminary stages* by all means be observed by the experimenters, but *ne coram populo*:—let the experiments be conducted behind the scenes; the public only wants the result; and certainly no public money ought to be expended on what, when finished, will be *ex vi termini* incomplete and unfit for immediate use.†

Let us then have a code or nothing. We now come to an even more important question: must we have the *whole* law (save the *leges fugitivæ* or *erraticæ*, as Bacon calls them)—that is, the whole living law of the country codified, if any; or may we be content with the codification of severable portions of it by instalments as required? In opposition, we regret to say, to the views which have been most strongly advocated of late by those jurists who have handled the question, we believe not only that we may fairly be contented with such codified sections, as demanded, but that to codify by instalments is, under existing circumstances, and the bulk of the English law having reached the dimensions which it has, infinitely more feasible and for this

* In the case of statute-codification, he mentions four, Expurgation, Sifting, Digesting, and Consolidating ("Form of Law," pp. 60–64).

† The ten years' pitifully fruitless labour of the Digest Commissioners of 1867 cost the country £37,000. Even if a Digest had been compiled, which it was not, and had then been made law as it stood, which was not even contemplated, this £37,000 would still in our view have been so much wasted money.

country at this time preferable in every way to wholesale codification. That such is our view will have been gathered from incidental remarks in the course of this inquiry. We would now say a few words more expressly on the subject before passing on. It sounds, no doubt, extremely plausible at the first blush to say, "settle your scheme of distribution before you distribute the parts; have one prevailing mind and several subordinates to work out in detail the method of that prevailing mind; do not allow divided counsels to prevail; do not let one man work in ignorance of the plan of his fellow-workers;"—and then we have the usual misleading analogies of an army and a captain, and the like, brought in to back up the irrelevant platitudes. Mr. Sheldon Amos, the strongest advocate for this view, as Mr. Holland is for the theory of an experimental digest, wishes for no codification other than that of the whole law, and, as an indispensable preliminary thereto, suggests the devising of "a scientific system compelling all the heterogeneous elements of existing law to enter into compartments juridically mapped out" ("An English Code," &c., p. 97); for which, we presume, the controlling chief and obedient ministers, or, in other words, the (in our opinion) utterly discredited, hopelessly inadequate, and ruinously expensive machinery of a Commission would be requisite (pp. 3, 4, 8, 9). Except for purposes connected with the consolidation of national unity (purposes other than those proper to a code),—the effect of which on the seemingly systematizing legislation of certain continental countries no one has more clearly explained than Mr. Amos himself,—we cannot understand the advantage of, much less the necessity for, this costly "juridical map." Why should we wait for an "all-comprehensive code," or Pandects, before codifying some perfectly severable section of English law lying ready to our hand, complete in itself, obviously bound to find an individual place of its own in any scheme of general classification now in existence or hereafter to be adopted, and one, perhaps, the systematization of which may be vehemently called for in the interests either of the general public (such a branch, for instance, as the Criminal Law), or of some important class (such as Patent Law, Companies Law, or the law relating to Negotiable Instruments)? Other countries have codified separately, and in many cases at very long intervals, such large divisions as Criminal Law, Civil Law, Commercial Law, the Law of Procedure, and the Law of Evidence. To this extent they have not waited for an absolutely "all-comprehensive" scheme, but have codified these divisions as required, in their order of urgency, beginning in nearly every case (except France) with the Penal Code. If the principle of "the whole before the parts" is thrown over

in respect of these substantial divisions, why not in respect of yet smaller divisions and subdivisions, provided the latter be really capable of easy detachment the one from the other? Even Bentham, strenuous advocate for an "all-comprehensive" code though he is, has, after all his advocacy, in the specimens with which he has furnished us, followed the continental model, in that he has not sketched out even by titles, like Mr. Amos, the area of a code of the entire Pannomion, as he calls it; but has either himself drafted, or announced as proper to be framed separately if not successively, distinct codes embracing distinct, though widely extended, subject-matters.* So, too, the Criminal Code Bill of this country has been, and is, very much nearer receiving legislative authority than any draft code to embrace the totality of our laws has been, or is ever likely to be. In short, there is no instance of a really "all-comprehensive" code, either as the actually adopted law of any country, or even as an experimental draft in the works of any theorist, for Mr. Amos has only worked out a scheme of titles. However, we suppose that no one but Mr. Amos, who is perfectly consistent throughout in his views on this subject, would contend that such large departments as we have mentioned might not, or indeed ought not to, be codified separately. Nor do we, on the other hand, for a moment suggest that any portions (small or large) of English law should be codified separately except such as are clearly severable, and for all practical purposes—no two branches of law can be absolutely and ideally so—mutually exclusive; and we further concede, or rather contend, that to the extent to which they are mutually exclusive, cross-references, or, better still, repetitions *in ipsissimis verbis*, should be freely introduced. For example, though a Civil, a Commercial, and a Criminal Code could be separately framed; though we might further have separate codes of Constitutional, and even (so far as it may be

* They are enumerated as follows:—Penal, Civil, Political, Procedure, International, Ecclesiastical, Military, and Maritime (Part ix. pp. 199 *seq.*), to which he elsewhere adds a Constitutional Code (Part vii. pp. 269 *seq.*). In fact, Bentham's "all-comprehensive" code is "all-comprehensive" only in the sense that it is intended to leave no uncoded matter existing outside itself; it is not "complete" in the sense in which Mr. Amos understands the term. In one place Bentham says that "a code of laws is like a vast forest, the more it is divided the better it is known." This expression, however, taken by itself, might possibly apply either to the mode of constructing a code, or to the mode of acquiring a knowledge of it when constructed; not so the following:—"A code of laws prepared upon the best plan, and reduced to the smallest dimensions, will always be too large to be committed to the memory entire; hence the necessity of separating into distinct codes those parts which are intended for the use of particular classes, who have need to be more particularly acquainted with one part of the law than another" (Part ix. p. 208).

adopted into the law of the land) of International Law; and though further a Real Property Code might coexist with and apart from a Personal Property Code: yet, on the other hand, we would not have those parts of law which proceed from various sources, and are distinguishable on no other *fundamentum divisionis*, kept asunder, but only those which are severable in extent. Let subjects, not elements, be severed.* Let there be

* It is observable that the principles of code-division which give no trouble to the advocates for codification by instalments are exceedingly embarrassing to those who would have a "juridical map" settled and determined before anything else is done. Thus Mr. Sheldon Amos—as we might expect—devotes very considerable space to a consideration of the difficulties attendant upon the various possible orders of topics, modes of distributing details, &c. &c. ["An English Code," &c., pp. 136 *seq.*] He anxiously debates, for example, whether the different matters should be arranged according to a classification of rights or a classification of duties (pp. 39 *seq.*), and which are the most suitable compartments in the "juridical map" to be assigned to Common Law and Equity respectively (p. 16). Mr. Vaughan Hawkins ("Juridical Society's Papers," vol. iii. pp. 125, 126) equally recognizes the great difficulties placed in the way of *wholesale* codification by the more or less independent co-existence of these two factors and sources of law. Mr. Holland ("Form of Law," p. 23) finds a way of escape by means of his own particular theory of the preliminary digest. He recommends that a digest of each be made, and then, on the two being set down side by side, the office of every draft code—namely, to expose glaring antinomies—would be useful in inviting or rather compelling their ultimate fusion. The same difficulty arises in Mr. Amos's mind with respect to Common Law on the one hand and Statute Law on the other (pp. 10 *seq.*), and is met by Mr. Holland with (*mutatis mutandis*) a suggestion of the same procedure by way of remedy or preventive—a procedure also recommended at a much earlier date by Bacon ("De Augm." Bk. viii. Aph. 61, cited above)—to be followed by the fusion of the Statute Digest and the Common Law Digest, if and when thought expedient, into one code; thereby doing, Mr. Holland says, what the Romans failed to do, unless the inadequate consolidation, in the sixty books of the "Basilica," of the Codes and the Pandects by the Emperor Leo (three centuries after Justinian) for the Eastern Empire may be considered such. Again, to the codifier and "surveyor" of the whole field of law on such an uncompromising scale as Mr. Amos, not only do the questions of the proper distribution of Real and of Personal Property present obstacles at the threshold ("An English Code," p. 23), but so does the question of the proper place to be given up to a codified statement of Commercial Law in the general scheme, and whether, indeed, it should be allowed a special rank and position or no; as also a similar question in relation to constitutional and public law. Even the place of Criminal Law, so generally agreed by all nations in modern times to be worthy of and suited for independent codification, has to be anxiously considered with reference to the juridical map. And, after all, the laws relating respectively to Crimes, to Procedure, and to the Constitution, indeed all the severable provinces (not interdependent sources) of law as we have described them, might just as well be taken out of Mr. Amos's general scheme (for all that we can see) and start by themselves, irrespective of any *a priori* analysis of titles, as the professedly independent Penal, Procedure, Constitutional, and other codes of Bentham. Just as these apportionments of departments of law cause such embarrassment to Mr. Amos, and to those who follow him, so with corresponding alacrity

no line of demarcation between Common Law and Equity, or between Statute Law and Common Law ; but let the whole of the Statute, the Common Law, and the Equity doctrines (we might even add the rules of Procedure and of Evidence, if any)* appertaining to any department be consolidated and codified. There is no desire to unwind interwoven threads, but only to sever what is severable. Consequently, it must be admitted that the difficulties as to Common Law and Equity, for instance, which pressed upon Mr. Sheldon Amos also press upon us, and are common to either mode of codification. They arise from a peculiarity of the English law, from which no scheme of codification can escape ; though it is fortunate for both wholesale codifiers and codifiers in detail that since Mr. Amos wrote his treatise a theoretical fusion of law and equity has taken place (in virtue of the Judicature Acts), and that on questions of substantive law (except as to certain specified matters relegated exclusively to the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice) the doctrines of equity are in all courts and at all times to prevail over those of the Common Law ; while even in matters of procedure there has been considerable assimilation. We no longer hear the attacks of lawyers such as Selden ("Table Talk," p. 49, Sangers's edition) on the "roguish thing ;" and the well-known jest, that "equity follows the law and never finds it," has now lost something of its old significance.

are they seized upon by opponents of all codification, such as W. M. Best, who are only too glad to identify the cause with such extreme views, and to ask—"How will you arrange your Statute Law and your Common Law ? Your Common Law and your Equity ? Where will your Criminal Law and your Evidence come in ? What will you do with Real Property ? Shall you codify Constitutional Law, and if so, where will you place it in the entire Code ?" All these questions are put, and difficulties urged, with the confident air of a man who feels that an advocate for uncompromising codification of everything will find it no easy task to answer the one or to remove the other.

* Whether there be separate codes of the general rules of Evidence and Procedure, or the rules of both be apportioned to the several codified departments to which they relate, or (better still) separate codes be framed and also the rules of such codes severally applicable to the various departmental codes be repeated therein or incorporated by reference, we regard as a matter of comparative indifference. Bacon, when considering the project of uniting the laws of England and Scotland in one body, thought it expedient in the first instance to see exactly what the law of each country was. For his own convenience apparently, and for the guidance of the King, he arranged, in a systematic and all but strictly codified shape, the law of England as to capital offences divided into four branches—Treason, Misprision of Treason, Petit Treason, Felony. The mode of arrangement and distribution is well worth looking into, as an excellent specimen of scientific codification, though on a very small scale ; but we particularly refer to it here, because, after articles on the substantive law of each of the above-mentioned four divisions, he appends the procedure-law severally relating thereto, under the titles of "Punishment," "Trial," and "Proceedings."

Though nineteen years ago a Westminster Reviewer (April, 1865, p. 455) declared, with a confidence well-grounded at that time, that the fusion of the two was impossible, we have now seen it accomplished to a large extent by the Judicature Acts on the one hand, and the recently issued Rules of the Supreme Court, 1883, on the other, both as to substance and as to procedure. It would now, therefore, be a much easier task to codify the fused legal-equitable mass whether of the whole domain or of separable provinces of our law.

Moreover, since Professor Amos wrote, our argument in favour of separate codes has been supported by the logic of facts. We have had in this country within the last five years not only the Criminal Code Bill, and the Rules of the Supreme Court, 1883, which (though the latter title is less suggestive of the form of the contents than the former) are in fact strict codes of the Criminal Law and the Proceedure Law of the nation ; but, as already stated, we have also had in the Municipal Corporations Act and the Bills of Exchange Act, examples of codification on a much smaller scale than the above somewhat palpably independent departments. And, as will have been gathered from the foregoing remarks, our view is that codification can be most conveniently,—and, in order to meet most successfully the wants of the public, ought rather to be applied to such lesser sections of the law as, say, the Law of Patents, of Defamation, of Copyright, of Easements, of Mortgages, and the like, than to such larger departments, as, for instance, Real Property. Most conveniently, because the machinery for its construction is vastly less expensive ; because the bulk of the codified matter is less ; and because in the less ambitious attempt the Legislature is not committed to a map, plan, or scheme on a gigantic scale which may afterwards (as has resulted in France, New York, and in hosts of other instances) prove utterly vicious and abortive. And with the greatest advantage to the public, and in greatest accord with their wishes,—because any given class or section of the public only desires (if any) the codification of that portion of the law which more immediately affects themselves, whereas the *whole* community would never be sufficiently interested in the codification of the *whole* law in the manner in which the Society of Bankers, for instance, demanded the systematization of their special branch. A word or two as to these advantages severally.

On the question of bulk, it must be remembered that in our view a proper and really complete code of the totality of English law would be of a size of which nobody drawing a mere juridical map of titles, certainly no person who has not studied the question, can have any conception. This alone, we think, if brought home to even an ardent advocate of wholesale systematization,

might dispose him to content himself with codifying piece by piece, each piece of course constituting a logical whole in itself, and containing so much law as may need this treatment from time to time, and no more. Then as to the danger of the larger enterprise committing a nation to a possibly vicious method of classification. It is all very well to say that the code could be abrogated and another substituted, if this be discovered to be the case; but nations, we know, are averse to give up a code especially if it is represented as "a conquest and a testimony," and no continental code, vicious in logic as the arrangement of all of them is admitted to be, has yet been surrendered for a better. Consequently,—the scheme of the French Code being so deficient in definition of terms and classification, in the enunciation of primary rules, and in the expositive element generally (Austin, vol. ii. p. 1070),—the Frenchman has to eke out his meagre code by "jurisprudence" commentaries and supplemental codes. We may in this country pray to be delivered from such an "all-comprehensive" scheme—we do not say as that of Mr. Amos, which is really sometimes acute and logical, but as that of Vaughan Hawkins, who requires that the ideal code be arranged "not according to any refined analysis of legal conceptions, but according to subject-matters for which the best textbooks would offer clues" ("Jurid. Soc. Papers," vol. iii. p. 124). Suppose that at the end of the last century a juridical map had been framed on Blackstone's arrangement, incomparably less faulty than either of the two schemes last mentioned, would the English nation have now much reason to be thankful? Or rather would they have so much reason as if, say every five years from that date, a code of some branch of law, such as the law of Negotiable Instruments, had been constructed? In the case of any nation which adopts "Pandects," the scheme on which those Pandects are in the first instance divided becomes in practice indelible. To this extent there is a counsel of prudence to be extracted from Savigny's otherwise untenable objection to which we have already referred; if a nation unfit for codification codifies its entire law on a wrong principle, there is practically no *locus pœnitentiæ*; in the case of separate codes of separate subjects, there is; the Legislature might repeal the Bills of Exchange Act to-morrow without a pang, but it would hardly repeal its entire national code (if such were in existence), and each century and decade of its use would add to its unwholesome vitality. Moreover, the separate codes having been once framed, they could easily at any time afterwards be welded together, on becoming sufficiently numerous, into an "all-comprehensive" code, or (more profitably) into larger codes, and then again into larger, until a code in Mr. Amos's sense might eventually be the result; as, for instance, the various Roman

Codes ultimately grew into the *Codex Vetus*, the *Prætor's* edicts into the *Edictum Perpetuum* in the time of Hadrian, the *Edictum Perpetuum* and the scattered opinions of jurists into the *Pandects*, and finally (in the Eastern Empire) the *Pandects* and the *Codex Vetus* into the "*Basilica*," which was (though not perhaps a good one) a code of the form contemplated. (See Gibbon, vii. 44, 45.) So, too, the separate Anglo-Indian Codes will undoubtedly be welded ultimately in an entire *Corpus Juris*. Why should this therefore not be the last stage instead of the first? The Bills of Exchange Act was none the less acceptable, and will work none the less advantageously, for not having encountered a Commission with a "scientific system" compelling it to take its assigned place in a compartment "juridically mapped out."

And lastly, as to the greater benefit to the community of codification in detail, we may refer to the passage in Bentham, already cited, where he admits that any "all-comprehensive" code must be divided off into smaller codes, by reason not only of the probable bulk of the entire code, but for the convenience of certain classes of the people, to each of whom the particular branch of the law affecting themselves, and that alone, is immediately indispensable. This suggests at once our contention. If directly you get your big code you must at once portion it out into departments to be of any real use, why not begin at the other end, codifying the departments as such codification is found necessary, and afterwards fuse them into a complete code when there is a general demand for it, which we venture to say, under such circumstances, and provided the special codes be issued at reasonable intervals and so as to meet the successive demands, would not be till the Greek Kalends. To any section or class of the community who, getting all the law they want for their daily needs or business in the form of a code or codes, should pine for an all-embracing code because, in the portions not codified, some question might one day arise of importance to themselves, we can only apply the old saying, "*νήπιοι, οὐδ' ἴσασιν ὅσω πλέον ἡμῖν παντός.*" The theory of "the whole before the parts" is in fact, however plausible, essentially unsatisfactory. If we desire to reclaim successive tracts of land, we do not wait for a plan of the whole land that may ultimately be reclaimable before we begin to reclaim any particular portion. Or, to adopt a better analogy, when we have established the laws of a branch of science, such as Heat or Electricity, we do not before accepting or announcing them wait till philosophers have agreed upon the ultimate laws of metaphysics, or of the inter-relation of forces, or of the nature and potency of atoms, nor till it has been determined beyond

question whether electricity shall be classified as a fluid or as a force or as any other mode of molecular action. The laws of the particular phenomena are complete and true in themselves, into whatever compartment of a scientific map they may be ultimately placed. It is not a little remarkable that Mr. Holland (though speaking a great deal of Commissions under one head and other elaborate organizations which would seem to imply the systematic codification of the entire law) when, if we may say so, somewhat off his guard, admits, in relation to Statute Law at least (not being wedded to the theory of "the whole before the parts" to the same extent as Mr. Amos), the principle for which we contend. "Such statutes," he writes, in discussing the Statute-Digest which he proposes ("Form of Law," p. 22), "as upon any conceivable arrangement of the digest, must inevitably be arranged in a book, chapter, or title (as the case may be) by themselves, might be put in hand for consolidation forthwith, without waiting for the publication of a digest" (*i.e.*, a complete digest). And he instances Divorce statutes and the Acts regulating Common-law Procedure as peculiarly admitting of this treatment.* Now extend this principle to Common Law and Equity, and our contention is admitted.

We conclude therefore (1) that no preliminary digest is necessary, but that a code or nothing on any particular subject is wanted; (2) that no Pandects, "all-comprehensive" code, standing commission, or "juridical map" is required, and would be positively pernicious if set on foot; but that special codes, complete in themselves, of all the law (from whatever source derived) appertaining to whatever particular subjects may be considered by particular classes, professions, and other sections of the community as demanding codification, should be so codified as and when the occasions successively arise; and (3) that when the demand arises and it can conveniently be done, without thereby pledging the Legislature to a juristic or other theory or scheme

* Sir J. Stephen also (pp. v.-vii., xxiii.-xxvi. of his "Digest of Criminal Law") seems to look not unfavourably on codification in detail as the most practicable mode for England, at all events, as things stand at present; though it is true that in his recently published "History of Criminal Law" he writes with reference to the Criminal Code—"I would suggest that if (as was proposed in the session of 1882) it is passed into law piecemeal, no one part should come into force till the whole has been completed" (vol. iii. p. 365). But here of course, Criminal Law being itself a department, he is rather speaking of parts of a part, than of parts of the whole. Story advocated detailed codification of the Common Law of Massachusetts ("Miscellaneous Writings," p. 713), and so long ago as 1864, a Quarterly Reviewer (vol. cxvi. pp. 519 *seq.*) expressed his inability to agree with Mr. Wilde (in his address above referred to, and then recently delivered) that this form of codification was in any way undesirable.

of classification which may ultimately prove fallacious, the several small codes may, according to strictly logical principles, be grouped and amalgamated into larger wholes.

Having got so far in our investigation of the practicability of the codification of English law and of the form which it most conveniently may, and most probably will assume in the future, we have yet to consider (in conclusion) certain matters of form and detail usually discussed in connection with the subject, on the assumption that a code of some kind is in this country both possible and desirable.

Bentham has attributed five essential functions to a code : (1) enactive, (2) expositive, (3) ratiocinative, (4) instructional, and (5) exemplificative (Part vi. pp. 412 *seq.*). The third of these alleged characters codifiers of to-day would certainly consider not properly to appertain to any code, and there is much dispute, as we shall see, as to the fifth and as to the policy of instances and examples to illustrate the abstract propositions or articles of the code. The second and fourth are, of course, *incidental* offices of a code, which may be regarded as expositive or as instructional (besides being enactive), according to the point of view from and the purpose for which it is examined. The Roman Digest, which was enactive, was equally expositive and instructional as—indeed, to those who sought instruction from it, more so than—the Institutes which were not professedly enactive, but only educational. Similarly, of course, the recent Bills of Exchange Act can be regarded in either of these two lights, quite as much as the famous “Byles on Bills” and the other textbooks and institutional treatises which it has superseded.

Bentham, however, would have these specific characters of the code to be severally impressed on distinct parts of it : that is to say, he would have an enactive part, an expositive or interpretative part, a ratiocinative part, an instructional or hortatory part, and an exemplificative part, either of the entire code or (in miniature) of each department or article thereof. Let us now see from our own point of view how far these several characters (other than the primary enactive function) can (if at all) be relegated to separate quarters of their own. And first, it is certain that so far as the expositive function of a code may be discharged by apt definitions, such definitions should be relegated to a separate portion either of a comprehensive or of a limited code ; just as, in the case of a statute, the interpretative clause stands by itself, and, when well-drawn, is by no means the least important element in it. Mr. Amos (“An English Code,” pp. 65 *seq.*) appears to require not only an abundance of scientifically framed definitions, but also, in his comprehensive code,—to which alone

they would be strictly referable—rules (collected together in a department of their own) to guide the courts in the interpretation of the substantive provisions of the code—such rules being of course based on the existing common-law doctrines as to the construction of parliamentary enactments contained in the numerous decisions brought together in the works of such writers as Dwaris and Maxwell. But in any code, general or particular, definitions, fixing at the outset in precise words the meaning to be attached throughout to each technical term and juristic idea to be employed, and occupying by themselves a place in the forefront of the entire instrument, are an absolute necessity; as may be seen by comparing the salutary working of the definitions of the Anglo-Indian Codes and the carefully worded interpretation clauses of recent statutes in this country, on the one hand, with the hopeless confusion on the other engendered by the absence of such a department in the French Codes.

But with regard to the ratiocinative or justificatory element, the case is quite different. We may affirm with some confidence that Bentham stands almost alone in his demand for separate slices of explanatory matter to be sandwiched in with each article of the code, with the view of expounding in patriarchal fashion to the intelligent public how the codifier came to express the particular article in the particular form adopted, and generally so as to justify and even apologize for what would thus appear to be considered by its very framer as a *prima facie* nuisance.* Directly comment and justification are introduced, we are let in for all the evils of a commentary, which it is the first office of a code to get rid of; and the slowly acquired and tenaciously maintained habits of English textbook writers and textbook readers would, on such encouragement, manifest themselves once more in the development of the easier and more congenial methods of exposition appropriate to a digest, in Mr. Holland's sense—that is, as we have preferred to call it, a half-codified or half-digested institutional treatise. If the code

* Though it is true that the writer of the article above referred to in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW for April 1862, seems (p. 64) to contemplate a very liberal use of comment and historical disquisition in the body of such a form of a code as he thinks desirable. Such comment, we admit, might be particularly useful, where there is a necessity, in order to the proper understanding of the law, for an historical appreciation of such processes, for instance, as those accompanying the transfer of land. Another writer in this REVIEW for April 1865, advocates the use of "comments or reasons" as a distinctive element in any good code (at pp. 461 and 477); and Mr. Vaughan Hawkins ("Juridical Society's Papers," vol. iii. pp. 111-113) calls the framework of a code, Rules + Examples + Reasons. What place and form in the code the Reasons are to take, he does not say.

is orderly and logical, it will justify itself. Only a bad code would require a running argumentative defence, such as Bentham ("Codification Papers," Part iv. pp. 539, 543 *seq.*) considers not merely desirable, but absolutely indispensable; and of which, moreover, he furnishes some elaborate examples, hardly more convincing than his formal advocacy.

The same may be said of the proposed instructional or hortatory element, in recommending which, as a distinct province (not merely function) of a code, Bentham is again in a minority of one. His picture (Part ix. p. 209) of the "father of a family, without assistance, taking the code in his hand, and teaching it to his children, and thus giving to the precepts of private morality the force and dignity of public morals," is no doubt very idyllic. It recalls memories of the ideal Norwegian pocket-code;" of the *carmen necessarium* spoken of by Meijer—a term applicable in reality to the Twelve Tables of primitive Roman jurisprudence, when those homely statutes, the object of Cicero's so doting admiration, were as yet all the law the young republic was blessed or cursed withal; or again, of the homilies suggested by Plato as proper to accompany, and likely to enlist the affection of his ideal citizens for, the laws which he proposed to provide for them.* But however suitable such homiletic discourses may be for cities and small States, such as the πόλις of Pericles, Plato, and Aristotle, or for young republics whose law is hardly as yet divorced from their religion, or in primitive codes such as the Twelve Tables; for the large commercial States of the present day, and in nineteenth-century codes, hortatory matter, as part of the code, is obviously quite out of the question, and a mere Benthamic vision.

As to the last (the exemplificative) function of the code, there is real and considerable difference of opinion. On the policy of appending to each rule or principle examples and hypothetical cases (whether based or not on the circumstances of previous decisions), by way of fixing or illustrating the rule, there may very well be, and are, two opposite views. On the one hand, it

* See "The Laws," and Grote's "Plato," vol. iii. pp. 351-353. The function of these preambles, prologues, or præms, as Plato calls them, to be prefixed to his ideal scheme of laws was twofold: (1) they were to appeal to the reason, and set forth persuasively the advantages of the law (Bentham's ratiocinative element, just referred to), but (2) also, and even more emphatically, they were to appeal to the emotions, and assume a rhetorical guise. To this latter office of the introductory homily, Plato attached the greatest importance. Cicero ("De Legibus," ii. 6), in speaking of these Platonic preambles, mentions those of Charondas and Zaleucus as being historical instances of what would otherwise seem a mere philosopher's dream. But in this he was deceived. The preambles to the laws of Charondas and Zaleucus were not genuine, but invented after the Platonic model by a later hand.

may be urged in its favour that, in order to be understood and appreciated, the hard abstractness of a law requires to be brought into some relation with the actual affairs of life; that a proposition must be illustrated, if it is "to speak a familiar language;" that a hundred men can grasp a specific hypothetical case for one who can see the bearings and consequences of an axiomatic rule; and that such examples and instances will supply the rule with just that flexibility and adaptability to novel circumstances, of which the abolition of the authority of judicial decisions will, as is alleged by the opponents of English codification, tend to deprive our laws. Mr. Pollock, for instance ("Digest of Partnership," Introd. p. viii.), speaks of this device as "combining the virtues of general enactments with those of specific decisions," and freely employs it in his own Digest; while Mr. Vaughan Hawkins, as we have seen, regards it as one of the *differentiæ* of a code.* On the other side, it is contended that examples will have an exactly opposite effect, and will tend to limit and confine, rather than to expand and explain, the law enunciated in the corresponding proposition. The danger is that the illustrations will be considered not so much in the light of those "mere extracts fished up from the well of examples, of which Bacon speaks," as in the light of metes and bounds. "Illustrations," says Mr. Sheldon Amos ("An English Code," &c., p. 65), "unless sparsely used and wisely chosen, are always in danger of becoming mere cases. In this aspect, instead of merely indicating the reach of the law, and guarding it against certain special deviations, they are taken as alone expressing the exact scope of the law, and as limiting it in every direction." And this danger, as Mr. Pollock very sensibly points out, is more serious in a community such as ours—accustomed to case-law, and inheriting all the traditions which that mode of declaring and unfolding legal principles involves, than in countries, such as France or even India, where no such practice or custom has existed, or has existed to the same extent.†

In discussing the policy of examples, we are in this advan-

* So also the writer of the article in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW for April, 1865, to which we have already alluded, contends that a code should not be a "dry and colourless collection of formulæ," but "a clear statement of principles expounded and explained by comment and example" (p. 447). Again (p. 461), "a good code should in our view comprise three elements—rules, illustrative cases, and comments or reasons." And the illustrative cases, it is further suggested, should not only be founded on reported decisions, but should, where need arises, include imaginary circumstances (as in the Roman Digest), with a view to anticipate, and secure as much finality as the nature of the case admits of.

† Cf. Montagu's "Bacon," vol. xiii. p. 141, and *The Jurist* (New Series), vol. ix. p. 341.

tageous position, that they are to be seen in actual working at the present time. Even, however, in the case of the *Anglo-Indian Codes*, to which of course we refer (and in which, as above pointed out, the historical and other conditions of codification were peculiarly favourable), it was thought necessary, at first at any rate, to guard against any idea that such illustrative cases operated to define or restrain the language of the principles which they were introduced to exemplify. The framers of the Indian Penal Code, for instance, in a letter addressed to the Governor-General in Council (October 14, 1837), when dealing with this matter, explain that "the illustrations make nothing law which would not be law without them. They only exhibit the law in full action, and show what its effect will be in the events of common life." Afterwards, however, when the danger thus guarded against was discovered to be, or in the course of events actually became, insignificant, a bolder reliance was placed on these illustrations, and in the case of the Contract Code of 1866, the Commissioners declare that they are "not merely examples of the law in operation, but the law itself, showing by examples what it is." Sir James Stephen, who has given a great deal of attention to this question, states ("Digest of Evidence," p. iv.) that—

This Bill [that is, the Law of Evidence Code Bill, the foundation, as above stated, of the textbook] contained a certain number of illustrations, and Lord Coleridge's personal opinion was in their favour, though he had doubts as to the possibility of making them acceptable to Parliament. In the book I have much increased the number of the illustrations, and I have, in nearly every instance, taken cases actually decided by the courts for this purpose. In a few instances, I have invented illustrations to suit my own purposes, but I have done so only in cases in which the practice of the courts is too well ascertained to be questioned. I think that illustrations might be used with advantage in Acts of Parliament, though I am aware that others take a different view; but, be this as it may, their use in a treatise cannot be disputed, as they not only bring into clearer light the meaning of abstract generalities, but are, in many cases, themselves the authorities from which rules and principles must be deduced."

In accordance with the views here expressed, several of the more recent textbooks have been written in the form of numbered propositions, followed by examples based on decided cases (imaginary cases have generally been thought dangerous). As instances we may refer to such books as Mr. Pollock's "*Digest of Partnership*" (an admirable specimen of this method). Treatises—and those by no means the least deserving of consideration—have even been written in this form on subjects apparently

so fluid and so little lending themselves to codifying treatment, as International Law (*e.g.*, Mr. Dudley Field's excellent work).

By examining the illustrations in Sir J. Stephen's "Digest of Evidence," the reader may judge for himself what amount of real danger there is of examples coming gradually to be regarded in the light of limitations on, or extensions of, the scope of the principles of law to which they relate. Bentham says very wisely, in speaking of these examples ("View of a Complete Code of Laws," ch. xxxiv.), that "it should be directed" (*i.e.*, as a specific provision to be inserted in the body of the code) "that the text of the law should be the standard of the law. In judging whether a given case falls within the law, the text ought to be kept principally in view, the examples which may be given being designed only to explain, not to *restrain*, the purport of the law." This, however, describes what ought to be; but in estimating the probable working and feasibility of an English Code, we must consider what (taking into consideration the habits and traditions of the English juristical mind) is likely to be; and we cannot help thinking that, notwithstanding the insertion of any such express provision in the code as Bentham suggests, the tendency would be to (unconsciously perhaps) treat the illustrations as restraining the effect of the propositions. However clearly the code itself might on the face of it declare that the examples (though valid deductions from rules to which they are attached, and, as such, parts of the code as binding as any of the articles of the code) do not purport to comprise a thousandth part of all the deductions that might be similarly drawn; and that in every case that may arise it is the rule which must in the last resort be applied to the individual circumstances:—yet counsel arguing, and judges deciding, will not be restricted by any express enactment from looking at the words of an article in their own way, and from their own point of view; and this point of view and attitude of mind, would, we cannot but think, be largely formed or influenced by the co-existence of definite examples with flexible rules; it would be the old story of the iron vessels breaking the earthenware; the definite examples would be too much for the flexible rules. At any rate, if examples we are to have, we think it would almost be better to boldly recognize them as of binding effect, and to set them down after a method by the use of which the conferring absolute validity upon them would do the least possible harm: that is to say, to each proposition might be attached, first, an example of the proposition, intended to have no limiting force, and then such illustrations as would mark the extreme pegs or *termini*, so to speak, enclosing the area covered by the rule—founded on

the cases in which the courts have stretched the rule to its utmost bounds. The student of the code would then know exactly how the law stands ; any case equivalent to, or less strong than these extreme or "glaring" instances (as Bacon would call them) would be well within the rule : anything beyond this would not.

As to the style and what we may call the literary element in the code, most advocates of codification agree in the abstract on the two essentials—viz., brevity and perspicuity of expression. From Bacon to Bentham redundancy and prolixity on the one hand, and obscurity in the use of needlessly technical terms on the other, have been pointed out as the two rocks to be avoided in a code intended to be popular, but at the same time scientific and exact. But as to what amount of brevity is consistent with lucidity, and again as to the precise point at which a use of plain and popular language and a neglect of terms of art will involve unphilosophical and therefore ultimately unintelligible exposition, the doctors differ. Bentham, for instance (Part ix. pp. 207–210, ch. xxxiii., "View of a Complete Code of Law"), impressed with the Horatian "*quicquid præcipies, esto brevis*," demands a perhaps excessive pruning of words. A code fashioned on his principles, judging from the specimens which he has left us, would probably exhibit the obscurity which may arise from brevity quite as much as from prolixity. Bentham appears to have somewhat forgotten that other Horatian sentence, "*brevis esse laboro, obscurus fio*." Bacon here, as in so many other instances, has supplied the proper qualifications and really said the last word on the subject. Though he warns against verbosity and loquacity ("*De Augm. Scient.*," Bk. viii. Aph. 65 and 66), he is careful immediately to explain in an admirable Aphorism (67) that he is equally anxious that an excessive straining to attain an impossible degree of terseness should be avoided. "Not that," he writes, "I therefore approve of a too concise and affected brevity . . . especially in these times ;" and he concludes, "we must therefore consider a mean and look out for a well-defined generality of words ; which though it does not attempt to express all the cases comprehended, yet excludes with sufficient clearness the cases not comprehended." On one point, however, we may quite sympathize with Bentham, and that is, that no controversial or argumentative matter should for an instant be permitted to find a place in the code, still less when, as in Cocceii's Code Frederic (severely and justly criticized by Bentham on this account), the matter so introduced is made a vehicle for the display of personal feeling or prejudice.* "*Leges non decet esse*

* In the Code Frederic, as Bentham points out (Part ix. p. 206), such irrelevant phrases are introduced as "it has been pretended without foundation, but we will and decree that . . . &c."

disputantes" is a maxim which Bentham cites with approval, and Bacon in the Aphorism (No. 68) succeeding that last cited, protests equally against the particular form of controversial garrulity prevalent in the drafting of the statutes of his day, and desires, for instance, the preambles of Acts of Parliament to be abolished altogether or cut down, and all prefatory matter to be as far as possible avoided. But how Bentham, objecting (justly as we think) to this form of loquacity, can consistently advocate a running ratiocinative justification of the articles of the code, is not easy to understand; for the reasoning element, if not necessarily involving concurrent polemical matter, is in all events the progenitor of controversy in one shape or another. A code, like the judge in the anecdote, which gives its reasons, though what it prescribes is plain enough, invites disputes and weakens its own authority.

As to plainness again, Bentham wishes the code "to speak a language familiar to everybody." This, we emphatically think, so far as it means that popular terms should be used, is glaringly impracticable. A good code will, on the contrary, use a great many terms of art, judiciously and scientifically chosen of course. We distinctly deny the value of Bentham's precept (Part ix. p. 209; cf. pp. 188 *seq.*, "on Nomenclature") "not to put into a code of laws any other legal terms than such as are familiar to the people"—a precept which, by the way, is grossly violated by Bentham himself in the unfinished specimens of codes which he has left us, and which abound in monstrously inelegant, and often not particularly expressive, *sesquipedalia verba*. Provided that scrupulous care be taken that throughout the codes the same sense be always attached to the same term, we think that scientific though unfamiliar terminology is not only advisable but essential. Where scientific terms are used loosely and applied in various senses of course they are useless; but it is the great value of such terms that, not being expressions "of the market-place," representing promiscuously all sorts of ideas in different connections, but being newly invented, and generally from dead languages, they are capable of having a definite meaning attached to them once for all, and of rigidly preserving that meaning. Not so, where popular terms are used; the New York Code, which has attempted to make a large use of them, has failed (as Mr. Amos has pointed out), even in the case of such an important root-term as "property," to fix and preserve a single definite meaning; but at least three or four more or less popular senses are ascribed to the word in different parts of the code, whereby inextricable confusion results. It cannot be denied, of course, that (at all events in criminal law, where the ideas dealt with are capable of simpler nomenclature) it is

possible to have a code both scientific and self-consistent on the one hand, and using in the main popular language on the other (provided the above fixity of meaning be secured); as indeed the admirable Code of Criminal Law prepared for the State of Louisiana by Mr. Livingston (so warmly and justly praised by Sir H. Maine) sufficiently shows. It will be found, however, that as a general rule a certain measure of scientific terminology tends to brevity as well as intelligibility, while any attempt to treat scientific problems without using scientific weapons must ultimately involve both diffuseness and obscurity; witness the success in these respects of the Anglo-Indian Codes and the text-book digests of Sir J. Stephen and his school, when contrasted with the corresponding failure of the New York Code.*

So much then for what Bentham calls *Nomography*, dealing with the form and framework of law, as distinct from the *Pan-nomion* ("a vile phrase") dealing with the matter of law. Now a word on the methods by which in this country the new form should be impressed on the old matter, and on the most suitable devices for first the preparation, and then the preservation, of such a form; or, to adopt an engineering expression, on the machinery for "construction and maintenance" of codes and codified matter.

And here if the principle, which we have advocated, of successive codification of limited areas be adopted, there is little to be said on this point. All the machinery required for the execution of such pieces of work is (1) a profession, trade, or other class of persons sufficiently interested to demand a systematic and intelligible reproduction, for their use and information, of the branch of law appertaining to their profession, trade, art, or other common class-interest: (2) a competent draftsman or codifier to draft the bill, and to receive the instructions of such class or society: (3) a member of Parliament to introduce such a Bill: (4) other members of Parliament to support it. If, on the other hand, a comprehensive codification of the whole of the law is contemplated, then we require not only all the above elements, but several in addition; in fact, when the principle of any such general scheme is adopted by Parliament, the difficulties, the expense, and the delays—as the past history of attempted codification amply proves—are only just beginning. It is then that that very costly engine, the Commission, comes upon the scene, and having once been exorcised, like the devil, is not easily

* On this subject of the drafting and composition of enactments, whether of particular statutes or of a code—for the same principles apply to each—see Bentham (Part ix. pp. 233–283), "Essay on Nomography, or the Art of Inditing Laws," and a more recent work by Mr. Coode (a member of one of the Commissions above referred to) on "Legislative Expression."

dismissed. Then also it is that those very deep dives down into the public purse become necessary, accompanied by secular epochs of parturition resulting too often in the birth of the "ridiculous mouse" of the adage. It is this vast sacrifice of public time and money which Sir Matthew Hale, even as long ago as the seventeenth century, thought that only the "command of a prince" could set on foot or justify, and which would be rendered entirely unnecessary by the method of codifying specific portions of English law, providing in each instance by means of private enterprise, such as Sir J. Stephen recommends, just what it is wanted at any given time by some section of the community, and no more. Even Mr. Sheldon Amos's estimate of the probable expense of a complete code, which (judging from the recent history of Committees and Commissions, and also perhaps on his own principle of calculation) seems decidedly too low, is £250,000. The method of organization which he proposes ("An English Code," pp. 79-86) is after this fashion: first, the inevitable ruling body to devise the general scheme, and direct the subordinates who are to codify the branches in conformity to such scheme; three Chief Commissioners to constitute the ruling body, and twelve "lesser lights" or Assistant-Commissioners to codify the six proposed main divisions of the entire body of the law. The Commission is to sit for five years "*at first*," as Mr Amos (himself once a member of such a Commission) ominously suggests. The three Chief Commissioners are to have £5,000 a year each; this becomes £75,000 for five years; add a further honorarium of £10,000 to each, in accordance with Mr. Amos's suggestion, and we have another £30,000. The twelve Assistant-Commissioners are to have £1,000 a year each; this for five years becomes £60,000. We have already got as far as £165,000, apart altogether from the cost of "secretaries, clerks, copyists, and officers," which Mr. Amos requires to be supplied in lordly abundance. We may take it that these gentlemen would eat up more than the remaining £85,000 for the five years (that is, at the rate of £17,000 a year). But then does any one suppose for one moment that in five years any Commission of fifteen members in all would have *effectually* codified a twentieth part of the entire body of English law, even if much brisker in their work than Commissions have usually found it convenient to be? On Mr. Amos's own showing the organization demanded for codification in bulk would indeed be, in point of time and expense at any rate, to use Bacon's phrase, a *heroicum opus*. Bentham's notion of the machinery capable of constructing an "all-comprehensive" code is much simpler, and far less calculated to lead to expense; but then, like so many of Bentham's

simple schemes, it is, though abounding in useful suggestions, as a whole utterly impracticable and opposed to the known facts of human nature and experience. The requisites of such an organization are laid down by him as follows (Part iv. p. 545-564, "Codification Papers"): (1) *it must be compiled by not more than one hand*: the one hand would take a century to do his work properly, and if he were to announce his "all-comprehensive" code within any much shorter period he would be a self-proclaimed quack: it is true that Livingston did an excellent code of the Criminal Law of Louisiana in a very short time; but Criminal Law is not a hundredth part in complexity and area of the entire English law, or even of the entire law of any civilized state: (2) it must be known that there has been only one hand employed upon the code, and (3) whose that hand is: (4) the hand of a foreigner is preferable. Assuming (1), which we are far from doing, we should admit the necessity of (2) and (3), but not of (4). We by no means agree with Bentham that the foreigner's supposed freedom from prejudice would constitute an advantage more than counterbalancing the disadvantage to ensue from his ignorance of the traditions, customs, history, and jurisprudence of the country. Bentham has the greatest horror of Commissions, and so have we, but we do not think that the importation of his individual foreigner mends matters much, or would have any result beyond one certainly not contemplated by this jurist—namely, that of making it apparent that wholesale codification of English law on any system, and with any organization, is an absurdity as well as an impossibility—not only demonstrably unworkable, but manifestly quixotic and visionary. The Benthamic organization is certainly cheaper, but as much more unrealizable as it is more cheap, than that proposed by Mr. Amos; more especially as we gather that glory is to be the chief if not the only remuneration of the successful competitor amongst those who, under Bentham's dispensation, would be invited to send in from all sides their draft codes.*

* Competitive drafts from various hands are to be asked for, and when sent in, are to be carefully considered. No aids or suggestions—philosophical or practical—are to be overlooked. Mr. Amos also suggests that essays, without reward, should be invited on the best general scheme of the code. So Meijer ("De la Codification," &c., pp. 234 *seq.*) would have every one consulted who could contribute anything; and Mr. Holland, as we have seen, would not object to see logicians and philosophers, as well as professed jurists, on any Code-commission. Compare Savigny's conception ("On the Vocation," &c., Hayward's transl. pp. 179 *seq.*) of the proper method and machinery for the framing of such a code as he desired, or rather as he would have desired if he had considered the times suitable for it, and of the right constitution of the Commission which in his view would be needful for such a purpose.

Assuming, then, that a code has been constructed, how is it to be maintained and, as occasion requires, modified? Where limited departments only are codified in the form of separate codifying statutes, the problem presents no difficulty. A codifying Act of this kind, when a sufficient number of decisions have accumulated round it,—producing, possibly, through the application of acknowledged principles of construction, some effects not anticipated, whether improvements or not,—can, like any other Act, be amended (or better, perhaps, repealed altogether) by further Acts, each of which will successively (1) enact in precise terms the law as exemplified and developed by the decisions on the language of the original Act, and (2) expressly amend or add fresh matter, where the drift and tendency of such decisions is not deemed to be in accordance with the public interest. If, on the other hand, we are to have an “all-comprehensive” code, we shall require (even after we have done with our Commission and Sub-commissions for its execution) a Standing Committee to preside over its periodical revision and republication,—a Committee answering in some respects to the Athenian Thesmothetæ, or to the Supreme Court of the United States; with this vast distinction, however, that whereas the Thesmothetæ were merely “directed annually to examine the existing laws, noting any contradictions or double laws on the same matter”* (Bacon’s antinomies and homoionomies), and the function of the Supreme Court does not go beyond comparing every proposed statute submitted to them with the written Constitution (not longer than an average English Act of Parliament), and, after examination, declaring whether such statute is conformable thereto; the Code Revision Committee would be required at regular intervals—(Mr. Amos† and Mr. Holland‡ suggest every ten, and Bentham, as we have seen, every hundred years)—to gather in the ample harvest of judicial decisions, incorporate them with the code in their respective places, and then reissue the code as amended in the form of a new edition to be authoritative from the date of republication. Here is more machinery of a very expensive kind, and, moreover, permanent machinery. Nor can the advocates of wholesale codification escape from this consequence. They are bound to provide for it in their schemes;§ otherwise they would at once expose them-

* Grote’s “History of Greece” (12 vol. edition), vol. v. p. 228 (ch. xlvi).

† “An English Code,” &c., p. 75. ‡ “Form of Law,” p. 24.

§ Thus Austin (vol. ii. p. 1063) suggests a Standing Commission to revise, and Mr. Holland (“Form of Law,” p. 24) a permanent Law-Council or Department of Justice, the duties of which would be “to keep a watch upon, sift, and classify the results of reported cases; and also to see that all Bills

selves to the full force of the argument on which we have already dwelt, that a code under such circumstances would arrogate to itself a finality which it cannot really possess, and, like the French Code, which has not been subjected to any periodical revision, would be illusively held forth as representing the existing law, though that law would in fact be the code *plus* a superfetation of commentary and the entirely unmeasurable but very real element of judicial discretion or "jurisprudence."* The *heroicum opus*, we see, must, under such conditions, be continuous, and could by no means end with the work of construction.

Our retrospect and prospect are now concluded ; and the lessons to be derived from them are in our view not doubtful. We found on tracing the history of the form of our law that from the earliest times, sometimes owing to, but partly in spite of and in direct opposition to a study of the methods of the Roman jurists, codification of some kind (by whatever name called) has been going on ; that the processes of assimilation, digestion, and co-ordination have been regularly working *pari passu* with those of accretion and accumulation ; that reforms in the matter of the law have not led English jurists at any time wholly to disregard the interests of systematic re-expression : but that it is undeniable (this notwithstanding) that,—whereas in the ages preceding this either the amendment of the matter of the laws, or the readjustment of the machinery for its administration,† or both, have been problems somewhat overshadowing the question of technical systematization,—in this nineteenth century, on the other hand, the last of these questions has indubitably and distinctly come to the front, as one dealing with a great contemporary demand proceeding not only from theorists, but also

affecting those portions of the law which were treated of in the code should be drawn with special reference to the particular book, chapter, and title designed to be affected." Mr. Sheldon Amos suggests both a permanent and a temporary Code-Commission, also a Judicial Committee of the Judges, also a Legislative Commission analogous to the Supreme Court of the United States, or the *νομοφύλακες* suggested by Plato (who would, like the actual order of *Nomothetæ* in Athens, have to take care that the spirit of the law and the *ἥθος* of the State were preserved), to advise the Houses of Parliament on the probable effect of any contemplated Bill on previous legislation ("An English Code," pp. 75-78). Mr. Pollock ("Digest of Partnership," Introd. pp. xiii., xiv.) thinks that a Standing Commission would be necessary, with power to suggest changes, resolve doubts, and reconcile antinomies.

* See "Austin," vol. ii. p. 697, where it is pointed out that neither in France nor in Prussia is there any provision for the revision and reproduction of the Code. In the latter country, there is or *was* (in Austin's time) a growth of "Novels" and "Acts of authentic interpretation" existing outside the Code and not worked into it in any way.

† As in the reigns of Henry II. and Edward I.

from practical jurists and men of affairs. We then took occasion to consider the objections first to codification in the abstract, and then to codification in this country at the present time. We found that the general objections were either rational or empirical; that the former were untenable, and the latter only applicable to conditions and circumstances which do not exist in this country at this time, though it was also discovered that from these objections useful warnings, suggestions, and correctives were to be elicited. The particular objections to codification *here and now* we found to be valid (if at all) only so far as they are directed against an "all-comprehensive" code of the entirety of English law; and, in answering this type of objection, we further saw reason to believe that a preliminary Digest of the whole or any part of the law is inadvisable, and that either a code or nothing is essential. Having next arrived at the general conclusion that we cannot afford to wait for a scheme of wholesale codification before attempting to reduce any severable portion of the entire field of law to order; that, if we could, it would not be for the public advantage to do so; and that the successive systematization of limited departments of English law by private enterprise, to meet successive demands, is the method both most conducive to the common interests, and most likely to attract the favourable attention of the Legislature,—we considered, in the last place, the form which such codification should assume, and were led to anticipate that codes after the model of the Anglo-Indian Codes, with all their logical exactness and aptitude of expression, but with much more fulness and detail, are desirable. We have seen, moreover, in the course of this investigation, that the present moment is, for a variety of reasons, a peculiarly favourable one for the introduction of the kind of codification which we have been advocating; and, we may add, peculiarly unfavourable for the instauration of such a "heroic undertaking" as most recent writers on the question have too hastily assumed to be the only possible work for a modern systematizer of law. The dictator of more than three centuries ago styled our English jurisprudence "a tortuous and ungodly jumble;" and, in less puritanical and rugged phraseology, the poet of to-day can still speak of it as—

the lawless science our law :
That codeless myriad of precedent,
That wilderness of single instances.

If we are to transform the face of this vast tract of undivided and undistributed law, we must subject it to cultivation piece by piece and acre by acre. So shall we gradually systematize at least important sections of the "wilderness," and finally,

perhaps, may succeed in reclaiming the whole. In the meantime effective limited codes will be more useful, and do more credit to jurists and to Parliament, than abortive schemes for the reconstruction of the entirety. To attempt the larger enterprise is to take arms against a sea of difficulties, which must inevitably overwhelm the well-meaning but misguided adventurers, and which, even if overcome, would be but the occasion of a Cadmeian success more disastrous and costly than any failure.

ART. II.—THE MYTH OF SIMON MAGUS.

1. *Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche.* Von Dr. FERDINAND CHRISTIAN BAUR. Tübingen. 1863.
2. *Apostelgeschichte nach ihrem Inhalt und Ursprung kritisch untersucht.* Von Dr. EDWARD ZELLER. Stuttgart. 1854.

“FROM an imaginary resemblance between the purchase of a benefice and Simon Magus’s attempt to purchase the gift of the Holy Ghost (Acts viii. 19), the obtaining of ecclesiastical preferments by pecuniary considerations has been termed *Simony*.”

The portentous heresiarch who has thus, as Archdeacon Paley here tells us, given his name to an ecclesiastical and impossible crime, is one of the most protean of personages celebrated in prose or verse. We will endeavour with the help of previous biographical inquirers to detect and apprehend “the god,” since such he claimed to be; and in spite of all misleading disguises, exhibit him in his true colours.

“There was [says Justin Martyr] a Samaritan from the village named Gitton, who under Claudius Cæsar performed magical wonders in the imperial city, Rome, through the art and agency of evil spirits. He was regarded as a god, and had a statue erected for him. This statue stood by the river Tiber between the two bridges, having upon it this Latin inscription: ‘SIMONI DEO SANCTO.’ And almost all the Samaritans, and some also in other nations, confess him to be the first of gods, and even worship him; and they say that a certain Helena, who travelled with him at that time, and formerly had been a courtesan of Tyre, in Phœnicia, was the first intelligence that proceeded from him.”*

Similarly, Hippolytus reports that Simon had disciples who

* “Justini Opera,” &c. Apologia I. p. 69. Juxta Parisinam. Coloniae, 1786. Chevalier’s translation slightly altered.

practised magic. They had an image of Simon, he continues, in the form of Zeus and one of Helen in the shape of Athene, and they worshipped them, calling one Lord and the other Lady. Helen was, he adds, the cause of the Trojan war and was found by Simon at Tyre. She represented human nature redeemed by his power. Having rescued Helen, he offered salvation to all mankind, for the angels, to whom the government of the world had been entrusted, in consequence of their ambitious aspirations, administered it ill; and it therefore became necessary that he should be made like principalities and powers, in order to effect the desired restoration, and for this purpose he appeared as a man, suffering as the Son in Judæa, in appearance only, and not in reality, and manifesting himself to the Samaritans as the Father, and to the Gentiles as the Holy Spirit.

Many of the Fathers, Clemens Alexandrinus, Irenæus, Origen, Epiphanius and Theodoret, refer to the story of Simon, and Jerome professes to quote the very words of the arch magician. The encounter with Peter at Rome is related by Hippolytus. Simon, he further reports, had assured his disciples that if he were buried alive he would rise again on the third day, commanded them to prepare a grave for him, and gave orders for his burial. They at once, he adds, executed his command and there he remains to this day. The same fable is recited with much picturesque circumstance in the "Apostolical Constitutions," which the credulous William Whiston believed were dictated in part at least by Christ himself during the forty days which elapsed between his resurrection and ascension. The story is so curious that we give it at length in the words of the learned and eccentric translator. The Prince of the Apostles is supposed to be recounting his historical experiences.

"And Simon meeting me, Peter, first at Cæsarea Stratonis, where the faithful Cornelius, a Gentile, believed on the Lord Jesus through me, endeavoured to pervert the word of God, there being with me the Holy Children, Zacheus, who was once a publican, and Barnabas and Nicetas and Aquila, who were brethren, and Clemens, the Bishop and citizen of Rome, who was the disciple of Paul, our fellow-apostle and fellow-helper in the Gospel. I thrice discoursed before them with him, concerning the TRUE PROPHET and concerning the MONARCHY of God, and when I had overcome him by the power of the Lord and had put him to silence, I drove him away into Italy. Now, when he was in Rome, he mightily disturbed the Church and subverted many and brought them over to himself and astonished the Gentiles with his skill in magic. Insomuch that once in the middle of the day he went into their theatre and commanded the people that they should bring me also by force into the theatre, and promised he would fly in the

air, and when all the people were in suspense at this, I prayed by myself. And indeed he was carried up into the air by demons and did fly on high in the air, saying that he was returning into heaven, and that he would supply them with good things from thence. And the people making acclamations to him as to a god, I stretched out my hands to heaven with my mind and besought God, through the Lord Jesus, to throw down this pestilent fellow and to destroy the power of those demons that made use of the same for the seduction and perdition of men; to dash him against the ground and bruise him, but not to kill him. And then fixing my eyes on Simon, I said to him: 'If I be a man of God, and a real apostle of Jesus Christ, and a teacher of piety and not of deceit, as thou art Simon, I command the wicked Powers of the Apostate from piety, by whom Simon the magician is carried, to let go their hold, that he may fall down headlong from his height, that he may be exposed to the laughter of those who have been seduced by him.' When I had said these words Simon was deprived of his powers, and fell down headlong with a great noise, and was violently dashed against the ground, and had his hip and ankle bones broken. And the people cried out saying, 'There is one only God whom PETER rightly preaches in truth.' And many left him. But some, who were worthy of perdition, continued in his wicked doctrine. And after this manner this most atheistical heresy was fixed in Rome." (Book vi. 61.)

In the strange romance of the later Ebionites, the "Clementine Homilies" (A.D. 150-160), and its equally strange offspring, the "Recognitions" (A.D. 212-230), some other particulars of the life and actions of the redoubtable magician are related.* We are told, for instance, that he made phantoms and spectral images appear in the Roman Forum to the astonishment of the whole city; that statues followed when he moved, and that many shadows, which he said were the souls of the dead, preceded; that when an attempt was made to convict him of sorcery he silenced his accusers by acts of shameless bribery or terrific intimidation, inflicting, as he did, painful or supernatural disease on his opponents, till he attained extraordinary honours, and was even regarded by his deluded converts as a god. His miracles are particularized by Peter in the second book of the "Homilies," with justifiable contempt. The magician could roll about on burning embers, transform himself into a dragon and a goat, impart motion to statues, fly in the air, do anything in short to deceive, nothing to benefit mankind (Book ii. 33).

It is evident that in the very earliest version of the history of the heresiarch we have at best only a legendary tale. Justin, it is objected, must have known the truth about Simon.

* Hilgenfeld, in "Die Apostolische Väter," p. 288, reiterates his opinion that the groundwork of the "Recognitions" is of earlier date than the "Clementines"—earlier, that is, than A.D. 150.

It is clear, however, that Justin did not know the truth; that he was not in a position to know the truth; that he was little more than a reporter and not an independent witness. He tells us what others said, not what he himself heard. When he ventures to speak as a witness he betrays his ignorance and credulity. We have seen what he says of the pillar erected to Simon in the Tiber. The evangelical Neander declares that it is simply incredible that the Senate enrolled Simon among the gods. Justin was under a misapprehension, and a misapprehension that is wholly inexcusable. His blunder was long ago explained. In the year 1573, a stone was found in the island described by Justin, which appears to have served as a pedestal to a statue bearing the inscription *Semoni Sancio Deo Fidio sacrum*. The stone was not erected by the Senate, but by Sextus Pompilius, and Justin, with his mind preoccupied with legends about Simon Magus, never troubled himself to examine the inscription, but with that fatal predisposition which distinguishes so many of us to find in an object or document what we wish to find there, distorted Semo Sancus, a Sabine deity, identified with Hercules, into Simo Sanctus, a holy god. The prejudiced and uncritical Tertullian accepts the story on trust, but Origen implies that he looked upon the story of the pillar or stone erected to Simon as a fiction.*

The Simonians or reputed adherents of Simon are mentioned by Hegisippus about the middle of the second century. That there was such a sect may be admitted as a fact. Their genealogy, however, is uncertain. Even Neander questions whether they deduced their spiritual birth from a party founded by the sorcerer so called in the Acts, or whether originating at a later period they chose the fancy name of Simon Magus for their Coryphæus, and forged writings bearing that name which made pretensions to a higher wisdom. The conclusion of the Evangelical Church historian is that as the representative of the "theosophico-poetic" tendency, the real Simon became a mythical personage and gave occasion to many fictitious stories with specimens of which our readers are already acquainted. We must, however, carry our researches much further than the pious Neander, if we would learn what in all probability is the real truth about this ambiguous personality. In attempting to solve this problem we shall but follow in the track marked by the clearly defined footprints of the clear-sighted F. C. Baur and the acute and judicious Edward Zeller.

The legendary and unhistorical character of the book in which

* Neander, vol. ii. 162. English translation.

the earliest mention of Simon Magus occurs, after the critical dissection to which it has been subjected, is apparent to all but the prepossessed supernaturalist. The Acts of the Apostles can now only be regarded as an embodiment of the floating traditions of an earlier age, containing undoubted historical matter, but disguising, accommodating, idealizing the facts under the over-mastering influence of a fixed idea and a passionate dogmatic interest. No certain indication of the existence of the book can be found previously to the year 170 A.D.; and the probable date of its composition can hardly be carried further back than the commencement of Hadrian's reign. A chronological difficulty meets us at the very threshold of the apostolic narrative. The Gospel of St. Luke represents the resurrection and ascension as occurring on the same day; the Acts places the ascension on the fortieth day after the resurrection. The account of the day of Pentecost cannot be historical, for the narrator evidently misunderstands the curious pathological phenomenon of ecstatic speech described by St. Paul (1 Cor. xiii., xiv.), and perverts it into a portentous talent of speaking foreign languages. Equally unhistorical is the picture of the primitive Christian Church as a communistic association, since it is incredible that in a community reckoning five thousand men all should have sold even their houses, so that none could have any longer possessed a dwelling of his own; and the narrative is moreover inconsistent with itself. The artificial and fictitious character of the book is still more radically exhibited in the universalism erroneously attributed to the Jewish apostles; in the confounding of the Christian opposition to Pauline theology with the Jewish opposition to Christianity; in the dishonouring caricature of Paul, who in reality rejected the law, but who is here represented as a time-serving champion of legal observances (xxi. 17-26); in the converse error of describing Peter as more Pauline than he really was (iii. 16; x. 43; xv. 9); in the systematic parallelism maintained between the two apostles, even to the miraculous shadow of one and the miraculous handkerchief of the other (v. 15-17; xix. 12). All these details (and many more might be added) are sufficient to convince a disinterested mind that in the Acts of the Apostles we have not a faithful portrait of the men or of the events of the times in which they lived.

That the narrative in the eighth chapter of the Acts should, on examination, disclose the intrusion into it of the mythical element will now occasion us no surprise. The picture of Philip's procedure in Samaria is assuredly unhistorical, for miraculous powers are attributed to him, and the existence of such powers is to us incredible. The representation of the

efficacy of the "apostolic touch" must also be pronounced unhistorical. The descent of the Holy Spirit, it is there assumed, can only be effected by the imposition of the hands and prayers of the apostles; the *modus operandi* is mechanical. Philip's preaching had already superinduced the necessary spiritual predisposition. The influence attributed to Peter and John is a magical influence. The narrative of the encounter of Peter and Simon Magus thus becomes tainted with suspicion. For if we surrender the *motive* for the presence, we are justified in demanding that the presence be surrendered too. The scene in the interview between the apostle and the magician turns on precisely the questionable phenomenon of the communication of the gift of the Holy Spirit; and if we give up this apostolic prerogative, there is no conceivable reason for the meeting of Peter and Simon, no motive for the heresiarch's presence.

If the story of Simon, as related in the New Testament, has gathered its mythical accretions, as told by the Fathers, it will be found still more wildly legendary. According to Justin, Simon came to Rome in the reign of Claudius Cæsar—chronologically a very improbable incident, because such a journey seems precluded by the narrative in the Acts, which invariably, during this period, confines the apostle's movements to Jerusalem or its vicinity. Simon Magus cannot be identified with Simon the sorcerer in Josephus, as some contend who are anxious to vindicate his historical existence; for the sorcerer of the Jewish historian was but a vulgar impostor, with one of the commonest of Hebrew names, and who, besides, was not a native of Samaria but Cyprus. In the phrase of Irenæus, Simon is the father of heresies; in the "Apology" of Justin he is deified by his disciples; in the "Philosophoumena" ascribed to Hippolytus he is a mystagogue and opponent of Peter.

The pseudonymous literature of the early centuries affords no better guaranty of his historical character. In the second century the "Clementines" make him an adherent of John the Baptist; transport him to Egypt, where he learns magic; pretend that by his art he destroyed the prestige of the heretic Dositheus, and succeeded to the privileges which that impostor had enjoyed. The same authority assures us that he gave himself out as the Supreme Power, in contradistinction from the Creator, who was but a subordinate Being. To indicate that he was the Messiah he assumed the designation of "Estos"—he that stands or endures. He is further said to have associated himself with Helena, the essential wisdom which is the mother of all; the primitive idea which sprang from the Father, and descending to the lower world gave birth to the creative powers, or angels. A phantom of this mysterious being was the Helen

of the Trojan war. It is a significant circumstance that Simon found her at Tyre, and that she bore the additional name of Selene or Luna. This Tyrian light-of-love, notwithstanding her divine descent, was compelled to wander from one feminine body to another. Not only did she appear as the Greek Helen, but she figured also as the lost sheep of the Gospel. To release her and bless the human race through the knowledge of her, Simon appeared in a phantom body, assuming different forms in different kingdoms of the world. In a work supposed to be written by the heresiarch himself, entitled the "Great Announcement," or rather the "Great Denial," the Absolute Cause is affirmed to be the Infinite Power, and the Infinite Power is affirmed to be Fire, the primal Fire—the sensible manifestation of the all-pervading Essence. This doctrine was borrowed from the school of Zeno, or perhaps directly from Heracleitus, who believed that a subtle fire was diffused through the universe as the first principle of all things. Simon detected this fiery energy in the flame which burned in the bush without consuming it; in the luminous pillar which guided the journeying Israelites; in the Shechina in the Temple. As visible fire, the first principle comprises an intelligible universe; as invisible fire, it produces the material world. Of this primal substance the first emanations are Nous or Mind, and Epinoia or Conception, severally represented by Simon and Helen themselves. The MIND which pervades the spiritual world, or Æonic Aggregate, is identical with THE GREAT POWER, and orders all things. The CONCEPTION, or Idea, is feminine, and produces all things. The system of Simon, or rather of the anonymous author of the book attributed to him, appears to be thoroughly pantheistic. In all the various forms of the sensible and intelligible universe, "He which has stood, which stands, which will stand," is interfused and blended.

Of this description of the system of the theory of Simon, Professor Zeller remarks that it cannot be authentic, or even as old as the Gnosticism of Valentinus (A.D. 140), which distinguishes its speculations. It is impossible that a sorcerer of Gitton, a contemporary of the apostles, could have written, or even have propagated, such doctrine as "The Great Denial" inculcates. The existence of the book proves, however, that the legend of Simon was rendered available for Gnostic purposes; or even that a party had eventually been formed, which "recognized Simon as the highest revelation of the Deity."

The nucleus, as Zeller rightly surmises, which contained the germs of the legend as it was known in Justin's days, was the supposed creation of a sect by a magician named Simon, venerated as a supreme divine power, the religious homage which he

received being extended also to Helen, his reputed paramour—the first conception or idea which proceeded from him. With the legendary data thus supplied the narrative in the Acts essentially coincides. If Justin relates that in Samaria Simon was almost universally regarded as the supreme God, the Acts assert that all the people of that country acknowledged him as the great power of God, an expression which can only designate a higher being or supreme emanation. We shall see, presently, what this “great power of God” really was.

The patristic record is thus found, on examination, to resolve itself into a biographical or even theosophical romance. It is impossible that Simon could, as Justin declares, have been worshipped as a god in Rome; impossible that he could have met Peter in that city in the reign of Claudius; impossible that he could have taught the doctrine ascribed to him in the strange repository of fanciful speculation cited as the “Great Denial.”

What, then, is the solution of this legendary enigma? That mysterious personality is veiled under the mythical portraiture of Simon the false teacher, the magician, the impostor, the would-be purchaser with money of the holiest of gifts, the trafficker in ecclesiastical prerogative, the eponymous inventor of the crime called simony, the lawless antagonist of the truth, and the personal rival and enemy of the Prince of Apostles, St. Peter.

The knowledge of the theological controversies and the dogmatic relations of parties in the primitive Church will assist us in our efforts to discover the veiled figure.

The belief in the eternal sanctity of the Mosaic law, the persuasion of the perpetual obligatoriness of the temple-worship, the conceit of the sacred exclusiveness of the Jewish race, were so many spiritual forces in the early days of Christianity, militating against the principle of religious universalism. The Jewish converts at first isolated themselves from those of the Gentile world. “It required,” says the learned historian of Latin Christianity, “all the energy and resolution of Paul to resist the example and influence of the older apostles.” The adversaries of Paul, among whom we enumerate the emissaries of James, the Lord’s brother, disclaimed him as an apostle of Christianity. The abrogation of the Jewish ceremonial, which Paul regarded as a temporary institution, adapted to an imperfect state of civilization, exasperated the Hebraic party, which considered the Mosaic law as irrevocable. Traces of the conflict between the party of Paul and that of Peter are discoverable in many of the Pauline epistles. Judaism survived in the bosom of the Church at Rome. The residuary Judeo-Christian community in Pella and its neighbourhood obstinately rejected the authority and writings of the Gentile apostle. On the other hand, the lofty spiri-

tualism and antinomian idealism of Paul readily admitted of misconstruction, and his concessions to the cause of Christian liberty were susceptible of practical distortion, which might easily lead to deplorable consequences. An early controversy turned on the lawfulness of eating idol-meats. Paul, in deprecating the practice, maintained the liberal ideal of Christianity. His latitudinarian standard was doubtless abused by his less cautious followers. In the Apocalypse attributed to St. John, the Paulinists, and it would seem even Paul himself, are censured. In the reproof passed on the degenerate converts in Thyatira, who "knew the depths of Satan," there is an apparent allusion to the Pauline expression, "the deep things of God." The writer of the mystical vision of Patmos certainly excludes Paul from the glorious company of the apostles, and John appears, within a few years after Paul's death, to have established himself in Ephesus, the cardinal scene of the great Gentile teacher's labours, and to have commended the conservative faction in that city for the rejection of those who "say they are apostles and are not." Lücke, whose lucid commentary on the Apocalypse must be mentioned with respect, distinctly allows that the "Pillar-Apostle," John, had his Jewish-Christian period. The compromise proposed at Jerusalem, and accepted on both sides (Gal. iii.), could not but be hollow and incomplete, since it did not contemplate the case of mixed communities. The Christ party, a variety of that of Peter, attributed apostolic authority to immediate personal companionship with Christ during his historical existence. The "superlative" apostles (2 Cor. xi. 3) whose exclusive pretensions Paul refuses to recognize, are the original delegates of Jesus at Jerusalem, and in particular Peter, James, and John, the reputed pillars of the Church. The qualified personal recognition accorded to Paul by the apostolic triumvirate was in reality an indirect refusal to recognize the dogmatic principle of Paul's Gospel. The compact, moreover, was not faithfully observed, for Peter withdrew into the narrower and more exclusive party at Antioch, and Paul, the lawless innovator, withstood the Prince of Apostles to the face. So startling, so radically subversive of all prior prepossessions, was this opposition, that an attempt was made to explain it away by Origen, Chrysostom, Theophylact, Theodoret, and Jerome.* It was either pretended that the Cephas of the Galatians was not the Apostle Peter, but some obscure disciple who had been mistaken for him, or that the scene at Antioch was preconcerted—got up, that is, for the sake of the cause. Jerome, indeed, goes so far as to say that St. Paul did not reprehend Peter as if he really believed him to be

* See Jewett and Alford on this attempt.

blameworthy, but only by way of *dispensation*. This so-called dispensation or economy, this histrionic management of the truth, was designed particularly for the benefit of the Gentiles, "that the simulation or hypocrisy of observing the law which offended the converts from heathenism might be corrected by the simulation or hypocrisy of reproof" (Hieron. ep. ad Aug. 89).

The celebrated passage cited from the lost "Memorials of Hegisippus," in which he repudiates the Pauline sentiment (1 Cor. xi. 9), with various other indications of a bias to Jewish-Christian theology, discoverable in the fragments of his writings still extant, support the view that the Petrine party in foreign churches generally, and in that of Corinth in particular, had then acquired a decided ascendancy.

The disparaging allusion to St. Paul, whispered by Hegisippus, was more than echoed by that apostle's less hesitating opponents. With the later Ebionites the conservative antagonism of Judaic Christianity matured into deliberate hatred. This hatred is proclaimed, as a sort of open secret, in the religious romance already cited. In the introductory epistle to the "Clementine Homilies," Peter sends his sermons to St. James, the Bishop of Jerusalem, advising him not to communicate them to the Gentiles, but only to the people of the Mosaic tradition, and declaring that even in his lifetime some had attempted to pervert his words by interpretations favouring the abolition of the law, which is, as Christ taught, to endure as long as heaven and earth. In a later day, when the asperities of party began to decline, a curious memorial of the earlier opposition of the two rival parties was inserted with unconscious simplicity in the second Epistle of Peter iii. 15, 16,* in the form of a reluctant certificate to the value of the writing of his "beloved brother" Paul.

With these facts in evidence, it will excite little wonder if we conjecture that St. Paul was the anonymous enemy of the Petrine letter in the "Clementine Homilies." The representations which follow in the body of that work indeed compel us to identify Paul with Simon Magus. In one place Peter declares that wherever Simon goes he follows as light follows darkness to substitute the true Gospels for the false and counteract the malign influences of his adversary. In another place the reference to St. Paul is too plain to be denied.

"Even though our Lord Jesus Christ appeared to thee in a vision, made himself known to thee and talked with thee, he was wroth with thee as an adversary, and therefore spoke with thee through visions

* An undoubtedly spurious production. A.D. 170? See Dr. S. Davidson's "Introduction to the Study of the New Testament," vol. ii. pp. 464, 465.

and dreams, or it maybe by outward revelations. But can any man be commissioned to the office of teacher by a vision? And if thou sayest it is possible, why did the Teacher go about constantly for a whole year with men who were not dreaming, but awake? And how can we believe that he revealed himself to thee? How can he have appeared to thee who hast opinions contrary to his doctrine? If thou really didst become an apostle by his appearing to thee and instructing thee for one hour, then expound his sayings, preach his doctrine, love his apostles, and dispute not with me who was with him! For thou hast striven against me, as an adversary; against me, the strong rock, the foundation of the Church! If thou wert not an adversary, thou wouldst not vilify and abuse me and my preaching, so that thou wilt not believe me, when I say what I heard from the Lord himself when I was with him; while it is clear that I who am condemned (Gal. ii. 11) am worthy of praise. If thou callest me worthy of condemnation, thou accusest God who revealed Christ to me and attackest him who called me blessed on account of this very revelation."

The identification of Paul with Simon Magus is here unquestionable. The old charge against him of hostility to the law is revived; the mark of true apostolic personal intercourse with Jesus is found wanting in him; the visions and revelations of the Lord (2 Cor. xii. 1), to which Paul permitted himself to appeal, are treated with little respect; the old scene at Antioch is recalled, and the very expression (*κατεγνωσμένος*) which Paul had used in his conflict with Peter (Gal. ii. 11) is emphatically adduced against him. How is this strange metamorphosis to be explained? How can we account for the existence of the legend of Simon Magus?

We have already shown the unhistorical character of the early annals of the primitive Church, known to all men as the Acts of the Apostles. We have shown that the particular narrative of the encounter of the prince of the Apostles with the prince of Sorcerers is itself open to hostile criticism; that the motive for that meeting is fictitious, and that consequently the meeting itself is in all probability fictitious too. When we further remember that on critical grounds the date of the composition of the Acts, the existence of which is not certified by any historical evidence before 170 B.C., cannot well be placed prior to the reign of Hadrian, 117 B.C., we can have no difficulty in admitting the possible growth of a legendary narrative, with Simon Magus for its hero.

The question, then, "Who is Simon Magus?" may now be answered in the words of Dr. F. C. Baur. "Instead of the story of Simon having been transferred to Paul, may not the converse have taken place? In this case the magician of the Acts is not the original with whom the apostle was afterwards identified; but we have to look for the source and occasion of the whole legend in the apostle's own history. The historical existence of

the Magus must on independent grounds be deemed very doubtful; and a careful consideration of the facts shows him to be nothing but a caricature of the Apostle Paul."

Magical art is ascribed to Simon; and Dean Milman remarks that in Simon's view "the gift of the Holy Ghost seems to communicate a great portion of the magic influence which he assumed Jesus and the *apostles* to possess." Simon's pretensions to this mysterious gift was really an ambitious attempt to acquire the apostolic office. He coveted the distinctive prerogative of the original apostles. The claims of St. Paul to the apostolate were vehemently disputed, and even angrily denied, and the great Gentile missionary, here disguised as Simon Magus, had, it is implied, a misgiving that his claims were baseless. He had himself sought a conference with the elder apostles. At first they seem to have avoided him, and Barnabas is feigned (Acts ix. 26, 27) to have overcome their initial and very natural reluctance. Malice pretended that Paul's real object in taking the well-known journey to Jerusalem was to insinuate himself into the privileges of the apostolic hierarchy. The opponents of Paul saw in his efforts to bring the Gentiles into the Church a relapse to Paganism, and the Samaritan people who had set up an anti-national sanctuary and were accused of "worshipping they knew not what," were erected into the appropriate type of Paul's uncircumcised Gentile Christians. Obviously the next step was to distort the likeness of the apostle of Christian universalism into that of the magician and impostor of Samaria. Paul, it was whispered, had hypocritically professed Christianity and submitted to the baptismal rite. But he had not received the sacred effusion, and the apostolical prerogative of imparting the Holy Spirit, so coveted by him, had been withheld.

In this extreme view of the anti-Paulinists the moderate majority were unable to acquiesce. The author of the Acts, in particular, averts his gaze from the offensive portrait, and anticipates and endeavours to exclude the application which he deprecates, by placing the Simon Magus incident before the conversion of St. Paul, that is, prior to his appearance on the historic scene. With the accession to the Christian Church of a prodigious numerical constituent from the Gentile world, the admissibility of converts, out of the sacred pale of Judaism, ceased to be called in question. Even for the Ebionites themselves, the reference of Simon to Paul, in time lost its meaning. Instead of the original Paulinism which, as they understood it, was a perversion of the true Messianic faith, a derivative Paulinism or Gnosis was subsequently developed and the Samaritan magician attained the bad pre-eminence of the representative and progenitor of all the Gnostic heresies.

There are two characteristic circumstances which deserve our particular attention as affording additional, if not decisive, evidence of the general correctness of this theory. In all the variations of the legend preserved in the literature of the Christian Church, the ultimate conflict of Simon Magus with Simon Peter is transferred from Judæa to Rome. It is this transference which renders it difficult to avoid the application of the legend to Paul. The legend avowedly originated in Palestine, and it is not easy to see how it could be developed in Rome, unless it bore directly on the position of the Christian community there. For it is surely evident that the encounter of the true Simon and the false Simon at Rome is quite unhistorical.

A second characteristic circumstance is connected with the journeys of Paul to Jerusalem. Paul had promised to contribute to the support of the poor, the Eryonim or Ebionites of Jerusalem (Gal. ii. 10), and had instructed the Gentile churches of Galatia and Corinth (1 Cor. xvi. 1-3) to make weekly collections for the relief of their Jewish fellow-Christians. On one occasion (Acts xi. 29) Paul is said to have brought one such subsidy himself to Jerusalem. The journey, however, which he is supposed to have taken for this purpose can be shown to be fictitious by chronological as well as other considerations. We will mention one only. The date of the assumed journey coincides with the death of Agrippa, and must have occurred, if it occurred at all, eight or perhaps ten, but certainly not seventeen or even fourteen years, as Paul's own specification requires, after his conversion. But there is another objection to the narrative in the Acts. Baur appears to us to have detected the vulnerable point in this readjustment of Pauline biography. The subsidy brought by Paul in this journey was comparatively unimportant, yet it obtains historical recognition. The really important subsidy was that prepared by the apostle for his last journey to Jerusalem, and which there can be no doubt he carried with him. Yet it obtains no historical recognition. Baur rightly conjectures the reason of this accommodation of fact. The presentation of the second subsidy was the origin of the calumny which was raised against the apostle; and as it was desirable to forget this calumny, the second subsidy is passed over with prudent silence. As, however, the Pauline contribution was a cardinal characteristic of the apostle's career, the present of money which he brought with him on an earlier occasion—according, that is, to the Biblical narrative—receives conspicuous acknowledgment, because it had none of the offensive associations attaching to the later contribution.

The particular form which the *Calumny* glanced at by Baur assumed was first indicated by Volkmar. The essence of the

sin of Simon Magus was the attempted purchase by money of apostolic power and prerogative (Acts viii. 18). The magician's offer of money corresponds to the apostle's subsidy (Acts xxiv. 17). It was on the occasion of his last journey to Jerusalem, when he brought "alms and offerings to his nation," that the tumult which led to his arrest broke out, and the cry went forth, "This is the man that teacheth all men everywhere against the people and the law and this place" (Acts xxi. 28). We are expressly told that the thousands of Jews who were believers in Christ were all zealous of the law. There can be no doubt that Jewish Christians were the opponents of the revolutionary apostle during his last visit, and that in spirit, if not in fact, they addressed Paul in the words of reprobation with which Peter addresses the presuming magician: "Thy money perish with thee."

Thus a cloud of suspicion and self-contradiction darkens the firmament of primitive ecclesiastical history. The argument founded on this obscurity, re-enforced by the circumstances of verisimilitude which we have detailed, favours and even justifies the hypothesis that the Simon Magus of early Christianity was the Apostle Paul, calumniated and caricatured, journeying, like the imaginary opponent of Cephas, from Palestine through far western countries, preaching his anti-Jewish Gospel, and finally attempting to win a general recognition for his doctrine in the capital of the world, where he was confronted by the Apostle Peter of ecclesiastical tradition, the mythical representative of Judaic Christianity.

We have discovered St. Paul in the disguise of Simon Magus. We have resolved a pretended history into a legend. We will now decompose the legend and ascertain the origin of a myth. In one aspect of his romantic history Simon Magus appears as a man; in another he figures as a god.

Marinus, a native of Flavia Neapolis or Sichem in Samaria, mentions the local mountain Gerizim as the site of the temple of the Most High Zeus, identifying it as the sanctuary in which he supposes Abraham to have worshipped the El Elyon, or Supreme God of the Hebrew race. Extant coins of the period of the Antonines demonstrate that this Deity was also acknowledged as the Supreme God of the resident population of a different race and creed. For while the restored temple, situated on the sacred mountain, is represented with the sun on the right and the moon on the left hand, Simon Magus was regarded by the Samaritans and the fathers as an incarnation of this Supreme Power, and not of the Jewish or Christian God. It is this Pagan deity which is indicated by Justin; and which is described in the "Clementines" as the highest virtue of the

Most High God, who is above the Maker of the World. The God of the Samaritans, according to Josephus ("Antiq." xii. 5, 6), was nameless; the God of Simon, according to the "Clementines," incomprehensible and known to none; the El Elyon, or the God whom, as Marinus fancied, Abraham adored, was necessarily a Phœnician deity, identical with the Primæval Being to whom all powers were subordinated, and of whom the Tyrian Hercules, the Sun-god, was a mythical manifestation ("Die Phœnizier," by Movers, 389).

In Samaria, as we have seen, two forms of the Deity, the names and attributes of which corresponded to those of Simon and Helena, were recognized objects of adoration. With Professor Zeller we would ask, Is it likely that two *historical* personages within a single generation should be acknowledged as the Supreme Being, and as the primal manifestation of that Supreme Being? It required three centuries to exalt the Founder of the Christian religion to a level with absolute Deity; while the Pagan apotheoses represent merely a lower grade of divine dignity, not the position of supreme, incomprehensible Godhead—the accepted object of a people's adoration. The conclusion from these premises is unavoidable. If Simon and Helena were national divinities, they cannot have been at the same time human beings and contemporaries of the apostles. The Simon and Helena, then, of patristic tradition had a purely mythical origin. Under the form of Simon lies concealed the Sun-god: under that of Helen the Moon-goddess. Helen indeed is directly named Selene or the Moon, and Simon (akin to the Hebrew Shemesh Shimshon) represents the Eastern Semo, the deity of Justin's inscription, identified with Deus Fidius or Hercules. The geographical derivation of Helen, who is said to have been found by Simon at Tyre, the very place where the solar and lunar deities would most appropriately meet, is a further presumption of the correctness of the hypothesis of Baur. In the "Clementine Homilies" Helen is associated with the lunar month, and her avocation as a voluptuous woman, a Tyrian hetaira, is only the mythical translation of the attribute of the Oriental goddess of the moon as the presiding deity of birth and procreative energy. The name of the "Standing or Enduring One," misinterpreted of the Messianic permanence by Christian writers, is restored by Baur and Zeller to its probably true significance, as an epithet of the Eastern Hercules or solar hero, whose symbol is a pillar, and thus restored, is confirmatory of the justness of our view.

The objection that the Samaritan people were monotheists is sufficiently answered by Professor Zeller, who reminds those who

make it that the miscellaneous population of Samaria included a numerous polytheistic constituent. It would naturally be an object with the more cultivated class in this constituent to harmonize their polytheism with the monotheism of their co-residents, as had been already done by the adherents of the Stoical and Neo-Pythagorean schools of philosophy. As the old national deities were customarily resolved into manifestations or powers of the Godhead, "the Samaritan Sun-god, or Baal-Melkarth, might be converted, of course, by his worshippers into the highest form of revelation—that of the unseen God." By the Alexandrian school these forms of revelation were named *δυνάμεις*, the very word which is employed by the writer of the Simon legend, Acts viii. 10, to express the idea of this theological conversion: "*This man is the great POWER of God.*"* Similarly, Ashtaroth or Astarte, the Moon-goddess of the Sidonians, the favourite object of Jewish idolators in the pre-Christian period, would undergo a like change with her mythical companion, and the wandering Queen of Heaven be sublimated into a primitive idea, the all-productive truth and wisdom, appearing now as Helen, whose beauty had bewitched the Grecian and Trojan world, and now as the offspring of Zeus, the highest power—as the primal divine conception identified with the goddess Athene. To this joint adoration of Simon and Helen in their reciprocal relation of solar and lunar powers, the device on the coin of Neapolis, with the temple of Zeus Elyon on Mount Gerizim, and the sun and moon on opposing sides, is an index that we can hardly misinterpret.

Thus the father of simony and the progenitor of all heresy, with his mysterious consort, can be traced back to the old Phœnician foretime, and, while lost to us as historical characters, they still survive as mythical descendants of the Lord and Lady of Heaven, the resplendent powers adored by eastern men when the world was young.

* Zeller, "Apostelgeschichte," pp. 168-170.



ART. III.—COREA.

1. *The third and last volume of the Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nations, &c. &c.* Collected by RICHARD HARLVYT, Preacher. London: A.D. 1600.
2. *Histoire de l'église de Corée.* Précédée d'une introduction sur l'histoire, les institutions, la langue, les mœurs et coutumes Coréennes. Par Ch. DALLET, Missionnaire Apostolique. Paris: 1874.
3. *Lettres Edifiantes. Relation de l'établissement du Christianisme dans le royaume de Corée.* Rédigée par M. GOVEA, évêque de Peking, en 1797.
4. *Files of the North-China Herald.* 1866–1884.
5. *A Forbidden Land: Voyages to the Corea.* By ERNEST OPPERT. London: 1880.
6. *Blue Books.* Japan (Corea) 1, 2, 3, of 1883, and Corea 1 of 1884.

BY a combination of circumstances, not the least curious of which is that the weight of China was thrown into the scale of progress, the last country in Asia to maintain a policy of seclusion has at length consented to open its gates and have intercourse with the outside world. In the spring of 1882, Admiral Schufeldt on behalf of the United States, Admiral Willes on behalf of Great Britain, and the commander of the *Stosch* gunboat on behalf of North-Germany, signed, at a village on the banks of the Han river, treaties by which Corea agreed to open certain of her ports, for purposes of commerce, to foreign ships, residents and visitors. The Government of the United States promptly accepted the agreement negotiated on its behalf; and ratifications were exchanged, within twelve months, at the Korean capital. The English and German Governments, for reasons which will be explained hereafter, had difficulty in approving the identical text; but a revision has been effected, under the auspices of Sir Harry Parkes, which fully meets the requirements of the situation. Ratifications of the new treaty were exchanged at Hanyang on the 28th of April last; and the moment when the hitherto Forbidden Land is being thrown open under its provisions may not be inopportune for a glance at its early history and at the chain of events which have led up to the present consummation.

There is always a disposition to invest the unknown with

something of the marvellous, and Corea has come in for its full share of curiosity and romantic legend. Horses three feet high, hens with tails three feet long, hills of pure silver, and kings buried in golden coffins, have been among the tales told of the remote peninsula. The rigidity of the seclusion of course made accurate information, regarding either the country or its inhabitants, difficult to obtain; and, although they can certainly not be said to have no history—for they have a very chequered one—they have done their best to realize that condition by leaving it unwritten, and throwing us on Chinese and Japanese sources for what facts we may glean regarding it. Through the medium of Chinese merchants, returning to Newchwang from the great fair held annually near the “Corean Gate;” through the medium of the embassy which comes once a year to Peking with tribute to the Emperor; through the mouth of some shipwrecked mariner, who has made his way back to civilization with quaint tales to tell of a people among whom he was, at any rate, generally treated with kindness—information more or less reliable occasionally filtered. But to the adventurous pioneers of the Church of Rome, only, was a more intimate knowledge vouchsafed of the strange land and its inhabitants; and to their enterprise and research we have hitherto been indebted for the chief facts known regarding it.

Separated from Chinese territory by the Yaloo river on the north-west, and from Japan by a hundred miles of sea on the south-east, the peninsula is sufficiently isolated by Nature to favour its independence, but too near both countries to escape their interference. The earliest glimpses of its history reveal a state of almost continual warfare among divers tribes of Tartar origin, who eventually consolidated themselves into the three States of Sinla, Petsi and Kaoli; and these again, for centuries, appear to have been almost perpetually at war either among themselves or with China and Japan, varying the internecine programme only by an occasional alliance against a foreign adversary. It is not till the eleventh century that we find the whole country united into a single kingdom, which took the name of Kaoli from the tribe that finally acquired the ascendancy. It was natural that the new State should at once feel and admit the ascendancy of its great neighbour. The first king recognized the suzerainty of the Chinese emperor; and the relationship seems to have been, from the first, of a very close character. So intimate indeed was it that when, three hundred years later, the Chinese succeeded in overthrowing the Mongol power, the Corean dynasty shared its downfall. The first Ming emperor dethroned the reigning king, whom he had found fighting in the hostile ranks, and replaced

him by a Chinese partisan whose family have now for five hundred years retained possession of the throne. The new king drew closer his relations with the suzerain State, and organized a system of government very much after the Chinese model, which has remained in force to the present day. He divided the country into provinces and districts, removed the capital from the north to nearly the centre of the kingdom, where it is better situated for purposes both of administration and defence; and consolidated his power by a tributary agreement with China, and an alliance of friendship with Japan.

Two hundred years of comparative peace followed the wise measures of this able Sovereign, during which the people had time to become accustomed to an orderly and settled life. At the end of that time, however, the calm was disturbed by the most terrible invasion the country had yet suffered. In the year 1592 Fidejosi, then Tycoon of Japan, having rendered himself undisputed master at home, resolved to turn his arms against China, and poured an army of 200,000 men into Corea, which he designed to use as a stepping-stone towards its neighbour. This was a time when the influence of Christian missionaries in Japan was nearly at its height, and the Tycoon is said to have had a double motive for his adventure. Disliking the Christians, but unwilling seemingly to persecute them openly, he is said to have recruited the invading army principally from their ranks, and placed at its head Christian princes whom he designed to keep henceforth in practical banishment, compensating them with Corean territories for those which they were never more to revisit. Curiously enough, we are indebted to the enterprise of an early English publisher for a translation of the first authentic information which became available, of the fate of the invaders. "Three severall testimonies concerning the mighty kingdom of Coray . . . collected out of the Portugale Iesuites yeerely Iaponian epistles," printed by Hakluyt in the year 1600, give a curiously interesting account of this great expedition which, failing utterly in its object, exercised nevertheless a material influence on Corea. The project seems to have been unpopular in Japan, which was already impoverished by internal wars, and could ill support the crushing sacrifices it entailed. So feared, however, was the Tycoon, that no one dared oppose him; and we are told—to give an idea of his power and splendour—some curious particulars of a grand sporting expedition in which he indulged his nobles before the start, when "his game had so good successe that he caught above 30,000 fowles of all sortes;" though it is distressing to learn that, "for his greater recreation, and for the more solemnitie of the game," he was imposed upon by the addition of "many dead fowles, which the Iaponians

with certain poulders or compositions know how to preserve sweete in their feathers a long time."

The preparations were carried out upon a scale commensurate with the importance of the undertaking. The vanguard of the invading force, sent forward to effect a landing, was completely successful; the Corean "gunnes of 2 spannes and $\frac{1}{2}$ long, which instead of bullets discharged with a terrible noise wooden arrowes headed with forked points of yron," proving no match for the "brazen ordinance" of the Japanese, who carried the principal fortresses by assault, and quickly overran the country; the king, at the end of twenty days, abandoning his capital and seeking refuge in China. It is noteworthy that the prince who led the attacking force, and achieved this brilliant success, was a Christian; and the missionaries fail not to congratulate themselves, in the quaint language of the translator, that it "had pleased his diuine maiestie to lay the honour of all this warre upon Christian lords." Notwithstanding, however, the first success, the Japanese had by no means an easy time thereafter. Abandoning the open country to the invaders, the Coreans took refuge in the woods and mountains, whence they carried on a murderous guerilla warfare, while their ships harassed the smaller vessels of the Japanese. Nor, although Corea lay at his feet, could the Tycoon advance a step farther in his projected invasion of China. The Coreans had of course called on their neighbours for assistance; and the latter, menaced as well in their own safety, collected a large army on the banks of the Yaloo, which they commanded with their war junks so effectually that not only did the Japanese not dare to attempt a passage, but the Chinese were eventually able to pass over a large army into Corea, and attack their would-be invaders. Beaten in a pitched battle near the city of Pieng-an, they made soon after a second attempt, with no better immediate success. But, though successful in the field, the Tycoon seems to have realized that the conquest of China was a task beyond his power,* and eventually withdrew a great portion of his troops. The lull, however, was only temporary. With characteristic assumption, the Chinese appear, three years later, to have sent an embassy to Japan, with proposals for tributary relations, which so enraged the Tycoon that he again poured his troops into Corea, and began fresh preparations for an invasion of China,

* Two years after the outset of the expedition, in 1594, Father Organtino Brixiano, speaking of the Tycoon's usual success in war, says, "This late warre of China onely excepted, which far surmounted all his forces. Howbeit, in the kingdom of Coray he maintaineth yet great garrisons, as well to keep his honour, as to constraine the Chinians to sue for peace."

to which, however, his death shortly put an end. The Chinese again crossed to the assistance of their allies, and appear this time to have succeeded in breaking up the invading army. Many of the Japanese were killed ; some returned to Japan ; many are said to have settled in the southern districts of Corea, where the local dialect testifies to the influence of Japanese intercourse. Terms of peace were eventually agreed on (in 1615), by which the Japanese acquired the island of Tsusima, and the right to keep a garrison of 300 men at Fusan—a port in the south-east corner of the peninsula, immediately opposite that island—which right they retained and exercised for 260 years. Though by no means the only occasion on which Corea was made a battle-ground by the Japanese, this was the most serious, and the last of their invasions. The remains of fortified camps in various parts of the country still testify to the completeness of their occupation, and the Coreans are said to admit that the best firearms they possess are those left behind by the Japanese.

The somewhat severe experiences which had attended, and partly helped to effect the consolidation of Corea into a nation, were now drawing to a close. The same fidelity to the fortunes of the suzerain dynasty which had brought down upon it the wrath of the Mings, was to subject it to one more invasion, when the latter fell before the assault of the Manchus. A Manchu army then invaded Corea, and dictated at the capital, in 1637, the terms which continue to govern its relations with China to the present day. It is beyond the scope of the present article to describe the forms and ceremonies, and the articles of tribute, which constitute the outward and visible signs of Chinese overlordship and Corean fealty. Suffice it to say that, while exacting implicit recognition of her own preponderance, China seems practically to leave her tributaries to manage their own affairs, unless her help is sought, or her own interests appear to be threatened. We have already seen her hand shown, on more than one occasion, under these circumstances ; and we shall see her taking action, with vital effect, in the dramatic scenes which mark the awakening of Corea to international life.

Since the conclusion of that treaty, Corea has been at peace with both her neighbours, and, till within the last twenty years, was able to maintain the seclusion she so much desired. Until the beginning of the present century—when the doctrine preached by Roman missionaries in China began to filter across the frontier, and to provoke a fitful and uncertain intercourse between them and the few Coreans who had been attracted by the new religion—the only fresh glimpse we obtain of the interior of the country and its inhabitants is afforded by the well-known

story of Henry Hamel,* who was wrecked off the Korean coast in 1653, and detained there twelve years as a prisoner at large. And, though as a source of information his narrative has of course passed out of date, as a record of remarkable adventure, and for its quaint account of the people and their customs, it well repays perusal and deserves a passing notice. Hamel sailed in a ship which left Texel for Japan on the 10th of January, 1653; and, after calling at Taewan to land a new Governor for the settlement which the Dutch then claimed in Formosa, was caught in a typhoon and wrecked on the Korean island of Quelpart, where thirty-six only, out of a crew of sixty-four, succeeded in landing. They were received so kindly by the local magistrate that, in the words of the narrator, "we may affirm we were better treated by that idolater than we should have been among Christians;" but they were soon to learn that their prospects were not altogether so bright as this experience might have led them to infer. They were astonished, after some six weeks of this hospitable detention, to find themselves one day in presence of a countryman, who had also become an unwilling object of Korean hospitality. He was, he told them, also a Dutchman, by name Wettevree, and had been sent by the king to interpret, as soon as news of their arrival had been received at the capital. He had been five-and-twenty years in the country, having been captured with two others who had been sent ashore for water from the Dutch frigate *Ouderkes*; and there was, he told them, no chance of escape. As a matter of fact, at the end of nine months they also were carried before the king, who refused their request to be sent to Japan, saying it was not the custom of Corea to suffer strangers to depart out of the kingdom, but promised to provide them with all necessaries, and enlisted them in his life-guards, with an allowance of 100 lbs. of rice per month as wages! One or two attempts to escape were frustrated, and an appeal to the Chinese ambassador seems to have been especially disastrous. They had been ordered to remain in concealment, and not stir out, during his visit; two of them did so, notwithstanding, and caught hold of his bridle to ask protection, but were seized, imprisoned, and died. The rest were eventually banished to a distant spot, and were so hardly treated that they were reduced to begging, to get clothes. At the expiry of nine years their numbers were reduced to twenty-two; and these, in consequence of a terrible famine which supervened, were distributed among three different cities to facilitate their maintenance. Eventually, in 1665, a few of the

* Hamel's "Travels in Korea," &c. *Vide* Pinkerton's "Collection of the best and most interesting Voyages and Travels," vol. vii.

survivors contrived to buy a boat, with a little money they had been able to earn, and made their way to Nagasaki, where they found themselves again among their own countrymen. It would lead us far to enter into Hamel's quaint description of the country, which was still suffering from the recent Japanese and Manchu wars, and groaning under the exactions the latter had entailed. The political relations with China are clearly and accurately sketched ; and what is said of the trade with China and Japan would still have been almost equally applicable, ten years ago. The system of military service is also well described, and a sketch given of the punishments in vogue, which speaks more highly for the ingenuity than the humanity of a people who could tolerate them. It will be sufficient to quote one tale, to show that the level of enlightenment and civilization, at the time, was not high :—

The king having desired his brother's wife, who was excellent at her needle, to embroider him a vest, that princess, bearing him a mortal hatred, stitched in between the lining and the outside some charms and characters of such a nature that his Majesty could enjoy no pleasure nor take any rest while he had it on. At length, suspecting the matter, he had the vest ripped, and found out the cause. Hereupon the king ordered her to be shut up in a room, the floor whereof was of brass, and ordered a great fire to be lighted underneath, the heat whereof tormented her till she died.

And when a high official ventured to remonstrate against so cruel a sentence, the king ordered him to have twenty strokes on his shin bones, and to be decapitated. The punishments for marital offences were equally severe and ingenious. If a woman killed her husband, she was buried alive up to the shoulders in a highway, and an axe laid by her, with which all passengers who were not noblemen were obliged to give her a stroke on the head till she died. Gay bachelors caught infringing the sanctity of the domestic hearth were liable to be stripped to their draws, to have their faces daubed with lime, an arrow run through each ear, and a little drum fastened on the back which was beaten at all the cross-streets—the whole ceremony winding up with a flagellation.

We come now to events nearer our own time, and in which the propaganda of Rome and the proceedings of its emissaries begin to play a prominent and interesting part. In the year 1784, a young Corean named Le, who had come to Peking in the suite of the tribute-bearing embassy, applied to the Roman Catholic Mission for books and instruction in the science of mathematics, of which he was naturally fond. The missionaries profited by the occasion to lend him also books on religion, which awakened his interest and led to his eventual conversion. As

usual in such cases, the neophyte set himself, directly on his return, to propagate among his relations and friends the new creed he had learned; and with so much success that, in less than five years, he had, according to Mgr. Govea, gained 4,000 adherents. As may be imagined, however, the doctrine acquired from a convert who had had only a few months' instruction, and disseminated again in a great measure at second-hand by men who had caught the crude idea from his conversation, was of a somewhat obscure description; and it hardly needed an appeal made to the Bishop of Peking, in 1790, to persuade the latter it was time to send a more qualified teacher. The frontier, however, was guarded with extreme jealousy, and careful precautions were necessary to escape the vigilance of the sentinels. It was arranged that a missionary should proceed to a certain spot, at a given date, in the following year, and should there be met by converts who would guide him through the Corean lines. The priest was punctual to his appointment, but not so his intended hosts; and, after waiting fruitlessly for a given time, he returned to Peking. The blank continued. Neither letter nor news was received from the Corean Christians for more than two years; till at length, at the close of 1793, two converts made their way to Peking, with news of a severe persecution which they had had to endure in the interval. The trouble had arisen from the same cause which had produced a similar effect, at a moment when there seemed a prospect that Christianity might supersede Buddhism as the prevailing religion in China. The question had arisen of the so-called worship of ancestors. It is unnecessary to expatiate here on the nature of the reverence paid by the Chinese and cognate races to the memory of their dead, or to recapitulate the arguments for and against toleration, which were terminated by a decree from Rome condemning the practice. Suffice it to say that the question had also been asked by the first converts in Corea, whether it was permissible to erect ancestral tablets, or to keep those already in existence; and the Bishop of Peking, as in duty bound under Pope Clement's Bull, had replied in the negative. Two enthusiastic brothers had at once acted literally on the advice, and burned these treasures so sacred in the eyes of their relations and neighbours. A tremendous outcry was raised, which compelled the interference of the Government, and measures of persecution were resorted to, which had terminated however, for the present, in the torture and execution of the two offenders. The tenacity of the Roman Church finds admirable expression in the courage, perseverance and self-sacrifice of its emissaries; and, whatever we may think of a system which seems to prove more often a firebrand than a message of peace, we cannot withhold admiration from its

devoted exponents. A footing once gained is never abandoned; and after the fiercest persecution there always remain some enthusiasts, over whose head the storm has passed, ready to welcome a new pastor. Corea has been no exception to the rule. No sooner had the persecution which followed the iconoclasm of Yen and Kwang partially subsided, than a priest was successfully introduced across the frontier, to instruct and impart new life to the converts. Nor, it is affirmed, has the flock ever since been left unguarded. Persecution has followed persecution; but from Jacques Velloz, the first missionary to cross the frontier, who suffered martyrdom in 1800, to Mgr. Ridel, who has just returned to Europe with health shattered by the anxieties and hardships undergone during the latest outbreak, there have always been some priests alternately tolerated or hiding in the country, and the spark lighted by the young Corean attaché has never been quite extinguished.

We come now to the first link in the chain of events which have tended gradually to bring Corea within the sphere of modern politics. On the 7th of July, 1866, a Roman Catholic missionary arrived in a Corean boat at Chefoo, with a tale of dire persecution. Two bishops, nine priests, and a number of Christians of both sexes had been massacred, many of them after judicial tortures of atrocious cruelty. Three members of the mission only survived, and M. Ridel had been chosen to carry the news to China, and endeavour to procure assistance. It was to the French authorities, naturally, that he addressed himself; and both Admiral Roze, the Commandant of the French fleet in Chinese waters, and M. de Bellonet, then chargé-d'affaires at Peking, lent a sympathetic ear to his protest.* The Chinese Government, which was first appealed to as suzerain, for redress against its tributary, declined any responsibility in the matter; though the missionaries learned afterwards, in Corea, that a despatch had been addressed to the king, condemning the persecution as calculated to bring him into trouble with the French, whose power he could not hope to oppose. An expedition was accordingly resolved on, to avenge the massacres and establish French prestige; and Admiral Roze assembled at Chefoo, for that purpose, a squadron comprising the *Guerrière* frigate, the corvettes *Laplace* and *Primanget*, the despatch-vessels *Deroulède* and *Kienchan*, and the gunboats *Tardif* and *Lebrethon*.

* M. de Bellonet, indeed, was moved by his indignation to pen a sentence of deposition against the Corean king, which subsequent events made rather ridiculous:—"The same day on which the king of Corea laid his hands on my unhappy countrymen, was the last of his reign. He himself declared its end, which I, in my turn, solemnly declare to-day."—*Vide* "U.S. Diplomatic Correspondence," vol. ii. for 1867, p. 424.

A preliminary expedition, to survey the approaches to the capital, succeeded in penetrating within sight of the walls, and in making the necessary observations. The population declined all intercourse; but, from the crew of a native junk, one piece of significant news was gathered. Curiously enough, within a few weeks after M. Ridel, there had arrived at Chefoo the crew of a small American schooner, which had been lost on the eastern shore of the Yellow Sea. They had been twenty-five days in Corea, fed and well treated by the authorities, and forwarded overland to China. The same thing had happened in the case of another shipwrecked crew, a few months previously; and the contrast between this kind treatment of shipwrecked sailors, and the massacre of resident Christians, had given rise to much significant comment among foreign residents in China. Whether news of French threats at Peking, and of the hostile preparations at Chefoo, had influenced the change of conduct, or whether the Corean Government were alarmed at the indications of a desire to open up commercial intercourse, shown in the recent visits of one or two foreign ships to the coast—the French now learned that another American schooner (the *General Sherman*), which had gone ashore a month previously in the Pieng-an river, had been burned as she lay, and all hands murdered!

The city of Han-yang, more commonly called Soul "the capital" of Corea, was found to be situated in 37°30' N., and 124°30' W., on the banks of a river named the Han-kiang, which flows into the Yellow Sea. The channel seemed navigable, for steamers of moderate draught, to within a short distance of the walls. The entrance was protected by fortifications on the island of Kang-hwa; but these did not appear to be garrisoned. Having obtained this information, Admiral Roze started from Chefoo with the expeditionary force on the 11th of October, arrived off Kang-hwa on the 14th, and occupied it, after a merely nominal resistance, two days later. The Coreans were apparently taken by surprise, having perhaps thought that, with the withdrawal of the surveying expedition, the danger had passed. The forts along the banks of the river were found ungarrisoned, and Kang-hwa itself, a considerable fortress containing large stores of munitions of war, was practically undefended. A letter was received a few days later, inviting Admiral Roze to come or send delegates to Soul, to talk over matters in a friendly spirit; but he replied that, if the Corean authorities wished to treat, they had better come to Kang-hwa. This was virtually to assume the attitude of a conqueror, but the event proved it to be slightly premature. So far all had gone well; but the expedition was about to collapse with a suddenness contrasting singularly with the expectations raised by M. de Bellonet's denunciations and Admiral Roze's hauteur.

It may be well to explain here, with reference to the present and subsequent complications, that the then and still reigning king of Corea is not the son of the last Sovereign, who died childless ; but in accordance with custom, and like the reigning Emperor of China under similar circumstances, was adopted into the royal family from a remote branch, to fill the vacancy. He was still a child at the time of these occurrences, and the Government was administered by his father who, under the title of Regent, exercised nearly despotic power, and seems to have been the incarnation of the spirit of exclusion that had characterized his country. The persecution is ascribed mainly to his influence, and he now ordered a general levy to resist the invader. Parties of soldiers began to appear on the banks of the river, in the neighbourhood of the French position, and spies brought news that an attack was intended. A reconnoitring party was ordered to advance along the road leading to Soul, but was surprised and severely handled ; and, though the sailors succeeded in driving the Coreans from the earthworks behind which they had been concealed, the reconnaissance was not pushed farther. Shortly after, news was brought that 300 soldiers had effected a landing during the night on the island of Kang-hwa itself ; and the next day, that 500 more had joined their fellows, and that the process was to be continued until a sufficient force had been gathered to make an attempt on the French position. Another reconnaissance was accordingly ordered, with an even worse result. The party, of about 150 men, had reached within 120 yards of the fort where the Coreans were said to be, when suddenly the walls were manned, and a volley was fired which killed three and wounded thirty-five of their number. A sortie of the garrison was repulsed with loss, but the French judged it wise to retire, and carry back their wounded to camp. The disastrous termination of these two movements appears to have persuaded Admiral Roze that the force at his disposal* was insufficient to prosecute the enterprise to a successful issue, in face of the Corean preparations and evidently determined hostility. The winter was approaching, when the cold would be intense and the maintenance of his present position difficult ; while the 600 men whom he could land would hardly suffice to capture Soul and bring the Government to terms !

The very morning, at any rate, after the last repulse, it was announced that a withdrawal had been determined on. The city of Kang-hwa was burned, with its public offices and royal palace ;

* *Vide Moniteur*, 27th December, 1866, and 7th January, 1877. Also M. Ridet's narrative in "L'histoire de l'Eglise de Corée," vol. ii. pp. 678 *et seq.*

the munitions of war which it contained were destroyed; its library of 300 volumes, a number of curious specimens of native industry and art, and silver ingots to the value of some £8,000, were carried off; and the same evening the troops re-embarked. An intention was expressed of returning in the spring, but was never carried out. Mexican affairs were causing the French Government much trouble at the time, and Corea was allowed to fall into oblivion. It is satisfactory to know that Messrs. Féron and Calais, the two other surviving members of the mission, succeeded in escaping to China; but the persecution of native Christians, as was to be expected, broke out with renewed fury after the departure of an expedition which had been powerless to coerce, and able only to cause injury and irritation. Left to himself, with the conviction that he had fairly repulsed his assailants, the Regent grew more and more despotic, and more confirmed in his hatred of foreigners and in his policy of exclusion.

A vein of comedy runs through the story of the next attempt to enter the Forbidden Land, though the attempt itself was held sufficiently grave to involve the leaders in serious difficulty with their judicial authorities. Royal remains, stolen calves, defeated treaties, silver bullion, grey shirtings and golden coffins combine to form the elements of a tale worthy the pen of a Cooper or an Edgar Poe. On the 7th of July, 1868, a subject of the United States named Jenkins was indicted before his Consul at Shanghai, for having,

together with others not amenable to the jurisdiction of the American Consulate, entered in and upon the steamer *China* on a scandalous and unlawful expedition to Corea, for the purpose of exhuming for his own profit the body of a deceased Sovereign of Corea, to the evil example of others, and against the peace and dignity of the people of the United States.*

The object of the defence naturally was, to tell as little as possible of a story about which no one but they could know the full particulars; but sufficient came out to give a tolerably clear idea of the adventure, and that has since been supplemented by the published narrative of M. Oppert, one of the "others" referred to in the indictment.

The patent facts were that M. Oppert had chartered the steamer with money advanced by Jenkins, that an unusually large crew of over 100 Manila-men and Chinese had been engaged, and that a quantity of arms had been taken in at Nagasaki, *en route*, which were distributed on board. The further impression seems to have been, that a French missionary

* *Vide North-China Herald*, 11th July, 1868.

had told the adventurers of the whereabouts of a grave containing a gold coffin, in which lay the remains of a former king of Corea; and that these gentlemen had undertaken an expedition with the view of possessing themselves of that curious property; that they had carried out their purpose so far as making the voyage to Corea, but had failed in their ulterior design, and got into a more or less serious row with the natives. Jenkins was acquitted, chiefly it would seem because there was a doubt as to the jurisdiction of the court. M. Oppert, who was called as a witness at the trial, spoke of a treaty which he had hoped to negotiate with Corea, and of possible contracts for grey shirtings, as among the objects of the trip; while the owner of the steamer hinted at silver bullion, as an element which he had expected to find in her return cargo. But the bearing of these remarks was not at the time made clear to the minds of the audience, and it is to the pages of a book subsequently published by M. Oppert, that we must look for the key of the riddle. We agree with him that "the circumstances are so exceptional and unusual, and the character of the voyage itself is so out of the common," that it is desirable to give a clear statement of reason and motives. It should be premised that M. Oppert had already made one tentative voyage to Corea, in the hope of opening up commercial intercourse, and was known to be much interested in the country; so that he naturally became intimate with the missionaries who, as we have seen, had fled to China from the recent persecution. It appears, then, that M. Féron, one of these gentlemen, came to him one day and said:—

"I have always looked to you as the one person able and willing to help us. If I now place the means in your power to bring the Regent and his Government to submit to the demand for opening up the country, and sign treaties to that effect with foreign powers, will you undertake another voyage to put this in execution?"

Somewhat astonished, as he well might be, at this overture, M. Oppert nevertheless expressed willingness, provided the scheme looked feasible; and M. Féron went on to unfold it in the following terms:—

"The Regent, a person of very superstitious disposition, laid great store upon the possession of some old relics which had been in his family for long years, and which were kept guarded in a secluded place belonging to him. The possession of these relics was thought to ensure the fortune of himself and his family, and they were accordingly much treasured, and looked upon with a kind of superstitious awe." [So much so that M. Féron's Corean friends advised him that] "the temporary possession of these objects would be tantamount to investing their holders with an almost absolute power, and equivalent to having possession of the capital itself."

Whether these "relics" (? *reliques*) really consisted of the golden coffin of the Shanghai legend, or what was their exact nature, is not definitely stated. But M. Féron appears to have so convinced himself, and so convinced M. Oppert, of the importance attached to their possession, that the attempt was resolved on, in the full belief that they could be used to extort whatever conditions were wished from the Corean Government. That one of these conditions would have been an agreement to tolerate Christianity and missionary enterprise, may be taken as beyond doubt. Whether possibilities of ransom and concession of commercial privileges may explain the vague allusions, at the trial, to grey shirtings and specie freight, must remain uncertain; for the attempt, as we know, failed. The difficulty of the undertaking seems to have been commensurate with its eccentricity. It was necessary to ascend an inlet which was only navigable during thirty hours, once a month, at spring tides; and the locality in question was distant some four hours good walking from the landing-place. This spot was successfully reached in a steam-launch, and a number of the crew, carrying arms and tools, set out on a march into the hills in further prosecution of the search. The relics, whatever they may have been, were found enclosed by an immense mound of earth, which was penetrated with much difficulty and labour, only to find a further obstacle in the shape of a huge stone slab which they had neither tools nor time to remove. Many hours had passed, the return march was before them, and the tide must be caught. Reluctantly therefore the project was abandoned, and the "relics" were left in peace in their native soil.

No opposition seems to have been offered to this remarkable journey of armed strangers through the country, and a collision which did occur at the place of embarkation is attributed by M. Oppert to the indiscreet appropriation of a calf by one of his followers, rather than to any general feeling of hostility to the intrusion. Such is the history of this curious adventure, as told by its leader and chief; and so abortively ended the second grand attempt to open up intercourse with the Forbidden Land.

Moved, no doubt, by the destruction of the *General Sherman* and her crew, the Government of the United States next resolved to try to open negotiations with this jealously guarded country. Mr. Low, then United States Minister at the Court of Peking, was entrusted with the task; and Admiral Rogers, commanding the United States naval squadron in Chinese waters, was instructed to accompany him on the mission, "with a display of force adequate to support the dignity of the United States Government." While given the means, however, of

upholding this dignity if necessary, Mr. Low's instructions were far from being of a warlike character. In language of studious moderation, he was told to try to secure a treaty for the protection of shipwrecked mariners; but, while maintaining firmly the right of the United States to this end, "to exercise prudence and discretion, and avoid a conflict by force unless it could not be avoided without dishonour."* He was also told to seek, as M. de Bellonet had done, to enlist the influence of the Chinese Government to further his designs; but the latter again declined interference, and consented at most to forward a letter from Mr. Low to the Corean Government, announcing the expedition and explaining its object.

In May 1871, the American fleet† assembled at Nagasaki preparatory to the start; and on the 29th of that month it anchored off the mouth of the Soul river, at the same spot which Admiral Roze had selected four years previously. Immediately on its arrival, certain officials presented themselves, who were assured of the friendly purpose of the visit, and informed that the Admiral intended making a survey of the river, but would wait a few days before starting, to enable his object to be fully explained and understood. On June 1, accordingly, four steam-launches, followed at a convenient distance by the two gunboats, set out on the proposed expedition. Two hours' steaming brought them to the island of Kang-hwa, which the French had occupied during their brief sojourn, and which was destined also to prove the ultimate limit of progress of the new visitors. In 1866 the batteries had been found empty, and the fortress only slightly held. This time both were fully garrisoned; and, as the launches were being swept past by the tide, a fire was opened on them from some 70 pieces of artillery, which, it was afterwards ascertained, the Coreans had thought, with not unpardonable vanity, must inevitably sink everything within range. The bad gunnery of the artillerymen, however, and poor character of the projectiles, defeated their object; and the boats swept, almost unscathed, through the *feu d'enfer* that had been prepared for their reception. Opening fire in their turn, they were soon able to shell the Coreans out of their position, and clear a way for return to the fleet, where the sound of the firing had created a not unnatural anxiety. Admiral Rogers seems to have considered that this incident left him no option but to obtain an

* Despatch from Secretary Fish to Mr. F. F. Low, dated April 20, 1870.

† Admiral Rogers had under his command five vessels—the *Colorado* (flag-ship), *Alaska* and *Benicia* (second rates), and *Monocacy* (8) and *Palos* (6), gunboats.

apology or chastise his assailants. He had come with quite friendly intent, but if the Coreans persisted in treating indiscriminately as enemies every one who approached their shores, they must pay the penalty of their mistake. Ten days were let pass, to give ample time for the Government to explain what it was thought might have been an unauthorized act of the mandarin in command; but, as no message of any kind was received, it was resolved, at the expiry of that period, to take and destroy the fort in order to punish the insult to the flag; and this was successfully effected by a landing party of 650 men, supported by the armed launches and gunboats of the fleet. A plucky resistance was offered by the garrison, but the superior arms and discipline of the Americans prevailed. The fort was carried by storm, with the loss of an officer and two privates killed and six wounded. The magazines were exploded, and on the following day the party returned to the fleet anchorage.

But if the insult to the flag had been avenged, nothing had been done, either by peaceful message or forceful chastisement, towards gaining the objects of the expedition. The Corean Government remained impervious and uncompromising in its refusal of intercourse. The following characteristic letter, addressed by the Corean authorities to Admiral Rogers, tersely expresses their attitude of resolute isolation:—

In the year 1868 a man of your nation, whose name was Febiger, came here and communicated and went away; why cannot you do the same? In 1866 a people called the French came here; and we refer you to them for what happened. This people has lived 4,000 years in the enjoyment of its own civilization, and we want no other. We trouble no other nation—why do you trouble us? Our country is in the extreme east, and yours in the extreme west: for what purpose do you come so many thousand miles across the sea? Is it to inquire about the ship destroyed (the *General Sherman*)? Her men committed piracy and murder, and they were punished with death. Do you want our land? That cannot be. Do you want intercourse with us? That cannot be either.

To an offer to parole the wounded and prisoners, it was answered: "Do as you please; if you keep them too long, they will suffer heavy punishment from us when released." What was to be done with such a people? The American Minister and Admiral wisely decided to withdraw, for the present, from an expedition they could not hope to prosecute to success with the force at their disposal, and report to Washington a position of affairs which had become too serious to be dealt with under their instructions. As a matter of fact, the American Government appears to have resolved to abandon a

project which promised no result equal to the difficulties in prospect; and, once again, the Koreans were left to their isolation, and to the conviction, no doubt, that they had successfully repelled the attempted invasion of another barbarian power.

Notwithstanding, however, the bold front shown, the barriers were in reality tottering to their fall. The Japanese were the first to establish formal relations. Having themselves only recently been brought to conclude treaties with Western Powers, they seem to have thought they would like to negotiate one on the same model with Corea; and the Koreans, disturbed no doubt by recent events, but disposed rather to accept as allies than repel as intruders a neighbouring and well-known nation, acquiesced in the proposal. On the 26th of February, 1876, there was signed accordingly, at the now familiar island of Kang-hwa, a treaty of peace and friendship, by which the interchange of ambassadors, the appointment of consuls, and the opening of certain ports in Corea to Japanese trade, were regularly provided for. And this was followed, eighteen months later, by a supplementary agreement laying down regulations for trade; and making certain additional provisions, among which it is only worth while to particularize a clause stipulating for the kind treatment of shipwrecked foreigners, of the exact nature the Americans had wished to dictate. The end, however, was not quite yet. This acquiescence in the overtures of Japan by no means implied a willingness to enter into relations with other foreign powers. The Japanese, as we have seen, were old acquaintances; and they appear to have attained their end rather by flattering the spirit of isolation than from any tendency on the part of the Korean Government to relax its vigilance. The Duke of Genoa, who paid a flying visit to the country in the Italian frigate *Vittor Pisani*, in the summer of 1880, found the old spirit still in force; and was persuaded that the Japanese not only subserved the Korean policy, but were tending, by their brutal treatment of the people, to intensify the feeling of hostility to foreign intrusion.

The Duke's visit seems really to have been undertaken as much out of curiosity as any other motive; but an expressed desire to thank the Korean Government for kind treatment of an Italian sailor, who had been wrecked two years previously on the island of Quelpart, afforded an excuse for endeavouring to approach the officials at the ports visited. The new Japanese settlements of Fusan and Gensan were selected, perhaps naturally, as affording the easiest means of access; but the Duke had been warned that, though he would certainly receive courtesy, he would hardly have the real assistance of the Japanese in his efforts to open up

intercourse ; and the result seems to have justified this prediction. At any rate, he failed to have an interview with, or even to get a letter transmitted to, the prefect of Torai, which embraces the port of Fusan ; and only succeeded better at Gensan, by threatening to send the letter with an escort of Italian marines if he could get no Corean to carry it. Such as it was, however, his intercourse with the people seems to have been friendly and interesting. He was accompanied by Mr. Donald Spence, a member of H.B.M. Consular Service, and an excellent Chinese scholar, as interpreter ; and the difficulty seems to have been to answer the questions sufficiently fast, rather than to get into conversation at all. The Corean spoken language is totally different from the Chinese ; but Mr. Spence found that every one, even among the poorest classes, could read and write the Chinese character ; and communication was kept up by tracing characters in the air, on the sand, or on the hand, as opportunity offered. The prefect of Yung-hing even brought himself to pay a visit to the *Vittor Pisani*, under the threat mentioned ; and an amusing account is given in Mr. Spence's report,* of the scene that took place on the occasion, in the cabin of the frigate. All conversation was carried on by writing, or in dumb show ; the crowd of attendants, in the meantime, eating, drinking and smoking everything that was offered them or that they could lay hands on, and carrying off empty bottles and biscuit tins as valuable mementoes of their visit, and specimens of foreign art. All efforts, however, failed to persuade the prefect to undertake the responsibility of forwarding a letter to the capital ; he could only be brought, at last, to take a copy of one which had been prepared, and which he promised to transmit, along with a report of his visit, to the Governor of the province, his immediate superior.

So far, therefore, beyond accepting from the Japanese a treaty on a Western model, the Coreans could hardly be said to have derogated greatly from their traditional policy. But events were tending to bring about a greater change, and to induce them to take a bold plunge into the stream on whose brink they were shivering. We have seen that the father of the reigning monarch represented, in its most intense form, the ancient Toryism of the country ; but it seems to be a curious fact that Corea, like England, has its Liberal as well as its Conservative party ; and the king himself—mainly, it is said, through the influence of his wife, who comes of a Liberal stock, and is said to have tampered somewhat with Christian teaching—inclines strongly to the Liberal side. His coming of age and personal assumption of

* Report by Mr. Spence of his visit to Corea, with H.R.H. the Duke of Genoa : dated Shanghai, September 9, 1880.

power were, therefore, the signal for a great change of policy. Liberals were installed in places of power, while the regent and his allies retired in dudgeon to their estates. So that, when circumstances once more brought the Foreign question to the front, political conditions were favourable to its solution. We have seen how events were combining to force it into prominence. It was reserved for the great Chinese Minister, Li Hung-chang, to bring it to an issue. With what exact degree of truth it is difficult to say, Russia has been credited, of late, with a yearning to possess, on the Asiatic coast, a harbour more fitted for winter quarters than her Amoor territory can boast; and the so-called Port Lazaref, in Corea, has been indicated as a special object of her ambition. This inlet, which is known as Yung-hing in local parlance, and is situated between 39°10' and 39°20' N., and 125°10' and 125°20' E., constitutes a splendid harbour which is not frozen in winter, and would have been in every way a desirable acquisition. The project is said to have assumed a more definite form during the dispute with China anent the ownership of Kuldja, which threatened at one time to eventuate in hostilities that would have rendered such a harbour of first-class value; and it is said that China advised the Corean Government, as the best means of protecting itself against such a contingency, to accept the friendly intercourse which foreigners were pressing upon it. However this may be, and whatsoever the motive may have been, Li advised the king to accept foreign intercourse, and his counsel was eventually accepted. Treaties were negotiated, through his instrumentality, with the United States, Great Britain and Germany, and formally signed, when all had been cut, dried, and prepared, at the village of Jenchuan, in the neighbourhood of the capital.

It was not likely that such a complete subversion of the national policy would pass unchallenged. There is always, in every State, a party opposed to change because it is change; and we have seen that this party lacked neither representatives nor leaders in Corea. The Chinese Government passed through a severe ordeal after we had compelled it, in 1858, to abrogate pretensions that were a very article of faith with the ruling classes. The foreign wars and internal convulsions which followed the acceptance of European intercourse in Japan, attracted for a time an interest scarcely less than had been excited by the romantic descriptions of its first visitors. Corea, a country broadly divided by faction, could not hope to pass unscathed through a similar change; and, as a matter of fact, the ex-regent and his allies were hatching a plot which should overthrow their opponents and replace themselves in power. Already, in the spring, there had been rumours of

political dissension, and of hostile demonstrations against Japanese settlers; and on the 23rd of July, 1882, the storm burst. In the afternoon of that day, the Japanese Ambassador received a note from the Governor of Soul, saying the mob had risen, that he was endeavouring to put them down but feared his ability to do so, and that the members had better keep inside the Embassy and prepare for all contingencies. In effect, the Legation did become the object of attack, and was gallantly defended by the inmates till fire was applied to the neighbouring houses. Mr. Hanabusa and his countrymen, some thirty in number, then determined to cut their way out; and, after a futile attempt to obtain shelter at the palace, made their way to the seacoast, where they seized a boat and were fortunate in finding the British gunboat, *Flying Fish*, which took them on board and conveyed them to Nagasaki. They had, however, lost eight of their number during the retreat, besides others who had been killed in Soul. Later reports were received, to the effect that the rioters had subsequently proceeded to the royal palace, and had either murdered or intimidated into committing suicide, the Queen, the Crown Prince, and several of the highest officials; while the ex-Regent had again grasped all the reality of power.

Intense excitement was naturally caused by the receipt of this intelligence in Japan, and steps were at once taken to exact reparation. Mr. Hanabusa was sent back to Soul, on board an ironclad, with a fitting escort, and preparations were made for war if the employment of force became necessary. China, however, also acted in the emergency with a promptitude little to be expected from her usual dilatory habits. Directly the news arrived, Ma Kien-chung, an active and intelligent official who had just returned from a mission to India, was despatched with an ironclad squadron and several thousand soldiers, to the scene of action; and grave fears were entertained lest war between China and Japan should arise out of the imbroglio. Such a contingency was, however, fortunately averted by the good sense of the respective Governments. Japan recognized that redress for the outrage was her ultimate object, and restrained the popular clamour for war till it should be found that other measures had failed; while China made use of her influence and preponderating force, to overawe the reactionary party and restore the king and his Ministers to power. Terms of settlement, under these conditions, were speedily arranged. The Corean Government, which made no attempt to palliate the wrong done in defiance of its authority, and could only endeavour to mitigate the Japanese demands, agreed to pay \$500,000 to defray the cost of Japanese military prepara-

tions, and \$50,000 as compensation to the families of those who had been killed during the riot. The maintenance of a Japanese guard at the Legation for a year, the execution of certain ringleaders, the opening of an additional port, and the despatch of a mission of apology to Kioto, were other conditions, with which Japanese *amour-propre* appears to have been amply satisfied; while the Chinese envoy, to put an end once for all to the ex-Regent's machinations, carried him off to China, where an Imperial edict has since ordered him to be interned for the remainder of his days. We should be tempted, did space permit, to reproduce at length a translation of this characteristic document, which gives a concise summary of the course of events and recapitulates the Regent's political crimes, but must confine ourselves to the concluding terms of the sentence:—

Considering [runs the Imperial utterance] the constant arrogance with which he has intimidated his sovereign, and his plot that endangered the State, he should be punished with all the rigour of the law. But we bethink ourselves of the ties of kindred that render him an object of reverence to the prince, and that if heavy sentence be meted out to him the latter will be involved in a state of helpless misery. For these reasons we, of our special favour, most leniently lighten his sentence. Let Le Cheng-ying escape the punishment due to his crimes, and live at peace in Paoting-foo in Chihli, nor ever return to his country.

Successful treachery is no disgrace to an Oriental, and many a mandarin head will have wagged with delight, when the story was told in China of the arrest of the Korean rebel. Ma paid a visit to Soul, accompanied as was natural by a strong escort, invited the object of his attention to dinner, carried him off in a sedan-chair from the heart of the capital, and placed him on board a Chinese ironclad almost before his partisans could hear the news, or gather breath to interfere if they had been disposed to incur such a risk. There is a dash almost of the ludicrous in this closing incident, so effectual is the extinction of the rebel leader, and so complete the answer afforded to the questions which had been raised, as to the reality of Chinese suzerainty over the country.

Before these vigorous measures the Conservative opposition seems, for the present at any rate, to have collapsed. The king has resumed the reins of power, and shown a disposition to act loyally on the new lines. Even the queen has come back to life, the fate destined for her having been averted by putting forward one of her maids to receive the fatal cup, while her Majesty escaped to a neighbouring village, and remained in hiding till the storm was past.

It remained for the Governments with which Corea had been

persuaded to conclude treaties, to ratify these engagements and clench the new policy. The United States, as we have seen, found no difficulty in deciding on this step. On the 13th of May 1883—as nearly as possible twelve months after Admiral Schufeldt's first visit—General Foote arrived off the mouth of Han river; and, on the 19th, ratified copies of the American treaty were exchanged at Soul, with a degree of pomp and circumstance that would have well become a more pretentious State. The ceremony—marking as it did, for Corea, a final severance with the past—has many points of interest; and we are tempted to quote a brief sketch of the proceedings, condensed from the narrative of an eye-witness:—

The Council of Ministers were present in full Court dress of dark green satin, while the American Minister was accompanied by nine officers of the Monocacy, besides his personal suite. . . . The rich robes of the Korean noblemen, the plain black of the American Legation, the glittering epaulettes and lace of the naval officers, combined to make a scene both novel and striking, the more so when it is considered that the object of the assembly was to complete the destruction of a nation's political traditions. On the following day General Foote and his suite were received in audience by the King, who wore a round-topped hat, with fan-shaped wings sticking out behind; his dress consisting of a single garment of bright red silk with long flowing sleeves, secured at the waist by a belt of crimson and gold; while on each shoulder and on the breast were large dragons in heavy gold embroidery. Altogether, his Majesty appears to have very favourably impressed his visitors, and the usual expressions of satisfaction at the establishment of friendly relations were appropriately formulated. A most successful banquet was given at the Foreign Office in the evening, when the building was brilliantly illuminated; and two days later the Americans returned to their vessel well pleased with their visit; and not a little surprised at the magnificence of a reception which appears to have far exceeded their most sanguine expectations.

As already stated, the Cabinets of London and Berlin were in less haste to accept the situation. The prompt and decisive intervention of China at the time of the anti-Japanese outbreak had so clearly marked the vassalage of Corea, that any engagement entered into with her assumed a fresh significance; and grave doubt suggested itself as to the wisdom of concluding, with her, a treaty less liberal in many respects than that governing our relations with China. The Chambers of Commerce, moreover, at Shanghai and Yokohama protesting strongly against a tariff and other conditions which appeared unduly restrictive, approval was withheld; and Mr. Aston, of H.M.'s Consular Service in Japan, was sent to Corea to collect information regarding the country and its resources, and also, it was under-

stood, to prepare the way if possible for the desired modifications. It will be sufficient to add that the Korean Government was persuaded to yield the points at issue; and that, during a recent visit to Soul, Sir Harry Parkes succeeded in obtaining a revised treaty—free from the original blemishes and more likely in every respect to promote commercial intercourse—which will, no doubt, be shortly laid before Parliament. It would be tedious to enter here on an analysis of its provisions. Two marked variations, however, from the Chinese exemplar claim a word of comment. Opium is expressly excluded under the tariff; and, as opium seems happily to be neither grown nor used in Corea, this provision will have the sympathy even of those who most strongly deprecate the abandonment of the Indian trade, for the benefit of the native cultivator in China where the growth and the habit are alike ineradicable. A second remarkable variation from the prevalent type of our treaties with the Far East, is the absence of a clause stipulating for freedom of missionary enterprise; and this leads us to remark on the absence of France from the list of nations who have joined in the new departure. We are unaware of the precise circumstances under which the clause in question was excluded; but it is not difficult to conceive that the internal and external troubles to which the advent of Roman missions had given rise, indisposed the Korean Government to grant them a firmer foothold. Certainly neither America, England, nor Germany would be disposed to enforce such a concession; while France, virtually uninterested in commerce, and concerned chiefly to assert her political influence and advance the cause of Oriental missions, has declined a convention from which her favourite clause is absent. Her emissaries have, it is understood, been instructed to urge its acceptance with all the weight of her influence; but they have not yet been successful, and the acceptance by other Powers of an expurgated text will hardly facilitate their negotiations. In the meantime, missionaries can, of course, enter the country like other foreigners, but with no special or exceptional privileges. Germany, it is understood, is about concluding a treaty nearly identical with the British. Russia has been in no haste to join a rush which she can hardly have regarded with favour, though she cannot afford to hold aloof. At length, however, she seems about to follow the general example. M. Waebber, her Consul at Tientsin, is believed to be on the point of starting for Corea to negotiate a treaty; and a Russian fleet now assembled at Nagasaki, is said to be destined for his escort.

As a necessary consequence of the seclusion in which the Coreans have hitherto dwelt, few foreigners have had an opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with them or their

country. Hamel, as we have seen, gave an excellent idea of the nature of the Government and the state of civilization prevailing in his day ; but his narrative has long passed into the domain of archæology. British Consular officers, who have quickly pushed through the half-opened barriers, are already giving valuable information regarding the commercial resources and general aspect of the country. But it is to the missionaries of Rome that we have still to look for an exhaustive picture of Corean life ; and the curious reader will find, in the introductory chapters of "*L'histoire de l'église de Corée*," a succinct account of the language, institutions, manners, and customs of the people, as as well as of the topography and products of the soil.

The people seem to be Mongolian in type, though there are local traces of Japanese admixture. They appear to be superior, physically, to both Chinese and Japanese, though their standard of education and civilization is lower, and they are less polished in manner. They are frank-mannered towards foreigners, and in the last degree curious as to the strange countries and people from whom they have been cut off. M. Oppert, on the occasion of his remarkable voyages, Mr. Spence, in describing the visit of the Duke of Genoa, Mr. Aston, in relating his recent experiences, and Mr. Carles, during a still more recent tour, all bear testimony to these features in their character ; and, if their curiosity impels them at present to a somewhat disagreeable familiarity, it will probably resolve itself into a willingness for friendly intercourse, as the novelty wears off. Even M. Dallet, who certainly cannot be accused of sparing their defects, pays a high tribute to their hospitality, and their generous readiness to help each other under any and all circumstances. His description of the state of morality is singular ; but it seems on the whole to be low. Despite certain superficial marks of respect, women are alleged to be singularly liable to outrage, and to enjoy immunity from legal responsibility for the simple but uncomplimentary reason that they are not supposed to be responsible for their acts. So remarkable, in fact, is the state of affairs depicted, that we cannot help fancying the writer has been inspired to lay on the colour with a somewhat heavy brush. The testimony of recent foreign visitors goes chiefly to emphasize their extreme timidity ; indeed, Mr. Carles, who has lately made an extensive tour through the two central provinces, says :—

The seclusion in which they [the women] and even girls, live is marvellous. No matter how poor the hovel in which we were stopping, it was rare that we got even a glimpse of a woman in the house ; and when met on the road they either struck off at right angles or, turning their backs on us, stood still until we had passed.

Some of this may of course be due to fear of strangers ; and it [Vol. CXXII. No. CCXLIII.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. LXVI. No. I. G

is curious to note that, according to M. Dallet, if they have grave disabilities they have also some quaint privileges, not the least remarkable of which is the right to circulate freely at all hours, even at night, in the streets of the capital ; whereas between 9 P.M. and 2 A.M. no man can go out, except in case of absolute necessity, without exposing himself to a heavy fine.

The government is founded on the Chinese model, with national variations ; and, as in China, Confucianism, tempered by Buddhism, is the prevailing religion. But the Buddhistic element is said to command little affection ; the temples are few and poor, and the priests rank low in the social scale—chiefly, no doubt, owing to their depraved and dissolute habits—below even their Chinese brethren, who are far from being highly esteemed. As in China, the so-called worship of ancestors is the one cult which touches the heart of the people ; and the uncompromising war which Christian missionaries have declared against this practice, is the chief cause of the difficulties and hostility they encounter in both countries. A curious survival of Fire Worship, which M. Dallet notes (p. 147), deserves a passing notice :—

La plupart des familles [he writes] conservent précieusement le feu dans la maison, et font en sorte de ne jamais le laisser éteindre. Si un pareil malheur arrivait, ce serait pour la famille le pronostic et la cause des plus grandes infortunes.

It is related, for instance, of a nobleman who, while entertaining a number of guests, was told by a slave that there was no fire in the house, that, quitting them immediately, he rushed to the different braziers and examined the ashes with feverish anxiety. At last he perceives a spark, and succeeds in procuring a light from it.

Victoire, s'écrie-t-il, en rentrant dans le salon ; les destins de ma race ne sont pas encore terminés. J'ai recouvré ce feu que mes ancêtres se sont fidèlement transmis depuis dix générations, et je pourrai à mon tour le léguer à mes descendants.

In its physical aspect, the peninsula of Corea presents a remarkable likeness to the peninsula of Italy. An axial range of mountains, similar in trend and appearance to the Apennines, runs along its whole length, close to, and parallel with, the eastern coast. Consequently, the streams running into the Pacific are but short mountain torrents, tumbling in a few miles from source to sea ; while those running into the China Sea are rivers of a certain magnitude, flowing through cultivated or cultivable plains. These physical peculiarities mark, at once, not only the distribution of the population and the present productive area of the country, but also point to the trade routes of the future. Roughly speaking, the portions of the peninsula

which lie to the west of the watershed are the most populous and fertile; and, while communication between the capital and the east coast is difficult, that between it and the west coast is easy. The two ports which have been open, under the Japanese Treaty, since 1875, are neither of them well situated to tap the country for its exports, or to supply it with imports; and, if physical geography is any commercial index, it is to the port of Jenchuan, opened by our own Treaty, on the western coast, in close proximity to the capital, that our merchants must look for any considerable trade.

The hills are believed to contain much mineral wealth, though it has hitherto been very imperfectly worked. Exploratory journeys have been recently made, both by Chinese and foreigners, with a view to verify these indications; and it is understood that no obstacle will be raised to the working of mines with foreign capital and appliances, if the game prove worth the candle. Two reports on Corean mines have been lately submitted to the Government by H.M. Minister in Japan. They are anonymous, but seem to bear internal evidence of having been written by a Chinese. In any case the writer has evidently travelled freely, and had free access to what information was available. His researches disclosed the existence of lead, sulphur, copper, and iron; but it is disappointing to note that he failed to find coal in their vicinity.

The working of the mines of Corea [he writes] is not only attended with more difficulties than the working of mines in foreign countries, but it is even more difficult than it is in China. Railways are the only means of overcoming these difficulties. The construction of railways and the opening of mines are two things which necessarily go together. . . . When there is no coal in a country which produces the five metals (*i.e.*, gold, silver, copper, iron, and lead), either the ore must be transported to where the coal is, or the latter must be taken to the mines.

In working the various five metal mines, the first thing to be done is to look for places where there is coal; the second is to construct connecting lines of railways. Both are essential. To carry out these three objects, many millions of taels will be required. If these undertakings were all carried out with enthusiasm, not only would all the mines in the various circuits be opened up, but railways would be gradually extended throughout the country, as far as Wönsan in the north and Pusan in the south, and it would thus be the most effectual means of securing the wealth and strength of the country.

All this is very enthusiastic, but it will require very precise guarantees and assurances, to elicit the millions needed to realize the picture! The native system of working is very primitive, and quite fails to do justice to the resources which clearly exist. It is, according to the writer just quoted,

to do first what is easiest, and leave to the last what is difficult. They dig away at the mine, and the hole gets gradually deeper, but there is no ventilation, and no means of furnishing a light; there are many springs which discharge water (into the workings), and no appliances for getting rid of this water. If the mine is under these circumstances abandoned, the capital put into it is lost; while, on the other hand, it can only be worked at risk of life. No profit can thus be made out of these mines, under the local method of working them.

Gold and silver undoubtedly exist in Corea, and gold-dust has long formed an appreciable export to Japan (it is collected mainly from the washings of streams), but both metals are said to be excluded from the programme of foreign enterprise.

One source of wealth, which has been much neglected, is timber. No mention is made, as yet, of any export of this article; but, writes Mr. Longford, "owing to the deforestation that has taken place in Japan, the price of timber suitable for building purposes has during the last few years increased over threefold, its cost being now almost double what it is in England, whereas not many years have elapsed since it was little more than half." Corea seems well able to supply the deficiency, from the abundant resources of her hills. The nature and capabilities of the country, at the point where the peninsula merges into the continent, are as yet but little known further than that it is said to be richly wooded, and that it is traversed by the greatest of all Corean rivers. But, even if this source failed, the grandly wooded range which we have seen on the eastern coast, is covered with seemingly illimitable supplies.

The valleys are fertile and fairly cultivated, though there does not seem to be among their products very much available for exportation. Cotton, hemp, flax, tobacco, indigo, hides and furs have been among the articles exported through the Japanese; and, with possibly some silk, probably indicate the principal elements of commerce we may expect to find at the outset. The silk actually produced is, according to M. Pourthié, very little, and of coarse quality. "Seeing, however, the mulberry-tree grow wild in the hills, and the silkworms succeed despite the slight care taken of them," he is persuaded that, under an intelligent impulse, the industry might acquire larger proportions. Mr. Spence bears somewhat similar testimony. "Of silk culture (he writes) there was none in the country which we saw;" but, he adds, "they spin the cocoons of the wild *ailanthus*, and I procured hanks of their silk which to my inexperienced eye seemed closely to resemble *Shantung* silk." The eyes of the Government seem to have been at last opened to the possible development of this industry, and a recent Shanghai

paper mentions the export from Chekeang of 8,000 young mulberry-trees destined for plantation in Corea. The tea shrub grows wild, but is also neglected. Another product which Mr. Spence mentions, as a possible article of commerce, is hemp. Hempen clothes are, he says, universally worn by the labouring classes, and the thread is spun much finer than would be possible with European hemp:—

I tried to get some specimens of the fibre, but was unsuccessful. It must be the same, I think, as the Chinese flax, which grows in the neighbourhood of Newchwang; and, as the importation of that fibre into England has long been desired by our flax-spinners, and is only restricted on account of its high price, attention will probably be drawn to the Corean hemp whenever the country is opened.

The cotton shrub thrives; tobacco and indigo are also grown; and, most valuable of all, the ginseng root, which plays so important a part as a tonic and restorative in the Chinese pharmacopœia. Some idea of the value of this product may be formed from the fact that the duty paid on it in one year, at the Chinese frontier station, is said to have exceeded £100,000. One of the chief curiosities is a remarkably small race of ponies, which surpass our own Shetland breed in diminutiveness and shape. A kind of wine is made from rice, which is not agreeable to the foreign palate; but the Coreans themselves show a decided appreciation of foreign drinks, especially champagne, and seem ready to drink any quantity they can obtain.

The population, which is estimated at from eight to ten millions, is sparse except at a few principal centres, and generally poor; and the standards of comfort and industry are low.* They have no glass, and their crockery is of a very common description. "Of ornamental art work," writes Mr. Spence, "such as porcelain, bronze, &c., they have none. . . . The ceramic art is quite rudimentary, and they attach an excessive value to the commonest Japanese ware." Their greatest excellence seems to be attained in the manufacture of paper, which is made from hemp, and is so strong that it is difficult to tear, and, as in Japan, is oiled and made into excellent waterproofs. The cabinet-makers also, according to Mr. Carles, show a certain amount of skill in their manufactures, and the brass and wicker work are not without finish. Book-stalls are rare; and "painting, except on screens, seems hardly to exist." White cotton cloth is manufactured; but no woollen. A place called Kimhua, not far from

* Mr. Carles considered that, "as compared with North China, the country seemed at once poorer and better off. Great riches are, I should imagine, unknown, but the working classes are easier in their circumstances than the same class in China."

Soul, is famed (locally) for its cotton silk fabrics; but the specimens Mr. Carles saw were "coarse and faulty, and the breadth too narrow to find a sale in the European market." He judged, moreover, that both the raw silk and cocoons were too high-priced to be remunerative as exports. European goods are esteemed. A report submitted to Sir Harry Parkes at the close of 1882 shows that the value of English cotton goods imported the previous year, through Japanese channels, had exceeded \$1,000,000; and, as the demand had steadily increased since the trade with Japan commenced, there is reason to hope that it will continue to do so now the opening of the country will allow the goods to be obtained with greater facility and at a less cost. But, though the experience of the Japanese since the conclusion of their treaty in 1871 seems to indicate a willingness to trade, and the figures they have furnished our Legation show a considerable increase, the values are still not important; and the poverty of the people must prevent any material increment, until the natural resources of the country are better developed. The increase, for instance, was tenfold from 1877 to 1881; but the total of the latter year was still only 3,827,394 *yen*, or about half a million sterling; and 1883 is said to have shown a decrease even from that moderate total. Indeed, the crudity of their financial arrangements is in itself sufficient to indicate a very primitive state of trade. It required two ponies, each bearing a load of 280 lbs., to carry currency to the value of £30, for which Mr. Carles' party had occasion. Almost the same difficulty might be predicated of the copper *cash* which form, the prevailing medium of exchange in China; but the Chinese have invented an elaborate system of banking, whereas in Corea, though "merchants are said occasionally to give bills on each other," the arrangements are of a very restricted character. The Chinese have also a sufficiency of silver, which they cast into shoes of *sycee* of standard purity; whereas, in Corea, "failing paper and copper *cash*, silver ingots and gold-dust are to be bought sometimes, but not in large quantities, nor of a fixed standard." Obviously, if the people have made so little progress in finance, it is because they have not trade of sufficient volume to require a more elaborate system. The state of things indicated is, in fact, not far removed from barter. For instance, one exceedingly primitive arrangement is that, in the inland towns, nothing is to be bought in the ordinary way except at fairs—which are naturally, however, under these circumstances, held with considerable frequency.

The ports to be thrown open to foreign trade under Sir Harry Parkes' treaty are Gensan, in Yung-hing bay, (Port Lazaref) on the N.E.; Fusan on the S.E.; Jenchuan and Yang-hwa-chin on the W. coast, and the capital itself. Of these, Gensan is at

present the most important, having been hitherto the port of supply for the capital; but it may be expected to lose its pre-eminence now the west coast also is open to trade. Mr. Aston estimates the town as comprising about 2,000 houses, with perhaps 10,000 inhabitants.—Fusan is the place where, as we have seen, the Japanese retained a foothold after Fidejosi's invasion; nor, though the nature of the footing is changed, does their hold appear to have become less firm. Mr. Aston estimates the Japanese population as fully equalling the Korean. They have organized their settlement on the same footing as those occupied by foreigners at the treaty ports of China; and it is in it that what maritime trade exists is carried on. The gross total of imports and exports at Fusan, for 1881, is stated at \$1,000,000, of which something over \$200,000 represented English shirtings.—Jenchuan has not yet been open to trade, and is therefore in the happy condition of having no commercial history. Its importance will arise as a port of supply to the capital, in case the Han river prove too difficult of navigation.—For a picture of Soul itself, we must refer our readers to Mr. Carles' and other interesting descriptions, on which the exigencies of space forbid us to indent. As may be inferred from what we have already said of Korean art and manufactures, it does not seem likely to contribute any very valuable items of export; but, as is natural, it seems to be the chief centre of demand for imports. These, as we have seen, have hitherto had to make their way from Gensan—123 miles—on pack animals, over an intervening range of mountains. The new treaty permits them to be landed as near as may be to the doors of the purchasers, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the resultant cheapening will tend to stimulate the existing trade.

It is time, with these few prosaic facts, to close our sketch of the so long Forbidden Land. A record of the import of grey shirtings fitly represents the change which has come over the scene since Father Frois described to wondering ears the great invasion of Fidejosi, and Henry Hamel narrated his strange experiences among a stranger people. As yet, the romance partly holds. A recent letter in the *North-China Herald*, describing a sacrificial visit by the king to the temple of Confucius, deals with a barbaric pomp of procession, a quaintness of costume, an idiosyncrasy of ceremonial as striking as any of the pictures which have been drawn for us, of Eastern life.

Mounted warriors resplendent in robes of various colours . . . then more flags, and a row of trumpeters, behind whom walked an officer bearing a red silk banner on which was embroidered a disk in the most brilliant gold thread. After the banners came a bevy of

officers surrounding a man (the king) on horseback, dressed in a scarlet robe with gold embroidery on the chest and back, a lacquer belt studded with amber medallions, &c. &c. Before and behind the king open sedan-chairs were carried, and after these came a large covered litter, borne on the backs of ponies, which was draped inside and out with leopard skins. More mounted warriors and soldiers . . . were succeeded by a fresh batch of trumpeters, who marched in advance of a second banner similar to the one carried before the king, except that it was blue instead of red. Then came a second litter, in which was seated a diminutive boy dressed like the king, who, I was informed, was the Crown Prince. After the litter came more trumpeters, warriors, and foot-soldiers, and the procession had gone by.

We have here doubtless, as the writer suggests, an exact reproduction of a solemnity that has been observed for centuries, but which will probably soon now become a thing of the past. Cavalry officers who are obliged "to maintain their balance by clutching hold of a handle fastened to the peak of the saddle for that purpose," and who have "one servant to lead the pony and another to hold them on," are an anachronism in these days of Uhlans and utilitarianism. But while they last—both processions and warriors—they will secure for the descriptive letters of first visitors some of the quaint interest which clings to the experiences of Hamel and Wettevree. "It is altogether," writes the same correspondent, "a strange country, this hermit kingdom. The pale, monotonous colours affected by the common people in their dress; the noiseless way in which they move about; the total lack of wheeled vehicles; the absence of street cries, or indeed of shouting of any sort, have a most weird effect; and as one passes through the silent, white-clad multitude, one almost finds oneself wondering whether it is all real, or whether one has not been suddenly transported to dreamland."

A similar interest attached to Japan, when that country first opened its doors to foreign visitors; and there seems a remarkable similarity to Japan, in the thoroughness with which both Government and people have accepted the intercourse they had so long been at pains to repel. A Corean embassy has already been to America, and completed a voyage round the world by returning through England and France. M. von Mollendorff—formerly Consul for Germany at Tientsin, and more lately interpreter to the Chinese Viceroy, Li Hung-chang—who was sent to Corea to organize a Customs service, appears to have been hailed as a general adviser on Foreign Affairs. Telegraphic communication has already been established by laying a cable between Nagasaki and Fusan. Foreigners, who were lately not permitted to land on the forbidden shores, are now given the

right of travel throughout the land. A General Exhibition is projected for next year, at Soul; and, last but not least, the foundation of a National Debt has been laid, by borrowing \$200,000 from China to meet expenses incidental to establishing the new *régime*! Let us hope that there will be no cause for reaction from all this *empressement*. It will hardly last at such high pressure, but we may hope that it will settle down into steady working without the collisions, friction, and other unpleasant experiences that have characterized our early relations with other Oriental peoples.

R. S. GUNDRY.

ART. IV.—THE CHRISTIAN HAREM.

DURING the short period immediately following the death of a celebrated man, or the publication of an important book, when it rains criticisms, biographical notices, and comments, embodying every variety of praise or dispraise, it is sometimes possible, amid the clamour, to disentangle a note of truer *timbre* than the rest, and having a real and permanent significance. In the case of a recent work which was for several weeks in everybody's hands and on everybody's lips—the autobiography of an extremely popular novelist and typical Englishman—such a note was sounded by a weekly contemporary with remarkable clearness and, it might be added, courage.

Mr. Trollope [says the writer in question] was thoroughly in earnest in wishing to teach a high morality by his tales, and no tales could be purer than his from anything like mischief; at the same time we should say that what he understood as a high morality was a morality of a very limited kind, and involved little more for men and women in general than insisting that girls should be modest and loving, and that men should be honest and diligent, and should know their own minds. *He hardly even teaches so much as that men should be pure as well as women, or that women should be courageous as well as men.*

Now, granting—as most of us will probably be disposed to grant—that “conduct is three-fourths of life,” it follows that the first test to which the works of a voluminous writer who counts his readers by hundreds of thousands should be brought is the ethical test. And it also follows that a thoughtful representative of the higher criticism, convinced of the profound importance of conduct, and sensitive to moral discords as an accomplished musician to material ones, is within his rights in

demanding that such a writer shall not inculcate as high morality what is in truth "a morality of a very limited kind." "Conduct is three-fourths of life." More. The Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the ending of the existence of civilized human beings, in whom civilization is not the thin veneer of selfishness and savagery, are goodness; and the popular novelist—that powerful preacher who has never entered a pulpit, that orator more persuasive than any that ever mounted platform, that force more penetrative than press, than stage, even than direct personal influence—should doubtless, theoretically, be ranged on the side, not of conventional decorum, but of the highest goodness which has been revealed to the highest minds.

At the same time, it must always be borne in mind that a popular author is, more than any man, the child of his age. Were he too much in advance of it, it would not read him; indeed he is its darling mainly because he confines himself to ideals that it can understand, does not aspire to anything beyond the average work-a-day moral code of the average citizen, and does not fatigue with unfamiliar speculation or new-fangled disquieting enthusiasms. Probably no English writer of modern times reflects more exactly than Trollope this comfortable, old-fashioned moral code, which, in the main, embodies to this hour the loftiest pitch at which the ethical aspirations of his countrymen have arrived. And it is precisely because his opinions are typical English opinions that we may permit ourselves to make use of his autobiographical confession of faith in order to illustrate the old order of morality, which, in the opinion of many, is destined to change, "giving place to new." Our modern critic, on the other hand, who has the hardihood to require of an author that he shall teach "men to be pure as well as women, and women to be courageous as well as men," may stand for the type of the new school of thinkers whose endeavour it is, in the teeth of prejudice and tradition, and of the opposition—official, orthodox, and scientific, as well as merely malicious and selfish—which every reform must expect to encounter, to promulgate what they understand by the higher morality.

The difference between the two schools lies in a nutshell. It may be summed up in one word—*equality between the sexes*. Not equality in social and civil rights—the important questions, separate though allied, involved in claims such as these, are beside our purpose for the moment—but *equality in virtue*. Now, theoretically, equality in virtue has long been recognized in the Western world, ever since, in fact, the Founder of Christianity refused to sanction the punishment by a cruel death

of an erring woman, except at the hands of an accuser who could himself be proved to be immaculate. But, like other doctrines of the same teacher, this doctrine of the equality of the sexes in virtue has since practically fallen into desuetude. He denounced war, and we carry on war, not as a tragic and humiliating necessity which we deplore, but as a thing meet for chaplains to pray over, and post-prandial orators to glorify. He deprecated riches, and we spend annual thousands upon luxurious dwellings and amusements not remarkably elevating, while the little children that he loved are growing up at our doors into a compulsory proletariat, gangrened with theft, prostitution and drink. He fulminated against pride, with those thunders of fiery indignation which are known only to the gentle soul, once thoroughly aroused to the ungentleness of the world, and we—blinded by an imbecile idolatry of rank, of money, of political importance and social distinction—we look askance upon everybody who is not in our own set! The truth is, unfortunately, that the ethical creed of Jesus of Nazareth is not the ethical creed of the modern club and drawing-room, if indeed it may truly be said to be the creed of the modern pulpit, and there is really great scope for the reformer in more than one department of Christian morals.

But to return to our point—the practical rejection by nominally Christian society of the Christian doctrine of equality in virtue. It is impossible to illustrate this better than by placing side by side in parallel columns the experiences of a young man in London, as given in the “Autobiography,” with those of a young girl in London as given by herself. The young girl is imaginary, but her story, unhappily, is not. It is a story which any one who will give themselves the trouble may hear any day of the week in real life.

HIS STORY.

And now, looking back at it, I have to ask myself whether my youth was very wicked? I did no good in it; but was there fair ground for expecting good from me? When I reached London no mode of life was prepared for me—no advice even given to me. I went into lodgings, and then had to dispose of my time. I belonged to no club, and knew very few friends who would receive me into their houses. In such a condition of life, a young man should

HER STORY.

And now, looking back at it, I have to ask myself whether my youth was very wicked? I did no good in it; but was there fair ground for expecting good from me? When I reached London no mode of life was prepared for me—no advice even given to me. I went into lodgings, some distance from my place of business, and then had to dispose of my time. I had not heard of a Girl's Friendly Society, and did not know of any place where I

no doubt go home after his work, and spend the long hours of the evening in reading good books and drinking tea. . . . No training had been given me. There was no house in which I could habitually see a lady's face and hear a lady's voice. No allurements to decent respectability came in my way. It seems to me that in such circumstances the temptations to loose life will almost certainly prevail with a young man. Of course, if the mind be strong enough, and the general stuff knitted together of sufficiently stern material, the temptations will not prevail. But such minds and such materials are, I think, uncommon. The temptation, at any rate, prevailed with me.

could obtain rest and recreation after hours of toil. In such a condition of life a young woman should no doubt go home after her work, and spend the long hours of the evening in reading good books and drinking tea. No training had been given me. There was no friend's house in which I could learn refinement and self-respect, or could innocently enjoy the society of men. My only opportunities of this nature occurred during my walks home at night. *Scarcely a day passed that I was not accosted in the street by some person, usually of gentlemanlike appearance.* No allurements to decent respectability came in my way. It seems to me that in such circumstances the temptations to loose life will almost certainly prevail with a young woman. At any rate, they prevailed with me.

Now compare the attitude of society towards these two offenders. To the stronger of the two, the one who has been taught from the cradle that he is the superior, that it is his part to act and to command, hers to admire and to obey, that it is his to make and to administer the laws that control them both, his, not merely to protect his country from external foes, but jealously to guard against any infringement of the rights and liberties of the weakest of his fellow-subjects—to the young man, society says, "You were young like the rest of us, and you sowed your wild oats. It was wrong, perhaps, but it was natural, almost inevitable. We can scarcely blame—certainly we cannot punish you." To the weaker of the two, who has been bred up from the cradle to a degree of dependence there is nothing in her after-life to justify, who is encouraged in ignorance, and fortified—we may be forgiven the paradox—in feebleness; who, if she learned anything at Sunday-school, learned that yieldingness, docility, resignation and obedience were excellent things in woman, while mankind, in the concrete form of the School Board visitor, the rent-collector, the parson and the policeman were to her as gods—to the young girl society says, "You should know how to take care of yourself. To have acted so you must necessarily be a corrupt and vicious

person. We can have nothing more to do with you. Take yourself out of our sight."

And what do the young man and the young woman respectively reply? Again the man's answer may be taken verbatim from the autobiography of our typical Englishman.

If the rustle of a woman's petticoat has ever stirred my blood; if a cup of wine has been a joy to me; if I have thought tobacco at midnight in pleasant company to be one of the elements of an earthly paradise; if, now and again, I have somewhat recklessly fluttered a £5 note over a card-table; of what matter is that to any reader? I have betrayed no woman. Wine has brought me to no sorrow. It has been the companionship of smoking that I have loved, rather than the habit. I have never desired to win money, and I have lost none. To enjoy the excitement of pleasure, but to be free from its vices and ill-effects—to have the sweet and leave the bitter untasted—that has been my study. . . . I will not say that I have never scorched a finger; but I carry no ugly wounds.

Have we here a confession of guilt? Most certainly not. It is the old story, "I am not better than other people. I am no saint"—(strange that you do not find this engaging frankness where what men are *really* ashamed of is in question, "I am no saint—I lied, or I ran away, or I cheated at cards!")—the sort of plea, in short, which is merely "Not Guilty" writ large. Because he has *betrayed no woman*—because, that is, he has stopped short of a depth of cowardly infamy which is only *not* loathed like murder, and *not* spurned like fraud, because—alas for our manhood! and alas for our civilization! and alas for our Christianity! it happens too often—because he has stopped short of this last abyss—the man has almost, forsooth, the right to plume himself! That he has been helping to maintain a class of outcasts made such, directly or indirectly, by his cruelty, kept such by his selfishness, that he has knocked one more nail into the coffin of some unhappy woman's self-respect, health, happiness and hopes of heaven; that he has helped to lower instead of raising that standard of current public opinion by which—and not by any higher one—the young habitually measure themselves, so making it more difficult instead of more easy for all other boys to be pure and all other girls to be modest—that he has done all this counts for nothing with the man. He "*carries no ugly wounds.*"

And the woman? What is the woman's answer to those her accusers? Why, the woman, stupified by centuries of injustice, of *inequality* in virtue, dazed by the ostracism which has excluded her from all contact with the pure, nay, with the respectable, and converted her from a victim into a pest, maddened at last into believing that they speak truth who say to her, "You were

the weaker, *therefore* you should have 'withstood; Nature already chastises your errors with whips—*therefore* the world does right to chastise them with scorpions," the woman merely takes up the despairing cry of the-outcast of old, "God and man be merciful to me a sinner!"

And this injustice of society is buttressed by the law, which, in these matters, takes care to lag well behind the public conscience, lest haply it might be in any true sense an educator, a guide to the unlearned and mentor to the weak in principle. The law encourages in the man, not merely ante-nuptial immorality—that it must be understood to take for granted—but conjugal infidelity itself. It allows him to plead the "consent" (!) of a child of thirteen to her own destruction; it freely permits to him that "solicitation," and "loitering for immoral purposes" which it punishes in the woman; it abets him in the maintenance of a class of women-chattels by robbing them of their constitutional rights and reducing their degradation to a system; finally it authorizes in him the greatest moral insult which a husband can offer to a wife, provided only that it is not accompanied with the lesser outrage of physical violence.

Of course there is a stereotyped answer to all this—that this so called injustice is founded upon natural law. In the words of another hebdomadal writer, discoursing upon this very subject of divorce in connection with Woman's Suffrage:—

Nature and common sense created the inequality before it was recognized by law; nor could it without scandalous impropriety be removed by legislation. . . . It is a sufficient answer to the charge of injustice that a man cannot without dishonour condone infidelity, while a woman may, without injury to her character, forgive the offence, if it has been discontinued. The reasons for the distinction are notorious and transparent. . . . If female voters are likely to insist on an equality which has no foundation in natural law, there is one more strong reason against the concession of their demands.

The rejoinder has a plausible sound, but that it is really based upon a fallacy can be shown in a very few words. It is *not* a "sufficient answer to the charge of injustice" that "a woman *may* without injury to her character forgive the offence" of infidelity, for the simple reason that she is allowed no choice in the matter. The law does not say to the woman, "You *may* forgive the offence," but, "You *must* forgive it." It is in the *compulsion* exercised in the one case and not in the other that the injustice lies, and, as will presently be shown, that the impolicy (looking at the matter from the lowest utilitarian standpoint) lies also. Whatever those "notorious and transparent" reasons which appeared to the framers of the law of divorce sufficiently cogent

to justify the unequal exercise of this compulsion, they unfortunately do not appeal with anything like convincing force to the minds of an increasing body of educated Englishwomen. There may have been a time—a time not very remote—when they would have passed unchallenged by even a high-minded woman; when, content to be, in some sort, the property, instead of the companion of man, and acknowledging the equity of the classification which ranked her with minors and idiots, even the best kind of woman may really have felt less outraged by her husband's infidelities than he by hers, and may have acquiesced in the social and physiological arguments (or assumptions) by which he supported his position. But that time has now gone by. It is not for nothing that the higher education has been placed within the reach of women, and that after having been (with some hesitation) conceded a soul, it has at length begun to be admitted (partially) that woman has a mind. The tendency of things for some years past has been in the direction of raising her from the position of man's chattel to that of his equal (not his embittered rival, but his friendly assessor), and during the process she has made for herself the discovery of a "natural law," not less authoritative, nor less firmly rooted in fact and in history than those other "natural laws" that have been so often flung in her teeth in connection with inequality in virtue.

That natural law is this: that in sexual virtue, as in other things, the husband and the wife, the man and the woman, stand or fall together. Here, too,

The woman's cause is man's; they rise or sink
Together, dwarfed or godlike, bond or free,

and, consequently, such legislation and such social conventions as seek to secure the chastity of the one, while they encourage the unchastity of the other, not only bear the brand of iniquity, but are necessarily foredoomed to failure. They ignore or they contradict one great natural law, while ostensibly maintaining another, and in so doing they overreach themselves, and inevitably defeat their avowed object. The proof is not far to seek. In every country, in every class, in every epoch notorious for moral corruption, male laxity has for its invariable concomitant female levity—witness Athens and Rome in their decadence, witness our own Restoration and the Paris of the Regency and Second Empire; witness all aristocracies festered with idleness and hypocrisy, or those less guilty, hopeless, homeless, bestialized masses who are the crime and the curse of our modern Babels. The evidence of history upon this point is conclusive, though, indeed, the appeal to history is, or ought to be, superfluous in a question of plain common-sense. The attempt to preserve intact

the honour of certain women, because it concerns the honour of certain men that it should be so preserved, while, outside the charmed circle, every man is a law unto himself, is, on the face of it, as puerile as it is unrighteous. It is like drawing a line of chalk round the bed of a healthy child in a fever-stricken nursery, and assuming that no germ of disease will have the temerity to cross the boundary. Moral contamination—infininitely more subtle than any known form of physical contagion—insinuates itself in a hundred known and in a thousand unknown ways, where its presence is least suspected and least desired. Evils obvious and horrible, evils less obvious, but perhaps on that very account more dangerous, spread with a rapidity little dreamed of by those who are most concerned to avert them; the leaven works till society becomes corrupt to the core, and, at last, there is not a woman to whom purity is a thing absolutely beautiful and sacred, because there is not a man to whom it is imperative. "If chastity is a law for woman, it must be so for every woman without exception; and if it is a law for every woman, it follows necessarily that it must be equally so for every man." Here is the true "natural law," from which there is no escape. The choice is between this and chaos.

The fact is so self-evident, that it is necessary to look beyond the favourite arguments of supporters of inequality in virtue, in order to account for men's blindness to it. There is something more behind—when a true sociology has dismissed objections founded on false notions of "honour," and a true human physiology has disposed of that libel on Nature—the supposed inherent necessity of a dual moral law. What is really at the root of the reluctance to acknowledge equality in virtue is, as has been hinted before, the subjection of women, the desire (often less a desire than a mere unconscious instinct) that women should remain in a state of tutelage, and that the growing movement in a contrary direction should not make way. It is curious with what persistency this instinct of possessing some sort of property in women lingers on in the civilized world. We talk of the degradation of the zenana and of the harem, but we fail to see that all institutions whatsoever that keep grown women in a condition of pupilage—to use no stronger term—tend to deteriorate both them and their masters, and that, in particular, the moral or immoral license accorded to the one sex and strictly denied to *the appropriated portion* of the other, means simply polygamy, with all its attendant evils, direct and indirect.

The Christian Harem—it has an odd sound—but this it is which really stands in the way of a true moral equality between men and women, and consequently of a higher general standard of

social life. It is, virtually, the unacknowledged survival, in the Western world, of what was once a universally-recognized institution, supposed to be based upon an unassailable "natural law." Few, perhaps, save the most cynical, would care to openly admit the fact, yet fact it is, that the principle of the harem has as real and practical an existence in our midst as some of the institutions of which we are proudest—as the Church, for instance, or the army, or the police. The Christian form of the institution must be understood to include metaphorically, not merely the wife and the chattels, past or present, of the representative of Western civilization who is its owner, but also all his near female relatives, all those women whose dishonour, *because they belong to him*, is his dishonour, although the converse does not hold good, *his* dishonour affecting nobody, not even himself. Safe beneath his ægis, enclosed, figuratively speaking, in the impregnable fortress of his name and fame, whoever touches them, or even suffers the breath of slander to approach them, does so at his peril.

But outside the Harem walls? There womanhood is no longer sacred; there a woman who has no proprietor becomes the lawful prey of the first-comer; respect for property not intervening to protect her, nothing else intervenes. There is not found a chivalrous reverence for women, *as such*, nor any thirst after a manlike purity *for its own sake*. That a woman has fallen is not the trumpet-call to every noble and wise-hearted man to raise her again as speedily as may be; rather it is the signal to deepen her degradation and do her to moral death. That opinion, that usage, that law, all tend to his impunity and to her enslavement and outlawry is not a thought which fills a man with shame and indignation; that the class of appropriated and protected women treat him with lenience while they will not have their ears polluted with the mention of her name, is not a fact which sickens and appals him. Rather, he slips into an ignoble acquiescence in the injustice of opinion, of usage, of law, and of protected women, avails himself of it as a convenient if not a righteous arrangement, and moves no finger to combat wrongs which in many a conscience-stricken moment, many a miserable, ghost-haunted vigil, he knows to be unspeakable.

For, indeed, the Nemesis of these wrongs, so long unrecognized, so long unavenged, has overtaken him; and the man who sets little store by the virile virtue of purity pays for his error by a lessening hold upon other virtues—virtues which are vulgarly accounted of a more masculine and vertebrate order, such as honour, truth, love of fair play, generosity, and magnanimity. His religion becomes a lie, his moral code a specious

hypocrisy; he loses the sense of the sacredness of personal rights; whole classes of the community cease for him to be persons at all; they become *things* to be regulated as he regulates gin-shops, or factory-chimneys, or sewers. The principles which govern his procedure are cynical principles, and the constituent elements of cynicism being cruelty, animalism, and disbelief in any higher nature than its own, it is needless to add that the methods inspired by it are not methods tending in the direction of the more humane and chivalrous virtues.

And what is true of individuals is true of nations, who are but individuals in the aggregate. The results upon national stamina and *morale* of the Oriental attitude towards one-half of the human race, of the respect for purity in a section of women because it is expedient (the principle of the Harem), instead of the respect for purity in every human being because it differentiates us from the brutes, because it is wholesome and righteous, because it is beautiful, rational, and divine, the results of this perversion are evident enough among the peoples who pass for being in the van of civilization; most notoriously and tragically evident in the most (outwardly) highly-civilized of them all. In France, purity, being supposed to appertain scarcely even to the married woman, but merely to the school-girl, to the "*jeune fille*," has long been degraded to the level of other school-girlish attributes, with the natural consequence that despotism and brutality, whether of monarch or of state, have struck roots of iron into an emasculate and polluted soil, and we have phenomena like the goading of a disaffected soldiery to gratuitous carnage; like the forcible expulsion of a harmless religious order; like the nightly raid of a Police of Immorality through the streets, sweeping fallen and unfallen alike into its net of perdition.

It is such flagrant violations of justice and decency as this last which have at length thoroughly aroused the friends of liberty and morality at home and abroad, and convinced them that if wrong is not to be remedied by more grievous wrong, and evil by stronger incitements to evil; if the principle of the Harem is not to receive the direct sanction of governments, and to be *authorized* in crushing the manhood out of men and trampling on the rights of women; that if the deliberate encouragement of what is basest in both is not to go on making every day a little less possible, a little less desired, the dawn of that kingdom of heaven which is *within us*—that if all this is not to be they must speak out.

And here we are reminded of that daring critic whom we chose as the mouthpiece of the revolt against inequality in virtue, to the latter clause of whose bold demand "that men should be pure as

well as women, and women courageous as well as men," we have as yet paid no heed. The stand against recent ugly forms of despotism and injustice, and against the Oriental morality of which they are the natural outcome could not be made by men alone, with whatever generous enthusiasm and high-minded disinterestedness and devotion a minority of men might join, have joined in the struggle. The co-operation, nay, the initiative of women was indispensable for many reasons, chiefly for the breaking down of those foolish and illogical social conventions of which women are—if not the framers—at any rate the staunchest conservators, and which deal such different measure to different classes of offenders against the moral law. Their help, too, is needed in education, which is as yet, in these matters, only making its first tottering efforts towards the light; it is needed for influencing, protecting, and restoring women; it is needed for destroying the false delicacy which glosses over and fosters evil, and for maintaining the true delicacy which abhors and extirpates it. Now all this requires courage—courage of the highest order—so that, unless women awake to the necessity of becoming more brave, more strong, and more independent, unless they increasingly respond to the demand of the higher morality that they shall be courageous as well as men, there is scarcely a possibility that men will ever fulfil with less miserable inadequacy than they do at present the requirement made of them that they shall be pure as well as women.

The mandate is a strange one in both its aspects, new and strange and very audacious, as we began by remarking. But it has this justification, that the times are ripe for it; that the animal in the man, that the coward in the woman, will go near to sap the foundations of modern States, as they have sapped the foundations of ancient ones, if it be not obeyed; while, if it be laid to heart, our Christianity will become less hollow, and our humanity less hypocritical, and we shall with some pretence at sincerity co-operate with the forces that make for progress and mould the race to noble ends. That a doctrine is unfamiliar is no proof that it is unsound. We have hitherto, for the most part, said to a man, Be brave. We say to him now, Be pure. We have hitherto, for the most part, said to a woman, Be pure. We say to her now, Be brave. And what though the like teaching has not been heard before—or seldom heard—in the history of the world? "It is not history," said Amiel, the sweet-souled Genevan mystic, who to a celestial purity of heart united a very delicate and subtle vein of philosophic thought—"It is not history which teaches righteousness to the conscience; it is the conscience which teaches righteousness to history. The actual is corrupting. It is we who rectify it by loyalty to the ideal."

ART. V.—THE RIVER CONGO; AND THE PROPOSED
CONGO TREATY.

1. *The River Congo, from its Mouth to Bólóbó.* By H. H. JOHNSTON, F.Z.S., F.R.G.S. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington. 1884.
2. *Africa.* By the late KEITH JOHNSTON, F.R.G.S. Third Edition, revised and corrected by E. G. RAVENSTEIN, F.R.G.S., with Ethnological Appendix by A. H. KEANE, M.A.I. Maps and Illustrations. London: Edward Stanford, 55, Charing Cross, S.W. 1884.
3. *Parliamentary Papers relating to the proposed Congo Treaty between England and Portugal.* 1884.

IN his annual address to the Royal Geographical Society, a few weeks ago, the President (Lord Aberdare) deplored the fact that the study of political and commercial geography does not form a necessary part of a liberal education. Despite our being more dependent upon the intelligence and knowledge of our commercial leaders than are any other people in the world, it is undoubted that as a nation we are very ignorant of geography. This is the more to be wondered at when we remember that it is a condition of our existence in the foremost rank of nations, that we should be constantly finding and making fresh markets for those goods which the untiring energy of our people is producing in constantly increasing quantities, and which, with a corresponding activity, they seek to introduce into every creek, and inlet, and river of the navigable world. But the cause of our ignorance, and the means of remedying it, were alike indicated when Lord Aberdare announced that the laudable attempt of the Council of the Society to secure the introduction of the study of physical and political geography into the curriculum of our public schools had been a signal failure.

So few schools have competed of late years for the prizes offered by the Council, which have been, as a rule, carried off with slight competition by the pupils of the same institution, that the Council have wisely decided to cease offering prizes, and to appoint a "geographical inspector" to inquire into the methods pursued on the Continent to inculcate a knowledge of geography, and to collect such books, atlases, diagrams, and appliances as have been found most effectual in imparting geographical knowledge. Armed with the information thus obtained, and having duly considered how such instruction may best be grafted upon

our insular system of education, the Council are not without hopes of inducing the educational authorities of our country to supply this grievous defect in our national instruction. In the meantime the adult population of the British Isles, having grown up in a state of general ignorance of geography, have to rely upon the ability of explorers and travellers to supply them with a coherent and comprehensive account of their wanderings in foreign parts, and from such accounts to obtain the knowledge requisite to a correct understanding of the current politics and commercial news of the day.

Among recent travellers, Mr. H. H. Johnston deserves a prominent place for many reasons. He has written an account of his trip on the Lower Congo in so agreeable and entertaining a style, that no reader who takes up the volume and peruses a few pages will readily relinquish the book till he has read the whole of it. And the volume is thoroughly worth reading. Mr. Johnston modestly states in his preface that he has "merely tried to produce with pen and brush an ordinary guide-book to the Congo which may convey to intending travellers or stay-at-home folks a fairly just impression of the main features of the great river." His book, however, is especially opportune in its appearance at the present time, when popular attention has for a short period become centred on the Congo and the proposed Anglo-Portuguese treaty. In the following pages we hope to interest our readers sufficiently to lead them to consult Mr. Johnston's book for further information relating to the natural history of the river valley, as the limits of the present article will not admit of more than a condensed notice of Mr. Johnston's journey from the mouth of the river to Bólóbó, at that date the furthest station of the International Association.

The idea of visiting the river Congo appears to have been long cherished by Mr. Johnston before he found himself able to start from Loanda—the capital of Portuguese West Africa—in the month of October 1882. Having obtained a passage on board a Dutch trading steamer, he proceeded about sixty miles up the coast to Ambriz, the most northerly settlement of the Portuguese. Here he temporarily left the steamer, intending to journey a short distance along the coast by hammock, in order to gain a closer acquaintance with the character of the country there bordering the sea. Some difficulty was experienced in obtaining carriers; the natives being absent, for the most part engaged in the lucrative employment of bringing coffee to the merchants' stores from the interior. At last a sufficient number of men were collected, a hammock was borrowed, and our traveller was enabled to resign himself comfortably to the half-drowsy state produced by the swaying motion of his mode of progression.

Slumber does not seem to have actually possessed him, for he was able to note and record the fact that he was carried for some distance along the seashore, "right in among the foam of the breakers," whose deafening roar made his ears ring. Being safe on land, he indulged in moralizing on their "irresistible roll and terrible rebound," and, after half-an-hour's jog-trot on the part of his bearers, he crossed the river Loge forming the northern boundary of the Portuguese possessions, and shortly arrived at Kinsembo. A hearty welcome was accorded him by the English traders there resident, and "in a comfortable airy room, with an organ at one end, and many pictures on the walls," the weary traveller sat down with his hosts to as good a dinner as the tinned provisions of Kinsembo could furnish. Native food is almost non-existent in this settlement, which is described as carrying on a flourishing trade in coffee, ivory, and india-rubber, owing to many trading-houses having settled there after removing from Ambriz to escape the intolerable duties imposed by the Portuguese. Save an occasional water-buck, or a dish of little rock oysters, the Europeans live almost entirely on provisions sent out from England—and live well. Mr. Johnston gives the *menu* of one of the dinners he enjoyed at Kinsembo, comprising mock-turtle soup, salmon cutlets, lobster, curried rabbit, roast beef, boiled mutton (with preserved potatoes), game patty, asparagus, plum pudding, peaches, strawberries, tea and biscuits, and he adds "all these things, except the rice eaten with the curry, came out of tins, and the plum-pudding and asparagus were especially good." If the quality of these preserves is equal to the variety, certainly the employes of the English houses at Kinsembo have little left to desire in the shape of food.

The influence of the Congo here begins to be distinctly perceptible; the coast ceases to present the utterly barren aspect visible about Ambriz, but the vegetation is still very sparse. The usual park-like scenery of the interior does not approach within six miles of the sea, and the hyphæne palms, which are here first met with by the traveller from the south, are only occasionally to be seen.

Five hours' travelling on foot from Kinsembo brought Mr. Johnston to Musséra, the next trading settlement, where he rejoined the steamer. Here the rich vegetation of the interior had approached within three miles of the sea.

There are certain curious points in the phytography of South-Western Africa which Mr. Johnston has endeavoured to exhibit in a simple and intelligible map, and which he lucidly explains in the following terms :—

From Sierra Leone to the river Ogowé along the coast the one prevailing landscape is that of endless forest. This is, in fact, part of the

forest region—the forest belt which has a distinctive fauna and flora, and which extends eastwards, near the equator, more than half-way across Africa to Lake Victoria Nyanza and the western shores of Tanganyika. This is the country of the anthropoid apes, which are found equally near Sierra Leone, and on the Wellé, and near the Upper Nile. But when the mouth of the Ogowé is passed, the forest begins to retreat from the coast (except where it follows the courses of rivers), and is gradually succeeded by more open savannah scenery, so characteristic of the major part of Africa, and so happily described by older travellers as “park-like,” a designation which its open grassy spaces and formal groups of shady trees amply justify. Such is the country at Loango, Kabinda, and along the lower Congo up to Stanley Pool. But a little to the south of the Congo embouchure the park-like scenery in its turn begins to retire from the sea, somewhere about Cabeça da Cobra; and there follows a much uglier region of sparse vegetation, and less abundant rainfall. Of such is the country around Loanda, where scarcely anything but euphorbias, baobabs, and aloes are growing, and where there is often less than two months’ rain in the year. This harsh country continues along the coast for some distance until about the 13th parallel, where it in its turn trends off towards the interior, and absolute desert takes its place and continues uninterruptedly as far as the Orange River.*

Shortly after leaving Musséra, the trading station of Ambrizette is reached. Here the great ivory road from the interior debouches, and as Ambriz is the chief port on this coast whence the export of coffee takes place, so Ambrizette may be regarded as the principal outlet of the ivory trade. The natives of Ambrizette are said to be of a turbulent disposition, and strongly opposed to any idea of annexation or protection by a European power. No white man is allowed to advance more than a few miles into the interior from Ambrizette, and the natives regard “scientific explorations” with as much suspicion as we view similarly styled undertakings on the part of the Russians in Central Asia. But the Congo natives effectually hinder political reconnaissances by successfully opposing all parties of white men attempting a passage through their territories, and the region lying between San Salvador (or Congo) and the coast, which bears the name of Ngoje, remains a *terra incognita* to Europeans.

Continuing along the coast, several places where factories were established were passed, but none of them offered anything worthy of note until Cabeça da Cobra (a small settlement about fifty miles south of the Congo) was reached. This appeared a charming place in Mr. Johnston’s eyes, because “the hideous influence of the south coast was over, and a rich and

* “The River Congo,” p. 14.

varied vegetation grew down to the very waves." The low-lying land immediately next the sea was "a sort of natural botanical garden, with many specimens of the African flora displayed with prodigal abundance."

Some time before the Congo itself is reached, the red cliffs, which are so constant a feature in the south-west African coast, sink lower and lower, and give place at length to mighty mangrove swamps; and the transparent green of the sea becomes clouded by mingling with the brownish-red river water of the Congo.

The mouth of the Congo, compared with the great deltas of the Nile, the Niger, and the Zambesi, is comparatively simple and undivided. Referring to the admirable volume of Stanford's "*Compendium of Geography and Travel*," dealing with Africa, we find it recorded that the mouth of the river has a width of six miles, with a depth in mid-channel of 150 fathoms, and the great volume and force of its current effectually prevent the formation of a bar or delta. For many miles out to sea, as off the mouths of the Amazon on the opposite coast of South America, the water of the sea surface is perfectly fresh. In fact, the Congo, in respect of the volume of water it carries to the sea, is by far the most copious stream of the African continent, and ranks among the greatest rivers of the world. Its mouth was discovered in 1484 by the Portuguese voyager, Diego Cam, who set up on its southern side one of the "*padrões*," or pillars, used by the Portuguese to mark the progress of their discoveries. Hence the mighty river was known to the Portuguese as the *Rio do Padrão*, though the natives of its mouth called it the *Zaire*; and it is now known generally to Europeans as the Congo, because it forms the northern limit of the native kingdom of that name.

Point *Padrão* is now a mere marshy spit of land, overgrown with forest, and fringed with breakwaters of mangrove and clumps of fan palms. On the northern shore, *Banana Point** is a sandy peninsula, exposed on the one side to the breakers of the Atlantic, and on the other side to the overpowering rush of the river pouring itself into the sea. Were it not for the defence offered by rows of stakes driven deep into the shore, and the masses of huge stones by which the beach has been fortified, the Point would long ago have disappeared beneath the waters. As it stands at present, it affords shelter on the landward side to vessels of the largest size, which can be anchored within fifty yards of the shore. There are three factories established on this narrow strip of land, the largest being owned by a Dutch trading com-

pany. Owing to the sea breezes sweeping over the peninsula it is fairly healthy; and efficient scavenging of the refuse washed up on the shore, and of the garbage thrown from the dwellings, is performed by the scapulated crows, which abound at Banana, and are very tame, owing to the protection wisely extended to them.

In the service of the Dutch establishment are some forty white employés, and from three to four hundred negroes, comprising Kruboy, Krumano, and Kabinda. Mr. Johnston dwells on the distinction between a Kruboy and a Kruman, and as we are likely to hear a good deal of the coloured labourers in the course of the next few months, we give the passage in question *verbatim*:—

The “Kruboy” comes from Sierra Leone and the Liberian coast, and is much sought for throughout West Africa as an invaluable labourer well worthy of his hire. He is very independent, and invariably returns home at the expiration of his term of service, and lives a rollicking life amongst his relatives before he re-engages. The “Kruman” is an artificial name given to the indigenous slaves of the country—men, for instance, of the Lower Congo tribes, that are sold by their chiefs to European merchants, who, in order to avoid shocking British susceptibilities, call them by the Portuguese rendering of Kruman (or Kruboy)—viz., Krumano. These “Krumanos” are also obtained by other means than payment. If a native in these countries steals from a white man, he is compelled to become his slave, unless his people are prepared to pay a large indemnity.* . . . Slavery certainly exists on the Lower Congo as much as it ever did, the only difference is that it is internal, so to speak, and that owing to the vigilance of British cruisers, and the absence of a lucrative market nowadays, slaves are no longer exported from the Congo as in former days. And slavery will continue to exist, no matter under what name, as long as European merchants stand sorely in need of labour, and native chiefs are willing to “apprentice” or sell their superfluous subjects for an important consideration in gin, cloth, or guns. Any traveller who visits the factories on the Lower Congo—except, perhaps, those belonging to the English—may see groups of slaves in chains who are so punished for having run away, and if he arrives at a time when a slave has just been recaptured—possibly by his own relatives, who have cheerfully brought him back, sure of a reward—he will have an

* Mr. Johnston need not have implied that only in the case of a native stealing from a white man does the thief (if caught) become the property of the person whom he has robbed. Mr. Stanley, after repeatedly redeeming many of the members of his expedition, in July 1877, was compelled, from the exhaustion of his stores, to abandon five men who, on different occasions, were captured by the tribes through whose territory the expedition was then passing, and from whom the starving creatures had stolen *only* cassava and beans to satisfy the pangs of hunger.—See “Through the Dark Continent,” vol. ii. pp. 435–438.

opportunity of studying the application of the formidable cowhide whips to the runaway's skin. As a rule, I am bound to say the Kru-mangs are kindly treated. They are well fed, and have their wives and children often with them in their huts. If they were allowed to regain their liberty at the end of seven years of service, without being forced to renew their contract, there would not be so much harm in this system. The Portuguese method of Government apprenticeship is one tolerably free from abuses, and would work well on the Congo.*

Starting from Banana Point early in December 1882, Mr. Johnston advanced only twenty-one miles up the Congo, when he made his first halt at Kissangé, a small trading settlement on the south bank of the river. This place so admirably suited him in his capacity as a naturalist wishing "to study the rich swampy region of the Lower Congo with comparative ease and comfort," that he spent three most pleasant weeks enjoying the hospitality of the Dutch factory. In describing the luxuriant tropical vegetable and plant growth, he laments the weak resources of the English language. He says: "Our adjectives are too puny to describe fitly the vegetation of such places as Kissangé. We want to express ourselves in the tongues of Central Africa, which have sometimes seven different terms to express different kinds of forest."† Nevertheless, he devotes several pages to an attempt at describing the luxuriant vegetation and plant-life surrounding Kissangé, of which the following extract will serve as a good specimen, and give some idea of the beauty of the district:—

The hot sun and the oozy mud call into existence a plant-life which must parallel in rank luxuriance and monstrous growth the forests of the coal measures, and reproduce for our eyes in these degenerate days somewhat of the majesty of the vegetable kingdom in bygone epochs. In the marshy spots, down near the river shore, are masses of that splendid orchid, *Lissochilus giganteus*, a terrestrial species that shoots up often to the height of six feet from the ground, bearing such a head of red-mauve, golden-centred blossoms as scarcely any flower in the world can equal for beauty and delicacy of form. These orchids, with their light green, spear-like leaves, and their tall, swaying flower-stalks, grow in groups of forty and fifty together, often reflected in the shallow pools of stagnant water round their bases, and filling up the foreground of the high, purple-green forest with a blaze of tender, peach-like colour, upon which, I should have thought, no European could gaze unmoved. Yet the Portuguese merchants who lived among this loveliness scarcely regarded it, and laughed at the eagerness with which I gathered and painted this "capim"—this mere grass or reed, as they call it.‡

* "The River Congo," pp. 26-28. † *Ibid.*, p. 32. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

Parting regretfully from his kind hosts at Kinsangé, Mr. Johnston continued his journey up the river, passing next Ponta da Lenha, where steamers call for wood-fuel. This settlement is barely above the level of the stream, and the shore has to be protected with piles, as the Congo is eating the land away, and here, forty-five miles from its mouth, seems to be widening its bed year by year, and even striking out new approaches to the sea. Indeed, only a short time ago, a French factory disappeared bodily into the water which now flows twenty feet above its site.

Boma (formerly Embomma) is stated by Mr. Johnston to be about eighty miles from the sea. As, however, Mr. Stanley places Boma at only sixty-five miles from the sea, and in Stanford's "Compendium" the distance is given as sixty miles, we imagine Mr. Johnston has somewhat over-estimated the stretch of river lying between Boma and Banana Point. Not long since Boma formed the limit of European extension on the Congo, and Mr. Stanley tells us that though the place was comparatively ancient and had been used by Europeans for commercial purposes for over a century, he yet found Captain Tuckey's description of the people (written in 1816), their ceremonies and mode of life, their suspicion of strangers and intolerance, their greed and indolence, and the scarcity of food in the district, as correct as though written at the date of his descent of the river in August, 1877.

As Mr. Johnston merely tells us that Boma is the site of many factories and trading establishments belonging to the English, Dutch, French, Portuguese, and Belgians, and that there is also a flourishing Catholic Mission, and adds that both his visits there, coming and going, were of short duration, as he hastened to leave a place which, whether from fancy or otherwise, seemed to him "eminently disagreeable," we are obliged to refer to Mr. Stanley for a more detailed account of this important settlement.

It was at Boma, on the 9th August, 1877, the 999th day from the date of the departure of the Expedition from Zanzibar, that Mr. Stanley and his exhausted followers were first welcomed by Europeans on having achieved their ever-memorable journey across Africa. At that date there were some half-dozen factories, engaging the attention of about eighteen whites. The following is Mr. Stanley's description:—

The houses are all constructed of wooden boards, with, as a rule, corrugated zinc roofs. The residences line the river front; the Dutch, French, and Portuguese factories being west of an isolated high square-browed hill, which by-the-bye is a capital site for a fortlet; and the English factory being a few hundred yards above it. Each factory requires an ample courtyard for its business, which consists in the

barter of cotton fabrics, glass-ware, crockery, iron-ware, gin, rum, guns, and gunpowder, for palm-oil, ground-nuts, and ivory. The merchants contrive to exist as comfortably as their means will allow. Some of them plant fruits and garden vegetables, and cultivate grape-vines. Pineapples, guavas, and limes may be obtained from the market, which is held on alternate days a short distance behind the European settlement. . . . The view inland is dreary, bleak, and unpromising, consisting of grassy hills and of a broken country, its only boast the sturdy baobab, which relieves the nakedness of the land. But fresh from the hungry wilderness and the land of selfish men, from the storm and stress of the cataracts, the solemn rock defiles of the Livingstone, and the bleak table-land—I heeded it not. The glowing warm life of Western civilization, the hospitable civilities and gracious kindnesses which the merchants of Boma showered on myself and people were as dews of Paradise, grateful, soothing, and refreshing.*

As to the healthiness of the settlement opinions differ. Mr. Johnston, who was there in December 1882, is inclined to give it the character of "the most unhealthy place on the Congo. The heat is excessive, and behind the European houses lie great swamps and fetid marshes, which not only give rise to much fever, but breed the most terrible mosquitoes for size and blood-thirstiness that I have ever known."† On the other hand, we have the testimony of Rear-Admiral Salmon, who, in his despatch to the Admiralty, dated March 22, 1884, gives a brief account of his visiting the trading stations on the Congo during that month. On the 16th of March he arrived at Shark Point (the extreme point of the sandy spit of land on the south bank known as Point Padrão) in his flagship the *Boadicea*. On the 17th of March he left the *Boadicea* to complete her coal supply from the Banana Creek depôt, and shifted his flag to the *Starling*, in which vessel he proceeded up the river. He passed Ponta da Lenha at noon, and anchored off Boma at 4 P.M. The despatch continues:—

Here are several trading houses, a station of the Belgian International Association, and a French Mission. The International Association is building a sanitarium at Boma, for which the place seems to be well adapted. It is situated in an undulating grass country; the site commands a fine view of the windings of the river and its many islands, and the sea-breeze blows home over a large expanse of water."‡

On the whole we are inclined to think that the ferocity of the mosquitoes induced Mr. Johnston to take an unduly hostile

* "Through the Dark Continent," vol. ii. pp. 465, 6.

† "The River Congo," p. 42.

‡ "Parliamentary Paper—Africa," No. 5, 1884, p. 53.

view of the settlement. On his way to Underhill (about 110 miles from the sea) he noted—

the increasing asperity of the river scenery. The rounded grassy downs of Boma became abrupt and jagged hills with great red patches of bare earth, and little forest remaining in their stony clefts The river narrowed, and wound tortuously with many whirlpools and sunken rocks amid the stern precipitous hills, hills that were fast becoming mountains. I touched at Mussuka (a point of departure for São Salvador) and Noki, a trading station [marking the limit on the river of the proposed treaty], and finally arrived at Underhill, a few miles from Vivi on the opposite (southern) bank, and situated amid really picturesque scenery. The great river takes a broad bend opposite the station, and is shut in on both sides by the towering hills, so that it resembles nothing so much as a beautiful mountain lake lying in a profound gorge, save that the whirling, racing current shows you on reflection that there must be a great river harassed and exasperated by the many obstacles that incessantly beset its hurried course to the sea. Caught in this great bend, the river tearing down from Vivi has to pass through a somewhat narrow passage, and then hurls itself against an imposing cliff that rises almost perpendicularly from the water, which so boils, and whirls, and seethes, and eddies at its base, that this loop of the river has been called by the Portuguese "Hell's Caldron."*

Whilst at Underhill, Mr. Johnston received an invitation from Mr. Stanley (who had just returned from Europe) to cross the river and visit him at Vivi. Of course the invitation was eagerly accepted, and the meeting is thus graphically described :—

Here he [Stanley] was seated on his camp-chair, his pipe in his mouth, and a semi-circle of grinning kinglets squatting in front of him, some of them smoking long-stemmed, little-bowled pipes in complacent silence, and others putting many questions to "Bula Matade" [Stanley's Congo name—The Rock-Breaker] as to his recent journey to "Mputo," the land beyond the sea, and receiving his replies with expressions of incredulous wonder, tapping their open mouths with their hands. I paused involuntarily to look at this group, for Stanley had not yet seen me approaching, and was unconscious of observation. Perhaps he never posed better for his picture than at that moment, as he sat benignly chatting and smoking with the native chiefs, his face lighting up with amusement at their naïve remarks, while the bearing of his head still retained that somewhat proud carriage that inspired these African chieftains with a real respect for his wishes, and a desire to retain his friendship. Any one observing Stanley at this moment could comprehend the great influence he possesses over the native mind on the Congo.†

* "The River Congo," p. 43.

† *Ibid.*, p. 47.

Vivi station is about 360 feet above the sea, and a clear 270 feet above the Congo. Naturally the daily life at Vivi had a certain monotony. One day passed much as another, save that on Sundays no work was done, and an air of decorous dulness pervaded everything. The stream of the Congo at Vivi is, according to Mr. Stanley's soundings, ninety fathoms deep, and in the rainy season flows at a rate of nine miles an hour, and is about 500 yards in breadth.

From Vivi Mr. Johnston made excursions to the native village of Pallaballa, and to the celebrated Falls of Yellála, the greatest and first-known rapids of the Congo, distant only some nine miles from Vivi as the crow flies. On the 7th of January 1883, he left Vivi to continue his journey up the river, which was henceforth "to take place with the help, and under the auspices of Mr. Stanley's expedition." Notwithstanding that Mr. Stanley was very ill with fever on the day of the start, he would not let his young *protégé* depart without ascertaining that everything which could aid him in his journey had been placed at his disposal. Perhaps, as Mr. Johnston says, the most valuable help rendered was to attach to his person, as escort, three of his [Stanley's] favourite Zanzibaris. Under such protection and with such assistance, we are not surprised to find that the chief complaints made by Mr. Johnston are of such comparatively trifling incidents as "the all-obscuring grass, one of the first and foremost of Africa's petty disagreeables," "the horrible little black flies which settled in clouds on one's hands and face, and sucked blood until they fell off senseless," "the frequent storms of drenching rain," and the mosquitoes. Of the grass he constantly complains.

Some of this monstrous herbage scattered on us barbed seeds that were armed at one end by a sharp needle-point and surrounded with short reversed hairs, so that once the seed entered the clothing it could only work inward and not backward. Soon our bodies were pricked and scratched and irritated by the sharp-pointed awns that had penetrated through the innermost clothing to the skin.*

Again, on page 96, in describing the path leading up to Sadika Banza, a Congo village, which, like nearly every other village in that country, is placed on a hill, he says—

The path is arched over and hidden by the immensely thick grass which grows ten and twelve feet high. The trial to one's patience occasioned by this terrible herbage is very great, and I am sure the grass produces more loss of temper, and causes consequently more nervous fever than anything in Africa. The act of continually pushing apart the intercrossed blades is alone very fatiguing to the arms, while the face is scratched and tickled by the seeds and awns, and the shins

* "The River Congo," p. 91.

are bruised by constantly coming into contact with the stout, inflexible lower stalks. The grass effectually shuts out all prospect of one's surroundings.

He adds, however, "fortunately this part of the Congo region is not all grass; the valleys are filled with fine forests, where you may walk pleasantly at midday in the cool, sweet shade, under the grandly overarching trees. And here it is that the African flora is best represented."

Forcing his way through the grass, which, when dry cut him like a razor, and when wet drenched him in five minutes by discharging the raindrops contained on each broad blade, and over swamps which he occasionally crossed mounted on the shoulders of one of his trusty Zanzibaris, he passed through several native villages in friendly fashion until he reached the station of Isangila, not many years ago known as "Tuckey's farthest," because here Captain Tuckey's expedition was arrested in its march, and the gallant officer himself broke down and died.

Isangila station is on a well-chosen and healthy site, pleasantly situated on a commanding bluff almost overhanging the river. Hitherto it has been at a disadvantage in the distance it is placed from the native villages and markets. But the natives, never long in finding out where their best interests lie, are shifting their great weekly market nearer to the newly founded station. These markets are generally held every four or eight days, either weekly or fortnightly, the native week being of only four days.

The natives will often come a hundred miles to attend one of these big markets, and there are generally over a thousand present. They bring sheep, goats, pigs, Muscovy ducks, and fowls for sale or barter, the fowls most carefully packed in long wicker cages, fastened between two stout poles converging at each end. Eggs are usually carried in large finely plaited baskets; indeed, some of their basket-work is made so tightly that it will hold water. At the markets between Isangila and Manyanga five hundred eggs may be bought at a time. The natives also sell fresh vegetables, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, and even a wild cabbage, bananas, plantains, pineapples, ground nuts, sugar cane, maize, kola-nut tobacco, and "Kikwanga." Kikwanga needs a word of special mention, it is such an important article of consumption in the Congo dietary. The root of the manioc, or cassada, a very ancient introduction from Brazil, is taken and pounded into a fine white pulp. This is left to soak for about twenty-four hours in running water (possibly to rid the substance of a certain acid poison attributed to the root), and is then allowed to ferment. When worked up into a consistence of stiff dough it is divided into portions, and each portion is wrapped in a large green leaf until wanted for cooking. Kikwanga

tastes and looks like sour dough, but it is highly nutritious. The best way of eating it is to cut it into very thin slices, and to fry these in butter, or if butter be not procurable, in ground-nut oil, easily extracted from *Arachis hypogæa*.*

Mr. Johnston asserts that this latter substitute for butter—viz., the oil of ground-nuts, furnishes most of the olive oil we use in Europe. "The ground-nuts are largely exported from West African ports to Marseilles, and are there manufactured and flavoured into various salad oils christened by different names."†

In an African market the women are the keenest traders; they haggle and scream and expostulate, and chuckle aside over their bargains, whilst the hulking men lounge about in good-humoured listlessness, or squat in rows stolidly smoking. Order is preserved by a "chief of the market," who regulates all disputes, and "who so heavily fines both litigants that all are chary of provoking his arbitration." Such is a brief description of the market at Isangila, and there are similar gatherings at Manyanga, Lutété, and in fact at most of the stations of the International Association.

The next station to Isangila is Manyanga on the northern shore, and about eighty-six miles by the river, which, though abounding in rapids, may be here passed in a stout boat. Mr. Johnston made this part of his journey in a little steam launch, the *Royal*, which has since been removed to the upper river, and forms part of Mr. Stanley's flotilla. Here and there the Congo became strewn with rocky islets, sparsely crested with trees, and in and out of these the stream was whirling and eddying and bubbling over the hidden rocks. Occasionally full pressure had to be put on the *Royal* in order to cross a more than ordinarily formidable whirlpool. On the fifth day after leaving Isangila, the lofty station of Manyanga, which is built on a precipitous hill 400 feet in height, was reached. The district around Manyanga is well populated, and the natives belong to the fierce and energetic Ba-sundi tribes. It was here that Mr. Johnston heard of the only serious disturbance that had then taken place between Mr. Stanley and the natives. While the former was away at Stanley Pool, dragging his boats to the upper river, the natives picked a quarrel with the little garrison of the station in the hope of finding it an easy prey. The result was unsatisfactory to the natives, who were repulsed, and suffered the loss of their villages by fire as a reprisal. Further, a fine of land was imposed on them as a war indemnity, and then,

* "The River Congo," pp. 117, 118.

† *Ibid.*, p. 118.

recognizing the superior force of the white man, they became excellent friends and

were the first amongst the Congo tribes to furnish of their own free will hired porters to transport the goods of the expedition. Now Manyanga is so entrenched and fortified that probably none but a European army could capture it, and its communications with the Congo are so admirably arranged that the river acts as a continual basis of operations, whence supplies may always be obtained by steamer from Isangila.*

Manyanga is a great food centre. Fowls, goats, sheep, and eggs by hundreds may be bought at a single time. The favourite medium of exchange is afforded by blue glass beads. Handkerchiefs and stuffs will scarcely be taken at any sacrifice. Each district has its peculiar tastes and fancies, and you might starve in one place with bales of goods that would purchase kingdoms in another. Between Vivi and Isangila Mr. Johnston found red handkerchiefs, striped cloth, brass "tacks," gin, and wire useful. At Manyanga blue beads rule the market; at Stanley Pool brass rods.

At Manyanga Mr. Johnston tested the possibility of living solely on the products of the country. At the station they had no tea, coffee, cocoa, wine, sugar, butter, or bread. But the goats gave plenty of milk which was taken hot, and "made believe" to be tea. Palm wine was their only intoxicant, and "kikwanga" in some shape took the place of bread. The meats were fried in palm oil, which also served to enrich the stews, and feed the lamps that lighted up the evening meal. Bananas made richly sweet puddings, plantains served as potatoes, and massive pineapples afforded a superb dessert. Mr. Johnston says he never ate with better appetite and rarely lived more happily.

Above Manyanga all further navigation of the river ceases until Stanley Pool is reached. It is necessary, therefore, to follow the native roads, either on the north or the south of the river. The southern route is the easier and the pleasanter, both because the hills are less steep and the natives are a kindlier people than those on the northern shores. In either case about 100 miles have to be travelled. Some few miles behind Manyanga one of the most frequented native tracks passes from Stanley Pool to the upper waters of the Niari and its tributary the Ludina, and thence to the sea. This route has been thoroughly surveyed by Mr. Stanley, who has also founded a chain of stations along its course.

On his way to Lutété, a pleasant little station about eight miles from the river, and commanding the great ivory route which

* "The River Congo," p. 198.

runs from Stanley Pool to São Salvador, and thence to Ambri-zette, Mr. Johnston found the scenery generally beautiful, but somewhat monotonous in feature.

A great stretch of valley, filled with rich forest, with a sounding stream that is seen flashing through the trees, is bounded by boldly shaped hills, between each of which lesser valleys lie that seem, as it were, tributaries of the great one, some of them mere crevasses in the mountains, but each with its tiny stream, its cascades, and its velvety woods. Occasionally, especially near Lutété, patches are cleared in the valleys, and the rich soil which the rain is always washing down from the hills is planted with manioc, tobacco, ground-nuts, and bananas. This gives, at times, a strangely civilized look to the country, and suggests the idea that in the future, when colonists flock to occupy the Congo territories, these lowlands will become true golden valleys, bringing forth all the products of the tropics; while their hill-sides, terraced and planted with vines, will be surmounted by many a fine-built habitation, from which the Neo-African may complacently look down on his rice fields, and his gardens, or his plantations and his sugar brakes, which lie basking under an equatorial sun, irrigated by a never-failing stream.*

The skilfully delineated prospect exhibited by the traveller may perhaps induce other travellers to follow the route he has so charmingly described; but we take leave to doubt whether this glowing word-painting represents any "future" that is within the limits of practical consideration, and we are strongly inclined to the opinion that Mr. Johnston's picturesque descriptions of scenery, and the general tone of "ease and contentment" pervading his book are the proper and fitting adjuncts of a "guide book," but can scarcely be regarded as the wholly reliable and in no sense exaggerated report upon the strength of which either "settlers" should be induced to start, or merchants emboldened to despatch too freely their goods.

From the village of Lutété, Mr. Johnston and his Zanzibaris (some thirty in number) followed for five days the great trade route from the coast to Stanley Pool. At the end of that time Léopoldville was reached. This, like most of Mr. Stanley's stations, is placed on rising ground and faces the expanding Pool. Above, below, and around the station are extensive gardens, banana groves, and plantations of manioc. They already begin to furnish no inconsiderable amount of food both to the black and the white inhabitants of Léopoldville. It is the food question that presents the real difficulty of Congo exploration. So fully has Mr. Stanley recognized this to be the fact, and the consequent necessity of making his expedition self-supporting, that almost before he built houses he laid out

* "The River Congo," p. 144.

gardens, planted bananas, and commenced the cultivation of manioc; and whenever he visits an old station, or inspects a newly-founded one, his first care is the local husbandry.

There is a small but convenient harbour in front of Léopoldville protected by a spit of woodland that projects into the Congo. Here all the falls are over, or following the course of the river have not yet begun; the first fall being close to the station but a little behind it, so that navigation is open and unimpeded for nearly a thousand miles eastward up the Congo. Mr. Johnston hails Léopoldville as—

destined to be the great empire city of Central Africa. From its shores there are, according to Stanley's calculations, 4,520 miles of free navigation north, and south, and east into the heart of Africa. It will one day be the terminus of a railway from the coast, and the starting-point of a river journey half across Africa. The ivory, copper, and iron, the spices, the wax and the gums of the interior will meet in its marts the costumes of London and Paris and products of the manufactures of the old world.

Surely Mr. Johnston is somewhat more than sanguine! Of what use to the natives of Equatorial Africa could be the "costumes of London and Paris," save perhaps to clothe their fetish images, and so increase their hideousness?

Stanley Pool (1,147 feet above the sea) owes its name to Frank Pocock, one of the three young Englishmen who started with Stanley in 1874 on his journey across Africa. The following extract will be interesting to all who have not already read Stanley's famous book, and will remind those who have read it of the origin of the names "Stanley Pool" and "Dover Cliffs."

About 11 A.M. of the 12th [March 1877], the river gradually expanded from 1,400 to 2,500 yards, which admitted us in view of a mighty breadth of river, which the men at once with happy appropriateness termed "a pool." Sandy islands rose in front of us like a sea-beach, and on the right towered a long row of cliffs, white and glistening, so like the cliffs of Dover that Frank at once exclaimed that it was a bit of England. The grassy table-land above the cliffs appeared as green as a lawn, and so much reminded Frank of Kentish Downs that he exclaimed enthusiastically: "I feel we are nearing home."

While taking an observation at noon of the position, Frank, with my glass in his hand, ascended the highest part of the large sandy dune that had been deposited by the mighty river, and took a survey of its strange and sudden expansion, and after he came back he said, "Why, I declare, sir, this place is just like a pool; as broad as it is long. There are mountains all round it, and it appears to me almost circular."

"Well, if it is a pool, we must distinguish it by some name. Give me a suitable name for it, Frank."

"Why not call it 'Stanley Pools,' and these cliffs 'Dover Cliffs?' For no traveller who may come here again will fail to recognize the cliffs by that name."*

Frank Pocock spoke as an Englishman, and the names have stuck so far. Mr. Johnston, indeed, thought the cliffs more resembled the scenery round Lyme Regis than the harsher and more rugged cliffs of our ancient Dover. But the homely name given by the young Englishman—then doomed to perish within a brief three months in the Massassa Falls, promises to abide at least so long as the English tongue is spoken on the Congo.

The Pool is about twenty-five miles long and sixteen broad. It contains many large islands, one of them being thirteen miles long. To these islands elephants and buffaloes much resort, swimming from the mainland with ease. Innumerable water-birds frequent the many sandbanks, and form strange groups with the crocodiles which everywhere abound. At the southern entrance to the Pool and on the north bank of the river is Brazzaville, the settlement, or station, established by Lieutenant De Brazza some time before Mr. Stanley had been able to transport his goods and his men to the Pool to found a station. For some incomprehensible reason the site of Brazzaville has been as injudiciously chosen as have been wisely chosen the stations of Mr. Stanley. The French settlement is nearly on a level with the water, and consists, according to Mr. Johnston—

of a few native huts, half buried in bananas, and backed by thick forest. "On the left-hand side, facing the Pool, there is a small creek, which might be developed into a tiny harbour, and there is a fine and fertile island, as yet uninhabited, save by chance fishermen, which might be successfully developed by the French; . . . but ague is prevalent about this low-lying part of the Pool, and in the rainy season I should say Mfwa [Brazzaville] would become a rheumatic swamp. . . . I can only presume that, in spite of the affection the natives bore him, they did not place much ground at his disposal, and that De Brazza fixed on Mfwa because he could not get anything better."†

Towards the end of February, it then being the height of the rainy season, Mr. Johnston left Léopoldville in a large whale-boat, rowed by a sturdy crew of Zanzibaris, to ascend the Congo as far as Bólóbó, about 220 miles beyond Stanley Pool. An almost incessant downpour of rain caused the traveller much inconvenience, and resulted in a slight attack of fever; but, after

* Stanley, "Through the Dark Continent," vol. ii. p. 326.

† "The River Congo," pp. 170, 171.

a fortnight's expeditious travelling, Bólóbó was safely reached. At that date (March 5, 1883) the station had only recently been founded, and was the most advanced outpost of the International Association. There was a considerable native village close to the station where Ibaka, "Roi de Bólóbó" as he is called by Mr. Stanley, held his court. The station itself was situated on the summit of a bluff rising directly from the river, and consisted of a large stockaded building, and a series of little habitations clustered round, in which the Zanzibaris and the Krumanos lived. Just before Mr. Johnston's visit, the small garrison had narrowly escaped having to fight for their lives. Some relative of King Ibaka had suggested to his followers that they should loot the station and massacre the whites; but the king heard how matters were going just in time to intervene, and the fight was postponed. Not long after Mr. Johnston had returned from Bólóbó war did take place, and the besieged garrison were only relieved by the opportune arrival of Mr. Stanley, who quelled the disturbance without firing a shot.

Mr. Johnston, who had intended spending two months at Bólóbó and using it as a centre for collecting and making observations on anthropology, found the mosquitoes so terrible a plague that, after a few days' stay, he returned to Msuāta, a station three days' journey nearer the Pool, where he spent the happiest six weeks of his sixteen months' stay in Central Africa. We have now to leave Mr. Johnston's pleasant guidance up the mighty river, and recount as briefly as possible what has been permitted to be made known of Mr. Stanley's expedition since Mr. Johnston left the Congo.

At least three stations beyond Bólóbó have been established, and the flag of the Association has been hoisted over them. That next to Bólóbó is called Lukolela, and is about fifty or sixty miles north of Bólóbó; then comes Equator Station, probably just above the confluence of the river Ikelemba, and about 150 miles north of Lukolela station; and finally a station about 600 miles beyond Lukolela has been established on the north shore of Wana-Rusani Island, situate in the middle of the river about ten miles north of the Equator, and about a couple of miles below the first of the Stanley Falls. This station was established early in last December, and after erecting the station building, and appointing a lieutenant and garrison of thirty Zanzibaris and Houssas, Mr. Stanley on December 10th retraced his steps, or rather reconducted his flotilla of three steamers and a whale boat, to Léopoldville, which was reached on the 20th of January last.

While Mr. Stanley has been re-exploring and planting stations on the Lower and Middle Congo, another explorer has been

working from the east in the hope of completing our knowledge of the river from its source to the sea. We refer to M. Giraud, a young French naval officer, who started from Zanzibar in December 1882. A letter from him, dated from the Belgian station at Karema on the east shore of Lake Tanganika, 14th January last, has been received at Brussels. M. Giraud took with him a portable canoe, which he used to some purpose in navigating the Luapula river, which river connects Lake Moero with Lake Bangweolo. He ascertained that the Luapula left Lake Bangweolo on the south-west, and not on the north-west, as Livingstone thought. Before turning northwards, the Luapula flows for more than 100 miles in a south-west direction. At the bend of the river, a great cataract stopped the canoe's progress. Here M. Giraud was taken prisoner by the natives, who deprived him of his canoe and half his goods. After two months he managed to escape, and finally reached Lake Tanganika, where he was hospitably entertained by two English missionaries. By them he was helped on to the Belgian station at Karema. M. Giraud was to leave Karema about the middle of March, intending to traverse the Marungu country and proceed down the Lualaba to about the sixth degree of south latitude, and then make as directly as possible for Léopoldville. The result of his journey will be looked for with keen anxiety by all who are interested in knowing with some certainty the course of what is conjectured to be the main branch of the Upper Congo; and should the gallant young Frenchman succeed in reaching Stanley Pool by traversing the interior, he will have news for us of a region almost entirely unknown.

In preparing the third edition of the late Mr. Keith Johnston's famous work on Africa, Mr. Ravenstein, looking at the prominence which the Congo has assumed as one of the future highways into the interior of the Dark Continent, has devoted a chapter to the basin of the mighty river, and the most recent proceedings [*i.e.*, up to the close of last year] of Mr. Stanley and M. de Brazza. With the purpose of supplementing what has been set forth in the previous pages of this paper, we now turn to this most useful volume* which combines within a reasonable compass all the latest results of geography and travel, and is presented in so agreeable a form that one is tempted to liken it to a "royal road" to a knowledge of Africa. After referring to the fact that Livingstone, almost down to the time of his death, was doubtful whether the rivers he was exploring

* Keith Johnston, "Africa" (Stanford's "Compendium of Geography and Travel." Third Edition, 1884).

found their way to the Nile or into the Atlantic, Mr. Ravenstein says:

On completing his brave journey around the Victoria Nyanza, Mr. Stanley turned westwards, and, crossing the Tanganika, reached Nyangwé, the famous Arab trading station on the Lualaba in Manyema. He left that place on the 5th of November 1876, and although harassed day and night by the cannibal savages of the river bank, he pushed on down the river until he came upon a series of great cataracts [the Stanley Falls] five in number [Stanley says seven]—past which his “eighteen canoes [and the *Lady Alice*] had to be dragged through thirteen miles of forest. At 2° N. lat. the great Lualaba swerved from its course to the north-west, then west, then south-west, a broad stream from two to ten miles wide, choked with islands. Here a tribe acquainted with the west coast trade was reached, who named the river Ukutu ya Kongo; and, as the Atlantic was approached, the river, after changing its name scores of times, became known as the Kwango and the Zaire. As the river runs through the great basin which lies between E. long. 25° and 16°, it has an uninterrupted course of over 1,000 miles, with magnificent affluents, especially on the southern side. Thence clearing the broad belt of the mountains between the great basin and the Atlantic, it descends by about thirty falls [the Livingstone Falls, thirty-two in number], and furious rapids to the great river between the falls of Yellala and the sea.”*

We have already mentioned Mr. Stanley's arrival at Boma, with his famished expedition, on August 9, 1877.

After Mr. Stanley's journey we knew that the sources of the Congo were to be looked for in Lake Bangweolo,† and that the river Luapula flowing from that lake through Lake Moero becomes the river Lualaba, which flows past Nyangwé, and after crossing and recrossing the Equator becomes known to the natives as the Kongo, and finally as the Zaire.

Altogether the Congo drains an area of about 1,160,000 square miles, and the volume of water which it discharges into the sea is inferior only to that discharged by the Amazons. This volume is not subject to those startling fluctuations which in the course of the year reduce other rivers of Africa from mighty torrents to trickling streams. The Congo receives its supplies of water from the south as well as from the north of the Equator, and throughout the year the rains which swell them fall over a considerable portion of its basin . . . once

* Keith Johnston, “Africa,” p. 354.

† Lake Bangweolo, a huge oval-formed sheet of water, 150 miles from east to west, and about seventy-five miles from north to south, is at an elevation of 3,690 feet above the sea, and is fed by the waters of the river Chambese. This river collects the streams from the highlands south of Lake Tanganika, and receives tributaries from the long Mushinga range. It was discovered in 1868 by Livingstone.

past the Livingstone Falls . . . there lies before the explorer an uninterrupted waterway of 1,000 miles, as far as the Stanley Falls, 350 miles below Nyangwe."*

We have seen above how Mr. Stanley has planted stations all along the river from Vivi, where the Livingstone Falls end at Yellala, to the island station close to Stanley Falls, and how the 1,000 miles from Stanley Pool to Stanley Falls has been traversed and retraversed in the four months and twenty six days between August 23, 1883, and January 20, last.

Throughout this distance the river is of immense width, and if it were not for its current steadily setting towards the sea, it might be taken for an elongated lake. The Congo here can float the largest vessels that ply on the Mississippi. The banks are mostly bounded by forests, which, in addition to excellent timber, yield gums and oil and edible fruits. Mr. Stanley noticed neither oxen nor sheep: . . . many of the tribes are cannibals. Some of them build splendid war galleys [Mr. Stanley passed a flotilla of about 1,000 canoes on the 24th of November last], and their iron weapons are of excellent finish. They trade with the coast, but as each tribe levies customs' dues, it takes five years before an article of European manufacture arrives at the upper reaches of the river."†

The population all along the Congo above Stanley Pool is very dense. Towards Bólóbó there is scarcely a river-fronting space clear of villages, and Mr. Stanley estimates that the entire population of the Congo basin may probably amount to about fifty millions. These masses do not own a paramount chief or emperor. As a rule every village or settlement is a small independent State, and on this very want of cohesion amongst the native chiefs Mr. Stanley has so far successfully relied to enable him to implant himself in their midst. Mr. Johnston very wisely remarks that to band the native kinglets in union would inevitably turn them against the white man and hinder the entry of civilization into the Congo countries. The black man, though he may make a willing subject, can never rule. Civilization must approach as a monarch, and inspire respect as well as naïve wonder; and at present the flag of the International Association, and the steamers of Mr. Stanley alone represent civilization in the Congo valley. And this authority is in a very slight degree taken into account in the recently signed Congo Treaty. In fact, beyond causing a slight modification in the new Portuguese frontier on the river itself, by which a station (Chonzo) of the Association on the north bank of the river and nearly opposite to Nokki, has been declared "outside and

* Keith Johnston, "Africa," p. 355.

† *Ibid.*, p. 356.

contiguous to the Portuguese frontier," no consideration is accorded to the Association.

The constitution of the Association is of the vaguest possible description. At its head is the King of the Belgians, acting as a private person; and on the Committee of Founders are twelve Belgians, two Englishmen, and one Frenchman. The funds are said to be chiefly furnished by the King from his private purse. In its treaties with the native chiefs it assumes the style of the *Comité d'Etudes du Haut-Congo*. Its claim to be "the champion of commercial liberty in Central Africa" can scarcely be reconciled with the following clauses in the contracts it has made with various chiefs for the cession of territory and sovereign rights:—

Contract between the Belgian Expedition and Lutété, Chief of N'Gambi, dated October 20, 1882.

Clause 3.—The *Comité* engages to trade at its establishment, if products are presented to it for sale at remunerative prices. Business will commence, at latest, at the date on which the buildings of the station are finished.

Clause 4.—None other than the agents of the aforesaid *Comité* is authorized to come and trade within the limits of the territory of the said chiefs.

Contract of the Expedition of Studies of the Upper Congo, with Jouzo, Chief of Selo, on the River Nsadi Zikissi, dated October 29, 1882.

Clause 2.—They [the contracting chiefs] authorize the agents of the said *Comité* to construct roads, houses, and shops, on their territory, to cultivate, and this to the exclusion of any person not belonging to the said *Comité*.

Clause 3.—From the day that the said *Comité* shall commence trading at its Lutété establishment the said chiefs engage to forbid all strangers to the said *Comité* to trade throughout the extent of their territory.*

Article III. of the contract between the expedition and the chiefs of Pallaballa, "who absolutely cede and abandon to the *Comité d'Etudes* of the Upper Congo the territory that belongs to them," deserves mention, as showing how the seeds of future trouble are sown.

The cession of the territories specified in the last paragraph of Article I. is agreed to, in consideration of a present given once for all, of: 1 coat of red cloth with gold facings, 1 red cap, 1 white tunic, 1 piece of whitebaft, 1 piece of red points, 1 one-dozen box of liqueurs, 4 demijohns of rum, 2 boxes (*sic*) of gin, 128 bottles of gin (Hollands), 20 pieces of red handkerchiefs, 40 cinglets, and 40 red cotton caps, which the aforementioned chiefs admit having received.†

* Parliamentary Papers—"Africa," No. 5 (1884), pp. 4, 5. † *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Perhaps the best way of putting before our readers the present stage of the negotiations relating to the sovereignty of the Lower Congo will be to go back to Lord Granville's despatch to M. d'Antas, of March 15, 1883. After reviewing the history of the negotiations up to that time, his lordship says:—

I now approach the question of the recognition of the sovereignty of Portugal over the territory from 5° 12' to 8° south latitude. [Roundly an extension northwards from Ambriz to Landana, about 200 miles of coastline.] I must begin by making misapprehension impossible upon the point of an alteration of views on the part of Her Majesty's Government as to the right of Portugal to this territory Her Majesty's Government have never receded, and do not now recede, from their contention that the claim of Portugal is not established. But they are not looking to the past, they are providing for the future. Considering the fact that trade of a legitimate character is now being developed in this district, in which there was formerly no traffic but that in human beings, they are disposed to think that it would be desirable that the control and police should be in the hands of a European power, and, out of friendship to Portugal, they would be prepared to recognize her as that power, with the full confidence that their action in so doing would be justly appreciated; but they feel it absolutely incumbent on them to make their recognition dependent on certain conditions. . . . On this coast many trading factories are established, of which a small minority only are Portuguese. They belong to British, French, German, and Dutch houses. They pay no dues or imposts, making only insignificant payments to native chiefs. Their vessels ply without hindrance in the rivers and along the coast. There is no obstacle to the free access of the traders to the interior. Missionaries also, irrespective of creed, are allowed perfect freedom in their work. It would be impossible, then, to agree to the imposition of burdens which do not now exist. . . . Trade is sensitive, and religious bodies are easily alarmed. No obscurity, therefore, must exist on the following points. There should be no differential dues, no transit dues; the freedom of trade and navigation of the River Congo should be absolute, involving exemption from all river dues or tolls; equality should be secured to missionaries of all creeds.*

After referring to the extent of jurisdiction which would be accorded to Portugal in the interior, Lord Granville states that had Her Majesty's Government been prepared to accept less favourable conditions for British trade their acceptance would be valueless to Portugal, for it could hardly be expected that other Governments whose subjects are interested would follow their lead, and Portugal would be in no way benefited if England were to stand alone in her recognition. Communications continued to be interchanged between London and Lisbon—the chief hindrance

* Parliamentary Paper—"Africa," No. 2 (1884), pp. 14, 15.

being due to the objection of the Portuguese Government to the appointment of an International Commission to draw up regulations for the navigation, police, and supervision of the Congo and other waterways within the territory specified in Article 1 of the Treaty, and to watch over their execution. Her Majesty's Government very distinctly expressed their opinion that such a Commission would be free from political difficulties, and would be of value to the Portuguese Government as a support in questions relating to the control of the navigation, and especially in those affecting foreign trade, and they only accepted with unfeigned reluctance the suggestion of the Portuguese Government for the appointment of a mixed Anglo-Portuguese Commission in its stead. Finally, on the 26th of February last, the Treaty was signed, but will not be ratified until it has been approved by the House of Commons and the Portuguese Cortes.

By virtue of the Treaty, Portuguese jurisdiction is to extend almost as far as the Congo is navigable direct from the sea, stopping at Nokki, up to which place vessels drawing 13 to 14 feet of water can at all times safely proceed. All foreigners are guaranteed full personal and commercial liberty of action in the territory thus recognized as Portuguese, and "the entire freedom in respect of commerce and navigation" of the Congo is expressly reserved. No customs duties or other charges are to be levied on the rivers and waterways included in the Treaty, except those to be imposed by the Anglo-Portuguese Commission, or to be afterwards agreed on by the two Governments. Such tolls as may cover its expenses and the cost of works necessary to facilitate the trade and navigation of the river are to be imposed by the commission. No other charges are to be imposed upon goods carried by water, or transhipped in course of transit. Traffic by land is to be equally free from molestation, but is to be subject to customs duties on a scale not higher than that fixed by the Mozambique tariff of 1877, which, however, is to be subject to revision, if the two Governments approve, at the end of ten years. British ships and goods are invariably to be placed on an equality with Portuguese in respect of duties and restrictions. Religious freedom, and the rights of missionaries of all nations and creeds are to be held sacred. Finally, the suppression of the slave trade is indicated as one of the main objects of the Treaty, and the co-operation of British and Portuguese forces is expressly provided for with this object. Such is the Treaty, and the only people who can suffer by it are the few firms who now trade on the river, and pay nothing beyond trivial presents to the native chiefs, but who will have in future to pay customs dues. Scarcely, however, had the Treaty been published when the Manchester Chamber of Commerce emphatically denounced it. Their

lead was quickly followed by other Chambers, and an agitation against the Treaty was begun. But those people who are ready to believe all the evil of the Treaty imputed to it by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and its unreasonable supporters should study the Treaty* for themselves, and supplement that study by a careful perusal of (1) the *Report on the Congo Treaty by the Tariff Committee of the Bradford Chamber of Commerce*,† signed by Jacob Behrens, (2) Lord E. Fitzmaurice's reply to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce,‡ and (3) Lord Granville's reply to the Earl of Belmore in the House of Lords (May 9) on the subject of printing the petition of the Manchester Chamber. Lord Granville's reply was so comprehensive and straightforward that it should carry conviction to every impartial mind. He stated that the object of the Treaty was to retain commerce and to enlarge it; and he expressed his belief in the perfect truth of the contention advanced by the Manchester Cotton Spinners' Association, that the Treaty would throw open to a much more extended commerce on the part of the small traders on the Congo, the trade which is now retained in the hands of certain more wealthy and powerful firms. His lordship happily alluded to his appointment fifty years ago to the Foreign Office, and to his having been connected with it four times since that date, and he confidently asserted that the motive of the different Secretaries of State and of the older permanent officers of the department, in consistently repudiating the claim of Portugal, was their fear of encouraging the slave trade, which was absolutely stopped on the Congo at the present time. This fact makes the whole difference between the former and the present circumstances; and now such a state of things exists owing to the various countries and different associations competing for the commerce, that notwithstanding the energetic actions of our Consul, Mr. Cohen, whose headquarters are at Loanda, and the intervention of the Portuguese, matters have reached a very discreditable stage.

We need only refer to the disturbances at Muculla with the natives, when the Dutch trading factory was attacked, and an explosion of six tons of gunpowder took place, resulting in the killing and wounding of thirty or forty of the attacking party, and the destruction of £4,000 worth of property; to the disturbances at Cabenda, when one of the Kroomen in the service of Messrs. Hatton and Cookson was killed in a quarrel between the natives and the people employed at the factory; and to the disturbances at Nokki, to show how urgently needed a strong

* Parliamentary Paper—"Africa," No. 3 (1884).

† *Ibid.*, No. 5 (1884), p. 50.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

authority is at the present time, and how utterly impossible it is for the *status quo* to be persistently maintained. The Earl of Belmore suggested that the sovereignty might have been assumed by England. And Lord Granville asked whether we really were to take possession of every navigable river all over the world for fear somebody else should take it. As a matter of fact, the Portuguese have claimed this territory for four centuries, and that we have refused to recognize their claim does not prove it to have been invalid. The British Government laid down in the Treaty the strictest rules with respect to the perfect freedom of navigation and commerce, and the Portuguese Government accepted those terms. Further, there can be no differential duties between ourselves and the Portuguese. And what is still more important, we have attained effectual means of putting down the slave trade on the Zambesi. Finally, in what position shall we be if the Treaty is not ratified by us, after Portugal has agreed to all the conditions which Her Majesty's Government thought necessary in order to obtain absolute freedom for commerce and trade, and absolute liberty for the conduct of manufacturing work within their territory.

But there are other considerations to be dealt with beyond securing the ratification of the Treaty in England and Portugal, and its recognition by the Powers. The future sphere of the International African Association has to be determined, and the action of the United States, in recognizing the blue flag with the golden star as the flag of a friendly Government, may prove no less embarrassing than the agreement between the Association and France, by which the latter has secured the right of pre-emption of the territories now ruled (?) by the Association, should its grasp be unequal to holding them. There are vague reports as to Prince Bismarck's dissatisfaction with the Treaty, and we are assured that Holland by no means feels certain that *her* rights have not in some manner been infringed upon. How much of this dissatisfaction is genuine, and how much is superficial and due to the sight of the Manchester agitation, it is impossible to determine. It is to be hoped that in future negotiations the Congo question may be treated as a commercial rather than as a political interest; and even now it appears by no means certain but that the best course to adopt would be to summon a Conference to convert the Treaty into an International Treaty, to which all the Powers interested in the Congo and its districts should be parties concerned.

ART. VI.—WILLIAM IV.

The Life and Times of William IV. Including a View of Social Life and Manners during his Reign. By PERCY FITZGERALD, M.A., F.S.A., author of "The Life of George IV.," "The Life of Garrick," "A New History of the English Stage," "Kings and Queens of an Hour," &c. &c. In two volumes. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1884.

MR. PERCY FITZGERALD first appeared before the public as a novelist. In that class of writers he attained a respectable position though not in the first rank, and we read with interest and amusement his earlier novels—despite the sameness of their plots. He has now abandoned the realm of fiction and soared into the higher regions of history and biography. We cannot congratulate him on his success. When we read his historical and biographical compilations we are reminded of Dumont's description—erroneous though it be—of Sir Walter Scott:—

Mauvais romancier quand il ecrit l'histoire
Habile historien quand il fait des romans
Sil invente il faut la croire
Sil raconte mefiez vous en.*

His "Lives of George IV." and of "William IV."† like Wallace's edition of Sir James Mackintosh's historical fragment, contain "much that is worth reading, for they contain many extracts from valuable works, but when we pass from what the compiler has done with his scissors to what he has done with his pen, we can find nothing to praise in his work."‡ Both books have many defects in common; they abound in inaccuracies, repetitions, and redundancies, and in logic truly Milesian. In both there is an almost total omission of references to the authorities quoted, which adds much to the reviewer's ever-needsful task of verifying the quotations in the book he may be reviewing. In this book even the scissors' work is very carelessly done. For instance an extract§ is given from a document which relates to nothing that goes before or follows it—there is no reference to the source whence it is taken, and it is wholly unintelligible. On reflection, we thought we remembered something to the same effect in Lord Campbell's "Life."|| We

* *Vide the Edinburgh Review*, No. 283 (Jan. 1874) p. 110.

† *Vide WESTMINSTER REVIEW*, N.S. No. CXIX., July 1881, p. 70.

‡ Macaulay's "Essays," Edition 1874, p. 315.

§ *Vide* vol. ii. p. 352. || *Vide* Lord Campbell's "Life," vol. ii. p. 65.

referred to it and found this unintelligible passage to be a mutilated extract from William IV.'s letter to Lord Melbourne on the Municipal Corporation Bill, which is not even mentioned in the chapter which this extract closes. In another instance Mr. Fitzgerald gives what professes to be *verbatim et literatim* a copy of the King's written consent to the creation of a sufficient number of peers to insure the passing of the Reform Bill. No reference is made to the source whence this quotation is taken. A few pages on and there is a statement of the contents of the same document which in important particulars differs from that which professes to be an exact copy of the original.*

Before dealing with "The Life of William IV." we will dispose of that section of the book which professes to be "a view of social life and manners during his reign." Here our compiler seems to have set out without either chart or compass. The title-page limits the "view" to the reign of William IV. That reign began June 26, 1830, and ended June 19, 1837—wanting one week of the full term of seven years. When we turn to the opening page of the so-called "view" we read "English Society, say from 1810 to 1830, offers much that is worthy of study from the unusual or exceptional elements that chequered its course, and which are not likely to recur."† From this period the reign of William IV. is excluded, but on the next page we read, "We look back fondly and with wonder to the abundance of literary wealth and genius that was to be found in London during the twenty-five years between 1810 and 1835."‡ This division of time would include all but the last two years of William's reign. Six chapters of the second volume§ are devoted to this "view," and the last of the series closes with this paragraph: "Such is a review of social life, and its characters and peculiarities in the days of William IV. It might be infinitely extended, but enough has been said to give a satisfactory outline of men and manners in those days."|| It is by no means clear, but, on the whole, it seems as if Mr. Fitzgerald intended to confine, and thinks he has confined, his "view" to the reign of William IV., but when we examine the contents of these six chapters we find they ramble discursively over the whole period from 1810 to 1835. We find extracts taken at random from the writings of Macaulay, Charles Greville, Raikes, Captain Gronow, Sir Henry Holland, Talfourd, Henry Crabb Robinson, the American Minister Mr. Rush, and the American snob N. P. Willis¶ and others, with all which the reading public are perfectly familiar. In these chapters, as

* Vol. ii. p. 124; conf. p. 131.

† *Ibid.* p. 141.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 152.

† Vol. ii. p. 140.

§ Chaps. vii. to xii. inclusive.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 169, note.

in the other portions of the book *passim*, inaccuracies both in fact and expression abound—*e.g.*, our compiler borrows Crabb Robinson's account of the last wager of battle in Westminster Hall, which he compares with a story which we think is unhistorical, of a Persian Ambassador applying to the British Government for permission to cut off the heads of two of his servants,* and compares this story with Crabb Robinson's narrative in this confused passage:—"This (the Persian story) may have been, and was no doubt true, but it *could not be* matched by a still stranger relic of barbarism, and which is yet English." If we may venture to interpret Mr. Fitzgerald's words, he means to say the Persian story *could be* matched with a "still stranger relic of barbarism." What is the force of the words "yet English." He cannot mean "which still is English" because his quotation from Crabb Robinson ends with the words "an Act of Parliament abolishing the practice was passed." We presume, therefore, he means "nevertheless it was English."

Our compiler then crosses the Channel and gives us an account of the "English Colony in Paris," especially "the Hertford family," the accuracy of which may be judged from the following extract: "The Parisian Lord Hertford, Thackeray's 'Lord Steyne,' well known for his pictures and his nickname of 'Bagatelle,' and the doer of many doings, was the son of a more original person still, Lord Yarmouth, the friend of the Regent, and known as Red Herrings, from the colour of his whiskers, &c. &c."† Thackeray's "Lord Steyne," "the Marquis of Monmouth," of "Coningsby," was not Mr. Fitzgerald's "Parisian Lord Hertford," but his father, the Regent's friend, "Lord Yarmouth" otherwise "Red Herrings,"‡ one of the *detenus* of Verdun, who by descent became Marquis of Hertford, and who, if he escapes entire oblivion, will owe his escape to the fact of his having furnished a model for a character to two eminent novelists.

In connection with the "Hertford family," we have some unsavoury anecdotes of the person known as Lord Henry Seymour, who, on Mr. Fitzgerald's own showing, never set foot in London or even England,§ and therefore was not at any time a factor in English social life. Mr. Fitzgerald revives some painful stories of the eccentricities and insanity of the first Lord Dudley.|| The only possible effect of this revival will be to give pain to some now living. Throughout these six chapters we

* We remember a similar story was circulated at the time of the Shah's visit to England.

† *Ibid.* pp. 199, 200.

‡ *Vide* Mr. Fitzgerald's "Life of George IV." vol. ii. p. 88.

§ Vol. ii. pp. 201-203.

|| *Ibid.* p. 220 *et seq.*

find nothing new, nothing but an inconsecutive and unchronological piecing together of miscellaneous extracts from various books, nor anything to justify the pretentious title of "a view of social life and manners during the reign of William IV.," or any other time.

We turn to the "Life of William IV." We pass rapidly over the years which elapsed before his accession to the throne. Up to that time Mr. Greville truly says—

His life had been passed in obscurity and neglect, in miserable poverty, surrounded by a numerous progeny of bastards, without consideration or friends, and he was ridiculous from his grotesque ways and little meddling curiosity; nobody ever invited him into their house or thought it necessary to honour him with any mark of attention or respect; and so he went on for above forty years, till Canning brought him into notice* by making him Lord High Admiral.†

William Henry, third son of George III., was born Aug. 21, 1765. His education was at first confided to two persons, called Arnold and Majendie. They were quickly superseded by a Swiss named Budé. This person had been page to the Prince of Orange; afterwards he served in the Sardinian army. When appointed tutor or governor to the young prince he was a commander unattached in the Hanoverian army. Mdme. D'Arblay describes "his person as tall and showy, and his manners and appearance as fashionable. But," she adds, "he has a sneer in his smile that looks sarcastic, and a distance in his manner that seems haughty."‡ These characteristics are hardly reconcilable with a high-flown eulogy on him by a biographer who says "his religion was founded on the firm base of unadulterated Christianity."§

It may be due to the influence of Budé that the Prince at the age of thirteen favourably impressed such severe judges of propriety as Bishop Buller and Mrs. Chapone, and that the last sentence he uttered before his death was the assurance expressed, "with a slow and feeble and yet distinct utterance," to Archbishop Howley, "Believe me, I am a religious man."|| When the Prince was in his fourteenth year, George III., with his usual obstinacy and much against his son's will, decided that he should enter the navy. On June 15, 1779, he was appointed midshipman on board the *Prince George*, the flagship of Admiral Digby. The condition of midshipmen at that time was wretched, and needlessly wretched; they lived on the coarsest fare, and were roughly and cruelly treated. The worst of gaols or workhouses

* In 1827.

† Greville's "Journal," vol. ii. pp. 1, 2.

‡ Quoted, vol. i. p. 2, note.
|| Vol. ii. p. 381.

§ Quoted, vol. i. p. 2.

of this day in no degree approaches the filth and squalor of the lodging and food of these young officers. Their morals were not for an instant thought of. One difference only was made in the treatment of Prince William Henry from those of his brother-midshipmen; he is said to have had a special allowance of £1,000 for his table.* In all other respects he seems to have mixed with the other midshipmen as their equal, and in his intercourse with them showed equal good nature and combativeness. "When sneeringly asked by what name he was rated on the ship's books, he replied that his father's was Guelph, though he himself was entered as Prince William Henry; but they were welcome to call him William Guelph."† When the Prince joined the navy we were at war with France. The French and Spanish fleets boldly came up the Channel and threatened our coasts. The Royal midshipman's first cruise was a "mere naval promenade," but in his second cruise, under Rodney, the English fleet captured off Sandwich a Spanish convoy of sixteen vessels and seven men-of-war. One of these, a sixty-four gun-ship was renamed the *Prince William*, in respect (as the admiral, with courtier-like servility, said in his despatch) to His Royal Highness, *in whose presence she had the honour to be taken.*‡ Soon afterwards the battle of Cape St. Vincent was fought. The Spanish fleet consisted of sixteen sail of the line. Some were blown up, others ran ashore, and others were captured. The Spanish admiral visited the English Admiral on board his ship, and when the beaten foe was about to depart, a young midshipman in charge of the barge came respectfully to announce that it was waiting. The Spanish admiral, accustomed to the punctilios of the Spanish Court, was astonished at hearing that this youth was a son of the King of England, and is reported to have said, "Well does Great Britain deserve the empire of the seas when the humblest stations in her navy are filled by her princes."§ The Prince was despatched home, and presented his father with the flag of the Spanish admiral and a plan of the Gibraltar fortifications which he himself had made. He was thought to have shown early promise of future excellence in his profession, and was received by the people, especially the Londoners, with tumultuous enthusiasm.|| After a short holiday spent with his elder brothers in masquerading and other wild pleasures of the town, he was sent back to his vessel, and sailed under command of Admiral Geary. The most remarkable event of this cruise was that at a farewell banquet given by the admiral to his captains, the young Prince, "to the surprise of all present,"¶ made the first

* Vol. i. pp. 5, 6, 7.

§ *Ibid.* p. 5.

† *Ibid.* p. 4.

|| *Ibid.* p. 8.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 4.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 9.

of those long rambling incoherent speeches which throughout his life he was in the habit of making. One week after his return from this cruise he had to set sail again. It was said that his departure was hastened by an entanglement with a young lady which much displeased his father.* His ship made part of the expedition under Admiral Darby for the relief of Gibraltar. He then sailed with Admiral Digby to America and landed in New York.

He was the first member of the Royal Family who set foot on the American continent. Years afterwards a member of the American Diplomatic Service assured Lord Teignmouth that the Prince was looked upon by the Americans, "as one of the least favourable specimens of our countrymen who had ever landed on their shores."†

The time of the Prince's sojourn in New York was 1782, before the recognition by England of the independence of the United States; with the assent of Washington a plan was formed by some of the American army to carry off the Prince and detain him as a prisoner‡ or hostage. The design however was unsuccessful. After leaving America, the Prince went to the West Indies. There he made the acquaintance of Nelson. Nelson was then in his twenty-fourth year, and serving under Lord Hood.

He appeared, the Prince said years afterwards, to be the merest boy of a captain I ever beheld, and his dress was worthy of attention. He had a full laced uniform, his lank unpowdered hair was tied in a stiff Hessian tail of an extraordinary length; the old-fashioned flaps of his waistcoat added to the general quaintness of his figure. There was something irresistibly pleasing in his address and conversation, and an enthusiasm when speaking on professional subjects that showed he was no common being.§

Nelson on his side was equally pleased with the Prince, and uttered a prophecy which was not destined to be fulfilled: "He will be," he wrote, "I am certain, an ornament to our service. He is a seaman, which you could hardly suppose, with every other qualification you might expect from him, but he will be a disciplinarian, and a strong one. With the best temper, and great good sense, he cannot fail of being pleasing to every one.

In 1788 he was examined by a full Board of Admiralty as to his qualifications for promotion. Lord Howe, who presided, pronounced him to be "every inch a sailor,"¶ and he was made

* Vol. i. p. 11.

† Vol. i. p. 11 *et seq.*

‡ "Reminiscences of Many Years," vol. ii. p. 187.

§ *Ibid.* p. 18.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 19.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 69.

third lieutenant on board the *Hebe*. In April 1786, he was made captain and appointed to the *Pegasus*, in which he sailed for the West Indies. Here he was under the command of his friend Nelson, who wrote of him : "He has his foibles as well as private men, but they are far outbalanced by his virtues. In his professional line he is superior to nearly two-thirds of the list, and in attention to orders and respect to his superior officer, I hardly know his equal."* But now, as ever, when he was placed in a position of authority, he was to illustrate what was said of him towards the close of his life :—"He was at times half crazy, and at no time fit to be left to his own guidance."†

In 1787 he was separated from Nelson, and, "in a fit of ill-humour and despondency," sailed without orders to Halifax. Thence he was ordered to Quebec, but not liking to remain there all the winter, again set sail without orders, and landed at Cork in December. His father was much displeased at this violation of discipline and want of proper subordination. He was summarily ordered to Plymouth, and forbidden to leave his ship or come up to London. In a few days the Prince sailed again for the West. This expedition was of little interest. "It was," says Mr. Fitzgerald, "destined to be his last opportunity of active service, and a stupid policy doomed him for the rest of his life to inaction or some ornamental office at home."‡

Madame D'Arblay records that in May 1789, just after the recovery of George III. from his attack of insanity, the Prince arrived in England without the leave of the King, "whom he believed to be incapable of further governance."§ These frequent proofs of want of self-guidance and control justify the policy which henceforth excluded him from active service. We should, however, state that in the following year (1790) he prosecuted the printer of the *Times* for the publication of a libel which alleged that the Prince had left his vessel without the orders of his commanding officer.

In June 1789, the Prince was created Duke of Clarence and Earl Munster, and in 1790 he was made Rear-Admiral. In 1793 the Duke—as henceforth we will call him—was promoted to be Rear-Admiral of the Red, and in the first year of the Regency to be Admiral of the Fleet. Like his elder brother, he vainly sought active employment during the war with France.|| In 1794 the Duke addressed a personal appeal to the Admiralty

* Vol. i. p. 62.

† MS. Political Narratives by Francis Place (in the British Museum) quoted in Torrens' "Life of Lord Melbourne," vol. i. p. 332.

‡ Vol. i. pp. 68, 69.

§ Mdme. D'Arblay's "Diary," under date May 2, 1789.

|| 1793-1801.

for employment, "that he might not have the imputation thrown upon him of living a life of inglorious ease when he ought to be in the front of danger." Of this appeal not the slightest notice was taken. The Duke thereupon "appealed unto Cæsar." He sent the King a copy of his letter to the Admiralty, accompanied by a letter to His Majesty ending with these words:—

As in this treatment of the Lords of the Admiralty my character as a naval officer becomes seriously implicated. I am emboldened to make this appeal to my royal father, soliciting from him that he will be pleased to issue his commands to the Lords of the Admiralty to grant me that employment which I desire, or publicly to state the grounds on which their refusal is grounded.*

It does not appear that any attention whatever was paid to this not unreasonable appeal. "The Duke was forced to confine the display of his martial zeal to an exhortation to the Teddington Volunteers, whom he thus addressed: 'My friends and neighbours! wherever our duty calls us I will go with you, fight in your ranks, and never return home without you.'"[†] A vow he was never called on to perform.

We must here revert to an earlier period in the Duke's life. In 1783, while yet only Prince William Henry, he was sent under the guardianship of his old governor Budé, and of a Captain Merrick, a brother naval officer, to make "the grand tour." At Hanover he met his brother Frederick, Duke of York, then only Bishop of Osnaburg. The royal brothers indulged in gaming, and got into a not very creditable dispute with a hanger-on of a gaming-table. From Hanover the Princes went to Berlin, where they were received by Frederick the Great, who was disgusted at finding that Prince William had not read Voltaire's "Candide." Notwithstanding this disgust, the "Protestant Hero" took the English Princes to Silesia and showed them some soldiering.[‡] From Germany Prince William Henry went to Italy. "Later," Mr Fitzgerald tells us, "he visited many countries, including Italy and Switzerland, and acquiring a certain knowledge; but he seems to have always retained the blunt rough manners of his profession."[§]

The Duke, if not throughout his life, yet through all the earlier portion of it, was peculiarly liable to be attracted by female charms. On a cruise he seldom visited a port, on a

* Vol. i. pp. 93, 4, 5, as to George the Fourth's like unsuccessful applications. Conf. Fitzgerald's "Life of George IV.," vol. i. pp. 326, 327, 337, 344 *et seq.* His applications, however, were noticed.

[†] Vol. i. p. 91.

[‡] *Vide* vol. i. p. 23-4.

[§] Vol. i. p. 61. As to the Prince's manners, *vide* M^{me}. D'Arblay's Diary for May 2, 1789, and June 4, 1791 (vol. v. p. 205), quoted by Mr. Fitzgerald, vol. i. p. 72 *et seq.*

journey he seldom stopped in a town, without getting entangled with some siren. We have alluded to one of these affairs, which provoked his father to cut short his furlough and send him again to sea. At the Havannah he was fascinated by a daughter of the Spanish Admiral, Donna Maria, a young lady of the age of sixteen years or thereabouts, and who, Mr. Fitzgerald remarks, is "rather awkwardly described as 'one of those grand, commanding figures which history has pointed out as a Cleopatra or a Messalina.'" In his first German tour he fell in love with a Fraulein Schinbach. This seems to have been a serious affair. It was thought necessary to settle it by transferring the lady to Captain Merrick, who, we hope, was satisfied with the arrangement.*

It was during one of the Duke's visits to Germany that there occurred, or is supposed to have occurred, that curious episode in his life, his alleged morganatic—or perhaps it is more accurate to say clandestine—marriage with Caroline von Linsingen, which, under the title "Caroline von Linsingen and King William IV.," was some years back discussed in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW.† Mr. Fitzgerald does us the honour to notice our article in these terms: "It might seem scarcely worth while noticing this production" (*i.e.*, the work which was the subject of our article) "but for the fact that it was accepted quite *au sérieux* by the English press. The WESTMINSTER REVIEW, in a long article, gravely debated the question *pro* and *con*."‡ We should be sorry to do Mr. Fitzgerald an injustice, but we believe him to be an Irishman, and we know that Irishmen have a logic of their own, differing alike from the scholastic logic and from the logic of John Stuart Mill. Perhaps also, like the great majority of his countrymen, he is a Romanist, and like the great literary ornament of the Roman hierarchy, values implicit above explicit reasoning.§ To our commonplace English mind, there is no other means of arriving at a conclusion on an alleged matter of fact which in Germany met with very general belief than "to gravely debate the question *pro* and *con*." In this prosaic method we are glad to learn from Mr. Fitzgerald what we did not know before—that we took the same course as our contemporaries, the *Times* and the *Daily News*. ||

It is not difficult [continues Mr. Fitzgerald] to discover the material out of which this legend has been constructed; and Mr.

* Vol. i. pp. 11, 21, 24.

† N.S. No. CXVI., October 1880, p. 356.

‡ Vol. i. p. 26, note. He expresses similar astonishment in his "Life of George IV."

§ *Vide* Preface to Newman's "University Sermons." Third Edition. 1871.

|| Quoted by Mr. Fitzgerald, *ubi supra*.

Huish, the eminent *chiffonier* in such matters, supplies them. During his residence in Hanover the Prince had formed a connection with a lady there, whom he is said to have repudiated with her offspring. She came to London furnished with legal papers, &c., attesting the truth of her case. Advertisements were put in the papers, and the Prince found himself obliged to make some allowance, &c., and sent her back to Hanover. This, beyond question, is the foundation of the Linsingen legend.*

It is discourteous in Mr. Fitzgerald, who both in this book and in his "George IV." is so much indebted to Mr. Huish, to call him—though he has the grace to veil the word under a French guise—"a rag-picker." As Mr. Fitzgerald gives us no reference to Mr. Huish's work, we cannot judge of the truth of Mr. Fitzgerald's assertion. We can only say that if the "Linsingen legend" has a "foundation," how can Mr. Fitzgerald say of it "a more transparent imposition could not be conceived;"† and why is its credibility to be denied *à priori* and without investigation.

During the Duke's brief stay at Plymouth, after his irregular return from America, he was captivated by a Miss Wynne. He again escaped out of the net, but only to form a more serious and enduring connection with Mrs. Jordan, a well-known actress of that day. By her he had the numerous illegitimate family, four sons and four daughters, to which Mr. Greville refers. This *liaison* had a sort of informal recognition by the Royal Family. Mr. Fitzgerald transcribes from the *Courier* an account of a celebration of the Duke's birthday at Bushey Park, at which were present the Prince of Wales, the Dukes of York, Kent, Sussex, and Cambridge, the Lord Chancellor, the Attorney-General, and sundry more official and other persons. "When dinner was announced, the Prince Regent took Mrs. Jordan by the hand, led her into the dining-room, and seated her at the top of the table. The Prince took his seat at her right hand, and the Duke of York at her left."‡ After twenty years' duration, this connection was dissolved. Much odium and abuse was incurred by the Duke on account of his alleged ill-treatment of this unfortunate woman, who died abroad in great misery. His reason for breaking with her was his desire to find an heiress with whom he might contract a marriage. He made many ineffectual attempts. "We are told," Speaker Abbot writes in 1811, "that the Duke of Clarence first offered himself to Miss Long, and immediately afterwards to Miss Mercer, and then to

* *Ubi supra.*

† Vol. i. p. 25.

‡ Vol. i. p. 122. Mr. Fitzgerald, as his habit is, does not fix the year of this celebration, but there can be no doubt the Chancellor who attended it was the moral and religious Eldon.

Lady Berkeley. . . . It is difficult not to apprehend that there may be more and more business for Messrs. R. and T. Willis.* The Willises were the attendants on George III., who at this time had become incurably insane, and was under their care. Miss Mercer, we believe, was a lady in the household of the Princess Charlotte. A worse fate befell Miss Long, who married Long-Wellesley,† a brother of the Duke of Wellington, and whose misconduct was years ago the scandal of society. Lady Berkeley had greatly occupied public attention by the part she filled in the Berkeley peerage case, which had just at this time been heard and decided.

In 1818, the Duke, encouraged by his brother the Regent, made an offer to a Miss Wykeham, who accepted him. Queen Charlotte became outrageous on hearing of the engagement, and after two meetings of the Council, "they talked, threatened, and scolded the Duke out of this love-match."‡ On the death of the Princess Charlotte, the Duke, like his brothers Kent and Cambridge, married for dynastic purposes. His choice fell on the Princess Adelaide of Saxe Meiningen—if, indeed, it be not more accurate to say she was chosen for him. "She was very ugly, with a horrid complexion, but had good manners."§ She had great influence over her husband, and in some respects exercised it with a salutary effect. She succeeded to a great extent in reforming his language, which used to be plentifully garnished with profane oaths, after the manner of sailors in those days. This bad habit, indeed, was never entirely broken off.|| After his accession, she extended her influence to politics, and, as we shall see, exercised it disastrously.

While the mother of the "Fitz-Clarences," as the Duke's family by Mrs. Jordan were called, came to so luckless an end—they, on the other hand, made brilliant alliances, and had flourishing careers. After their father came to the throne, their incessant and rapacious demands on his purse, their secret and irresponsible influence in politics, and their constant intrigues, were among the calamities of his reign. Within a month of the accession, Mr. Greville relates: "It is said that the bastards are dissatisfied that more is not done for them; but the King cannot do much for them at once, and he must have time. . . .

* Lord Colchester's "Diaries," vol. ii. p. 349.

† He assumed the name of Long on his marriage with the unfortunate heiress of that name.

‡ *Vide* the authority whose name is not given, but who we guess to be Mr. Grey Bennet, quoted by Mr. Fitzgerald in his "Life of George IV.," vol. ii. p. 185. He does not refer to this affair in his "Life of William IV."

§ Greville's "Journal," vol. ii. p. 7.

|| Lord Teignmouth's "Reminiscences of Many Years," vol. ii. p. 186. Conf. Greville, vol. ii. p. 3; vol. iii. p. 264.

Doubtless they will all have their turn." They wanted, as the Duke of Wellington said, to be "Dukes and Duchesses, which, he added, is impossible."* Finding that the Duke was not disposed to meet their wishes, they turned against him, and enjoyed the defeat and overthrow of his Government.† Their father thought himself much ill-used, because provision at the cost of the people was not made for his illegitimate family. On the death of George IV., the managers of the Mendicity Society, by their chairman, Lord Teignmouth, requested the new King to succeed his brother as patron of the Society. His Majesty replied: "That he should have much pleasure in accepting the office of patron, but was unable to subscribe to its funds, as he had a large family, and the country would not give him the means of maintaining them."‡ The country, however, dealt with him with no niggard hand. At the time of his accession, his yearly income, derived entirely§ from parliamentary grants, was £38,500, and on his accession his civil list was fixed at £510,000.|| His children had no cause to complain of the honours he conferred on them. The eldest son was very early in the reign created Earl Munster, and the rank of Marquis's younger children was conferred on the rest of the family, nor were more substantial favours and benefits wanting.¶ But the Duke and his family had, before his accession, to spend what Mr. Fitzgerald describes** "a number of unsuccessful and monotonous years." During this period, the Duke was a frequent attendant at the House of Lords. In politics he professed, like his father, to be an Old Whig.†† The Whiggism of both the father and the son was of the mildest kind. The son expressed a wish "that Huskisson should be hanged" for his free-trade opinions, and declared that, if he were King, "he would not take Canning for his Minister if there was any other man in England to be found for that office."‡‡ Canning's declaration in favour of "Civil and Religious Liberty all over the world," and Huskisson's Liberal commercial policy, were equally distasteful to this "Old Whig."

The Duke was partial to public speaking and occasionally took part in the Lords' debates. His speeches were generally of an eccentric character. On one occasion, when a Divorce Bill was before the House, notwithstanding his well-known immoral life,

* "Journal," vol. ii. p. 7.

† Lord Ellenborough's "Diary," vol. ii. pp. 428, 436.

‡ "Reminiscences of Many Years," vol. ii. p. 187. § Vol. i. p. 128, note.

|| *Ibid.* p. 353, note. Conf. Greville, vol. iii. p. 285.

¶ Greville, vol. ii. p. 3, note.

** Vol. i. p. 125.

†† George III. so professed himself to the Duke of Portland. *Vide* Sir G. C. Lewis's "Essays," p. 97, note, and the authority there cited.

‡‡ Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. iii. p. 476.

he took occasion in the presence of his two elder brothers—whose immoralities were even more glaring—to denounce the adulterer “as an insidious and designing villain who would ever be held in disgrace and abhorrence by an enlightened and civilized society,” but would be changed into “a man of honour” if and when he married his partner in guilt. “The husband,” continued the royal speaker, “who by suing for pecuniary damages obtained a verdict, was considered not a very honourable man if when he received them he put them in his own pocket, instead of returning them to the purse of the defendant.”* In a debate on the slavery question† the Duke’s speech gave rise to an interesting incident—the assertion of the perfect equality in debate of all peers, a difference arose between the Duke and Lord Grenville, in the course of which Lord Grenville remarked “that between him and his Royal Highness there could be personally no debate, *because between them there was no equality*. For this he was called to order by Lord Romney, who said that he agreed there was no equality between the illustrious Prince and any other member of that House, yet that he always understood as a peer, he stood in that House on a perfect equality with any personage in it as to the right of speaking.” Lord Thurlow, who had once before vindicated the equality of the peerage against a Duke also of royal, but in that case illegitimate, descent,‡ who had reproached him with his plebeian extraction and recent admission to the peerage—here again interposed to assert the equality of his peers.

I wish to have it clearly understood [he said] whether it is the constitution of this House that we are unequal in our rights to speak here. I am one of the lowest in point of rank: I contend not for superiority of talent, or for preference, or for any consideration whatever, but I claim to be exactly equal, not only to the illustrious personage who has just spoken, and whom their Lordships had heard with so much pleasure, but also with the Prince of Wales, if he were present, and acting as a peer of Parliament. I know [he continued] of no difference between peers of Parliament considered in their legislative character, and I do think that the lowest in rank in the House is equal to the highest while we are debating. If rank or talent created an inequality in our rights to speak in this House, the illus-

* Vol. i. pp. 81, 82.

† Mr. Fitzgerald, as usual, gives no date. It may have been in 1804, when the Lords threw out Wilberforce’s Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, or in 1806, when, during the Ministry of “All the Talents,” it was carried.

‡ In his memorable reply to the Duke of Grafton. *Vide* “Life of Thurlow,” Campbell’s “Chancellors,” vol. v. p. 533, Edition 1846. Campbell says this reply was to the Duke of Richmond. We have always understood it was the Duke of Grafton, and we are supported by very careful and accurate Mr. Foss. See “Judges of England,” vol. viii. p. 381.

trious personage who has just spoken would have a higher right than I pretend to have; but I do claim for my humble self an equality with every Prince of the Blood, or any other who has a seat in this House, to speak my sentiments with uncontrolled freedom.*

Another debate on the slave trade gave the Duke occasion again to declare his opinions on that question. This he did, if not with knowledge of his subject, yet with sailor-like frankness. "The complexion of the slaves," he said, "is the obstacle to every redress; their complexion is suitable to the climate; that alone is a host against superior European discipline and knowledge." He went on to declare that slavery was "a system that is as *incurable as mortality*. The trade and slavery must stand together, or the latter will fall." The great precaution to be taken was "that *every roving missionary be expelled from their* (the negroes) *conversation*, and that they be immersed in illiterate stupidity."† He concluded by denouncing Mr. Wilberforce, and those who acted with him as either "fanatics or hypocrites." This speech made the Duke highly unpopular; he was attacked, ridiculed, caricatured, and accused of being a paid advocate of the slave-dealers—an accusation which, looking at their violent and unscrupulous opposition to the abolition of the trade and the Duke's poverty, is by no means improbable. Considering his views on slavery and the slave trade, it was the irony of events which made him the King who gave his assent to the abolition of slavery in the British dominions, which is reckoned one of the glories of his reign. What his own opinion on the measure might be was not thought of much importance by his Ministers.

The most rational and liberal of the Duke's parliamentary speeches, so far as those qualities may be affirmed of any of them, was made in 1829 in the Lords' debates on the Catholic Emancipation Bill. His then position as next heir to the Crown gave to this speech an importance it would not otherwise have had. In the course of it he remarked—

During all his professional life he could bear testimony to the character, the energy, the bravery, and the thorough good-humour of Irishmen. Sure he was that the service of the Irish Catholics could not be forgotten by the Duke of Wellington; that their bravery, valour, and devotion in fighting the battles of their country could never leave his recollection; and their deeds must have been present to his mind when he advised his Sovereign, with so much honour to himself, and with such advantage to the Empire, graciously to recommend their claims to the serious consideration of the Legislature. For his own part, His Royal Highness recollected all the achievements of the noble Duke, and the victories which he had won for his country from the

* Vol. i. p. 83.

† *Ibid.* p. 84.

period when he led on the first battalion at the storming of Seringapatam down to the glorious day of Waterloo—that day which for a length of time had closed the horoscope of Europe. The noble Duke was a soldier, and when he bore in mind the regiments which fought under his command, he must consider that he was now only discharging a debt of gratitude which, as a soldier, he owed to those brave and gallant men who had achieved his victories, and contributed to raise him to his present exalted situation.*

The Duke went on to denounce the opposition to the Bill as *unjust and infamous*. His brother the Duke of Cumberland, who as warmly opposed the Bill as the Duke of Clarence supported it, denied that his opposition was factious or infamous. Another brother, the Duke of Sussex, here interposed and explained that his brother of Clarence applied the terms generally, but if his brother of Cumberland took them to himself it *was a matter of taste*. The Duke of Clarence then rejoined that he thought his brother of Cumberland had been so long abroad that he had forgotten the freedom of debate. "I never," said Lord Ellenborough, who was present, "witnessed such a scene; it was discreditable to all there, and they all seemed insane."†

It is noteworthy to compare how the same facts were used by a dull, heavy man, and by a man of genius who was also, if not the last, one of the last, of our parliamentary rhetoricians, Richard Lalor Sheil. In his celebrated reply to Lord Lyndhurst's ill-judged "Alien" speech,‡ he thus turned the same facts into one of his pieces of "enamelled rhetoric," as Mr. Cobden once described Sheil's speeches.

Where was Arthur, Duke of Wellington, when these words were uttered? Methinks he should have started up to exclaim, "Hold! I have seen the Aliens do their duty." "The battles, sieges, fortunes that he passed," ought to have come back to him. He ought to have remembered that from the earliest achievement in which he displayed that military genius which has placed him foremost in the annals of modern warfare, down to that last and surpassing combat which has made his name imperishable—from Assaye to Waterloo—the Irish soldiers, with whom your armies were filled, were the inseparable auxiliaries to the glory with which his unparalleled successes have been crowned. Whose were the athletic arms that drove your bayonets at Vimiera through the phalanxes that never reeled in the shock of war before? What desperate valour climbed the steepes and filled the moats of Badajoz? All, all his victories should have rushed and crowded back upon his memory; Vimiera, Badajoz, Salamanca, Albuera, Toulouse—and last of all the greatest—tell me, for you were there. I appeal to the

* Vol. i. pp. 147, 148.

† "Diary," vol. i. p. 358.

‡ *Vide* Martin's "Life of Lyndhurst," p. 353; and Hayward's "Essays," vol. i. p. 63.

gallant soldier before me [pointing to Sir Henry Hardinge] who bears, I know, a generous heart in an intrepid breast; tell me, for you must needs remember, on that day when the destinies of mankind were trembling in the balance, while death fell in showers upon them; when the artillery of France levelled with a precision of the most deadly science played upon them; when her legions, incited by the voice, inspired by the example of their mighty leader, rushed again and again to the contest; tell me, if for an instant, when to hesitate for a moment was to be lost, the "aliens" blanched? And when with words familiar but immortal, the great Captain exclaimed, "Up lads, and at them;"* tell me, if Catholic Ireland with less heroic valour than the natives of your own glorious Isle precipitated herself upon the foe! The blood of England, Scotland, and Ireland flowed in the same stream, on the same field; when the chill morning dawned, their dead laid cold and stark together; in the same deep pit their bodies were deposited; the green corn is now breaking on their commingled dust; the dew falls from Heaven upon their union in the grave. Partakers in every peril, in the glory shall we not be permitted to participate? And shall we be told as a requital that we are estranged from the noble country for whose salvation our life blood was poured out?

Contemporary evidence has preserved the fact that "nothing that Sheil ever did approached to this in the electric effect produced by his thrilling delivery and the impassioned appeal. We never, in fact, witnessed a more thorough triumph of oratory."†

When, by the death of the Duke of York, the Duke of Clarence became next heir to the Crown, he became also a person of greater importance in the eyes of Ministers, present and expectant. This change in his position may have induced Canning on the formation of his Ministry in May, 1827, to revive for the Duke the obsolete office of Lord High Admiral. Mr. Fitzgerald attributes this to Canning's taste "for theatrical effects in politics, in which respect he was akin to the late Lord Beaconsfield, and he might have thought that the revival of this high office might 'redress a balance' of some kind."‡ This allusion to Canning's "splendid boast" that he called a new world into existence "to redress the balance" of the old is at once flippant and unmeaning. A more probable reason for

* The Duke of Wellington did not say "Up Guards [or lads] and at them" at Waterloo ("The Pearls and Mock Pearls of History:" Hayward's "Essays," vol. i. p. 41).

† We take this passage as well as the passage from Sheil's speech from a book called "The Critic in Parliament and in Public," pp. 65, 66. The speech is, of course, reported in Hansard for 1837, and it is given in the collected volume of Mr. Sheil's speeches and in his "Life," by Mr. Torrens, M.P.

‡ Vol. i. p. 165.

Canning's proceeding is suggested by Mr. Fitzgerald on a previous page, that it was to please George IV., "who, ever delighted in theatrical shows, and who was besides fond of his brother. As his health was failing, Ministers were not inclined to cross him."* Whatever was the cause of this appointment, it was an unfortunate one. The Duke in this instance, as throughout his life, showed "that when authority was given to him his excitable nature was sure to be quickened into extravagance."† His position was undefined. If, it was asked, the Lord High Admiral is no more than an ordinary First Lord of the Admiralty, why was he not, like other First Lords, a member of the Cabinet? He himself considered that his not being a Cabinet Minister was a decided advantage, as it had been to the Duke of York when Commander-in-Chief. "I have," he said, "only to look at my own duty without waiting the cold calculation of political considerations."‡ It was said he privately instigated his friend, Sir Edward Codrington, to the course of action which ended in "that untoward event," the battle of Navarino, but Mr. Fitzgerald proves that this legend is one of the "mock pearls of history."§ But it is certain that, without consulting the Ministers or his own Council,|| he expressed his congratulations to Sir Edward on the "splendid victory he had obtained," and distributed rewards and promotions to the officers who had been engaged at Navarino. A feud soon broke out between the Lord High Admiral and his Council, one of whom, Admiral Sir George Cockburn, firmly pointed out to his chief that in taking measures without the advice or consent of his Council to form a commission on gunnery, he had clearly exceeded the powers given him by his patent. This led to a long and confused altercation, into which not only the Duke of Wellington as Premier, but George IV. himself were drawn.

When I appointed my brother [wrote the King to the Premier] to the station of Lord High Admiral, I had reasonably hoped that I should have derived comfort, peace, and tranquillity from such an appointment, but from what has hitherto taken place, it would seem if the very reverse were to happen.

There were other irregular proceedings on the part of the Lord High Admiral. The Premier and the Cabinet were not anxious to proceed to extremities, and wished His Royal Highness to remain in office if he would only obey the law; but he

* Vol. i. p. 164. † *Ibid.* p. 165. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 172. § *Ibid.* p. 170.

|| The usual Board of Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty did not exist under the arrangement of May, 1827. The Duke was assisted by a Council, of whom he wished to act independently.

was obstinate. In the end the Premier, with his usual decision, explained to the King "that it would not answer to remove from office a gentleman who had performed his duty for no reason except that he had remonstrated against a breach of law by the Duke of Clarence." The King, as was always the case, gave way to the stronger will, and his royal brother resigned his office.*

We think Lord Ellenborough is, in this matter, unfair to George IV. He notes in his "Diary" that—

The Lord High Admiral is now and then mad, or very nearly so. The King would be glad to oust him, thus removing from a prominent situation a brother of whom he is jealous, and creating ill blood between the Heir Presumptive and his Ministers, a thing all kings like to do.†

The letters of George IV. show no jealousy of his brother, but, express very strong affection for him, which the Duke returns. The King, indeed, was honestly desirous to uphold the rights and authority of the Duke of Wellington and Sir George Cockburn against the lawless acts of his brother. It is due to the memory of William IV. to record that after his accession he insisted on the appointment of Sir George to a command. Sir James Graham, then First Lord, expressly told the Admiral "that he was indebted for the appointment *solely* to the earnest wish and interference of the King, and that the Ministers would never have appointed him themselves, as he was such a bitter opponent."‡ We do not know whether this episode in the Duke's life induced him, according to a story told by Mr. Fitzgerald, to make this declaration to the late John Wilson Croker, then Secretary to the Admiralty: "Croker, were I King, I'd be my own First Lord of the Admiralty, and you should *not* be my secretary;" to which Croker replied, by reminding him that the only king who ever was his own First Lord was James II.§ The Duke when within two years of the close of his unfortunate career at the Admiralty became King, made no attempt to carry out this plan.

His reign is one of the most important and interesting in our history. Its great event is described by Lord Beaconsfield as "the funeral of the old Constitution, that modelled on the Venetian had governed England since the accession of the

* The full particulars of this affair will be found in vol. i. pp. 179-194.

† "Diary," vol. i. p. 193.

‡ Vol. i. p. 198.

§ *Ibid.* p. 198-9. Mr. Fitzgerald gives no authority and fixes no date for this story. From this and other passages in his book we suspect he has seen the MS. "Memoirs" of Croker announced for publication.

House of Hanover.** This Venetian theory of the Constitution appears to us absurd. Mr. Fitzgerald is more accurate :—

He [William IV.] will always be remembered as the last Sovereign of England who attempted to take his part in the old time-honoured system of government by "King, Lords, and Commons," which has since given place to that of government by "Lords and Commons," and which ere long will give place to that of government by the last of these factors. Before he died he was somewhat roughly taught the lesson that the King reigns but does not govern.†

Lord Beaconsfield, while admitting that on the failure, in May 1832, of the Duke of Wellington's attempt to form a Ministry—"power passed from the House of Lords to another assembly"—suggests that "if the peers have ceased to be *magnificoes*, may it not also happen that the Sovereign may cease to be a Doge."‡ According to Mr. Fitzgerald, "the dream that the Sovereign may cease to be a Doge, is, after fifty years' interval, less likely than ever. One of Mr. Disraeli's rather romantic speculations has a good deal of truth in it, and there can be little doubt that it was an expiring struggle of two factors of the Constitution."§ We hope and believe that Mr. Fitzgerald is right. There are, however, signs of a tendency to a different result, which require to be considered in making any forecast of the future. The letters and State Papers of Stockmar, and of his pupil, the Prince Consort, show that there are always near the throne counsellors to recommend the Sovereign to take separate political action, and the views justly termed by Mr. Gladstone "servile,"|| put forth in the official Tory organ,¶ show that that party would not be indisposed to curry Court favour by upholding the claim of the Sovereign so to act. Lord Beaconsfield, in his last Premiership, did no little to bring about the fulfilment of his own prophecy, and the letters and diaries of Bishop Wilberforce reveal the fact that the Queen still exercises very considerable power.**

Mr. Fitzgerald, considering "that the political history of the reign of William IV. has been so fully dealt with by other writers," confines himself to such political matters only "where the King himself was directly connected with such incidents, and

* Coningsby, book i., cvii.

† Vol. ii. p. 385.

‡ "Coningsby," *ubi supra*.

§ Vol. ii. p. 136, note.

|| Mr. Gladstone's "Gleanings of Past Years," vol. i. p. 230.

¶ *Vide Quarterly Review*, April 1878, Art. i.

** "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. pp. 482-3, conf. 502. Earl Russell's "Recollections and Suggestions," p. 270. "Life of Lord Macaulay" vol. ii. p. 332; and see the letters of Bishop Wilberforce in his "Life," vol. ii. p. 152 *et seq.*

figured as a leading performer.”* As in several former numbers the WESTMINSTER REVIEW has dealt with the political events of this reign,† we shall now confine ourselves to the same lines as our author. In such a crisis in the history of the monarchy William IV. was not fitted to be at the head of affairs. The Queen says of her predecessor—

Whatever his faults may have been, it was well known that he was not only zealous but most conscientious in the discharge of his duties as King. He had a truly kind heart, and was most anxious to do what was right. This was the character given of him to the Queen, by Lord Melbourne, and by others who served him.‡

Unfortunately, his ability was not equal to his will.

He was [says Stockmar] in no way distinguished either in character or intelligence. . . . His powers of mind were not great enough to enable him to understand and weigh complicated questions; he was incapable from the weakness of his character of any determined resolution . . . his excitable temperament led him into all sorts of imprudent and compromising outbreaks and outpourings, yet he believed himself to be a great politician; from time to time he showed a desire to interfere in public affairs—a desire which those ladies§ and the High Tory party, with which they were connected, understood how to manage and turn to their own account.||

During the last days of George IV. so great was the Duke's excitement, that one well informed, writing from London, reported, “the general bet is that Clarence is in a strait-waistcoat before the King dies.”¶ The King-expectant was in constant communication with the Premier, the Duke of Wellington. In one of his letters he told the Duke that he intended to make him his Minister; he also expressed an inclination to have Earl Grey's services. The Duke, writing to Sir R. Peel, said that Lord Grey must be informed of this intention, and added he did not think it would bring any strength to the Government, as Lord Grey would not sit with Lord Palmerston, Huskisson or Grant. This was an illustration of the absolute want of

* Vol. i., preface.

† *Vide* WESTMINSTER REVIEW, N.S., No. XCIX., April, 1875, Art. “Recent Political Memoirs.” No. C., Oct. 1876, Art. “Lord Althorp, his Part in the first Reform Act.” No. CVIII., Oct. 1878, Art. “Lord Melbourne.” No. CXII. Oct. 1879, Art. “Lord Brougham.” No. CXXIV., Oct. 1882, Art. “The Jubilee of the first Reform Act.” No. CXXX., April, 1884, Art. “Lord Lyndhurst.”

‡ “Life of Prince Consort,” vol. ii. p. 177. Note by the Queen.

§ i.e., The Queen and the King's daughters.

|| Stockmar, vol. i. p. 312. This extract is partially quoted without any reference by Mr. Fitzgerald, vol. i. p. 213, note.

¶ Vol. i. p. 211.

[Vol. CXXII. No. CCXLIII.]—NEW SERIES. Vol. LXVI. No. I. L

"civil wisdom" attributed to the Duke by his brother.* In less than six months Lord Grey formed his Ministry, of which both Lord Palmerston and Grant were members. It probably would have included Huskisson also, but he had previously become the proto-martyr of railway travelling. The Duke, however, fearful of being thought guilty, while Minister of the King, of intriguing with his successor, abstained from all intercourse of a political character with the King-expectant, which provoked his anger; and he complained that the Duke had behaved very rudely to him.†

On June 26, 1830, the fourth of the Georges

to his place descended,
And, Heaven be praised, the Georges ended.

A deputation of the Cabinet informed William IV. of the event; he assured them that they and their colleagues would receive his *entire cordial and determined support*.‡ The usual meeting of the Privy Council at the beginning of a reign was then held. In reading the address made on such occasions by the new Sovereign, the King spoke of his brother with much feeling, or the semblance of it, but then showed his eccentricity. When handed a pen to sign his declaration he said, in his usual tone: "This is a damned bad pen you have given me."§ At a subsequent Council where an order was to be made for changing a sheriff, on hearing the name of the new sheriff the King remarked: "Oh! I do not mean to say that it is wrong, only remember he is a *Whig*." This was significant of the reality of the *Old Whig* principles he professed.||

At his brother's funeral, where he was chief mourner, instead of being absorbed in the melancholy proper to the character he sustained, he darted from the procession, shook hands heartily with a friend, and "then went on nodding right and left."¶

The personal appearance of the King and Queen at this time is thus described:—

The King is a little, old, red-nosed, weather-beaten, jolly-looking

* "My brother Arthur has no civil wisdom." *The Marquis Wellesley of the Duke of Wellington*.

† *Vide* vol. i. pp. 210-11. C. Greville's "Journal," vol. iii. p. 406. The letter quoted by Mr. Fitzgerald, p. 211, is another corroboration of Mr. Greville's general accuracy.

‡ Lord Ellenborough's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 278.

§ Vol. i. p. 234 *et seq.* Lord Ellenborough's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 278. C. Greville's "Diary," vol. ii. pp. 2, 3. Lord Ellenborough does not mention the pen incident, but it was told to Mr. Greville by Mr. Buller, his colleague, and who in Greville's absence acted as Clerk of the Council.

|| Vol. ii. p. 217. Ellenborough, vol. ii. p. 286.

¶ Vol. i. p. 217. Greville's "Journal," vol. ii. p. 4.

person with an ungraceful air and carriage. The Queen is even worse than I thought—a little insignificant person as ever I saw; she was dressed, as perhaps you will see by the papers, exceedingly plain, in bombazine, with a little shabby muslin collar, dyed Leghorn hat, and leather shoes.*

To Charles Greville the King appeared "like a respectable old Admiral."†

At this time there was both in Paris and in London a new King courting popularity with the mob. In Paris, Louis Philippe was walking with a tricolor cockade in his hat and his umbrella under his arm, appearing in the balcony of the Tuileries bowing, laying his hand on his heart and joining in the *Marseillaise*, and as some said beating time with his foot.‡ In London William IV., when he inspected the Coldstream Guards, appeared for the first time in his life in military uniform, "with a great pair of golden spurs half-way up his legs like a gamecock."§ He walked about the streets alone, followed by a mob making an uproar, and he submitted to be publicly kissed by an old Irishwoman. The venerable councillor of his father and brother, Lord Eldon, was much distressed at these "royal antics."

In that station [said the ex-Chancellor] such familiarity must produce the destruction of respect. If the people don't continue to think a king somewhat more than a man, they will soon find out that he is not an object of the high respect which is absolutely necessary to the utility of his character.||

The embraces of the Irishwoman, and a lecture from the Duke of Wellington, cured His Majesty of walking the streets.¶ He continued as King to indulge in grotesque oratory like that with which he used to amuse the House of Lords. When he began these oratorical effusions, the Duke of Wellington went away, and Lord Ellenborough notes that on receiving the University of Cambridge who came to present the King with the customary address on his accession, His Majesty went beyond his written speech and put his Ministers in a fright. "I really covered my face," adds Lord Ellenborough, "when he began to speak about the Catholics to the deputation from Cambridge."***

In more serious matters the King at first gave promise of better things. The Duke of Wellington told Charles Greville he was delighted with his new master. "If," he said, "I had been able to deal with my late master as I do with my present, I should

* Letter of a lady, quoted vol. i. p. 224.

† "Journal," vol. ii. p. 3.

‡ On the evidence of Heinrich Heine. Quoted in "Essays," by George Elliot, p. 144.

§ Vol. i. p. 226. Greville, vol. ii. pp. 7-9.

|| Vol. i. p. 220.

¶ Ellenborough, vol. ii. p. 319.

*** "Diary," vol. ii. p. 317-319.

have got on much better ;" and added that the King was so reasonable and tractable that he had done more business with him in ten minutes than with the other in as many days.*

The King's behaviour to the Duke shows he was not without a certain magnanimity of character. His enforced resignation, two years before, had produced in his mind a bitter feeling against the Duke, which, on his accession, he dismissed. To this the Duke testified after the King's death: "His Majesty ever treated me with the greatest tenderness, condescension, confidence and favour, that so long as I live I never can forget."† But the Duke was only for a very short time to be Minister of his new Sovereign. Speedily after the accession the Duke resigned political office, never to resume it except for the brief and fevered period of the Hundred Days.‡ His fall was as little desired by his master as expected by himself. It was, however, foreseen by others. His Catholic Emancipation policy alienated from him the extreme Tories. To turn him out they were ready to unite with the Whigs, the Radicals, and the followers of Canning, &c. Negotiations and intrigues went on for bringing in some of the Whig aristocracy to prevent their joining the Radicals, and to strengthen the Duke. It was even contemplated to depose the Duke from the Premiership and put Sir Robert Peel in his place.§ The Duke, with his utter want of "civil wisdom," continued serene and self-complacent, "beset by weakness and passions which continually blinded his judgment."|| He saw no necessity for any accession of new men. The French Revolution of 1830, which did much to increase and hasten the Liberal movement in England, he thought would strengthen his government.¶ On the 8th November, the new Parliament met ; on the first night the Duke made his declaration against Reform. He was amazed and confounded when the more far-seeing Lyndhurst explained to him that he had announced the speedy dissolution of his Government.** On the 9th, he said to Lady Jersey, "Lord, I shall not go out ;

* "Journal," vol. ii. p. 3.

† Vol. i. p. 221. Note.

‡ The Duke of Wellington sat in the Peel Cabinet of 1841-6, but without political office. He was at that time Commander-in-Chief.

§ Lord Ellenborough's "Diary," vol. ii. pp. 289, 338, 349, 350, 359, 362.

|| Greville's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 41.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 329. Lord Ellenborough confesses that in this matter he had as little foresight as his leader.

** Earl Russell's "Recollections," &c., p. 62. Martin's "Life of Lyndhurst," p. 272. On this subject also Lord Ellenborough was as much in the dark as the Duke. "Diary," vol. ii. p. 272. Blindness seems to have afflicted all parties at this time. On the 11th of November, 1830, the ultra Tories had a Government ready, and expected to be in in a week. On the 16th Lord Grey was sent for (*Ibid.* pp. 430-437).

you will see we shall get on very well.”* The Duke would never believe that his anti-Reform declaration broke up his Government. “It was,” he said, “broken up by a combination of Whigs, Radicals, Canningites, and Tories; and,” he added, “the nobility, gentry and Royal Family of England will yet bite their thumbs for it.”† On the 14th November, the Government fell. Lord Grey was sent for and formed his Ministry. In referring to its formation we avail ourselves of the opportunity afforded us to correct an error in our last number. We there stated, on the authority of Mr. Charles Greville, “that Lord Grey was very anxious to keep Lyndhurst as his Chancellor, and would have done so if it had not been for Brougham.”‡ We have since learned from one who was intimately concerned in the affairs of that time that Lord Grey never seriously thought of offering the Great Seal to Lord Lyndhurst. He agreed with Lord Althorp that it would be fatal to the Ministry to allow Brougham to remain in the House of Commons, in or out of office, and that the only practicable arrangement was to make him Chancellor, although they both felt that there were strong objections to the appointment.§ We will add that our contradiction of Sir Theodore Martin’s denial that “Lyndhurst might and would have remained Chancellor in the Grey Ministry,” is supported by the authority we have alluded to. He tells us that, to his knowledge, Lyndhurst desired that the offer of the Great Seal should be made to him, and would gladly have accepted it if it had.||

Lord Grey stipulated that Parliamentary Reform should be a Cabinet question. The King was prepared to concede Reform, although he was against it. Sir Robert Peel told him he thought, by opposing all reform in the first instance, the Government would be able to make better terms afterwards; the King said either course had its conveniences and inconveniences, and appeared to Lord Ellenborough “evidently

* Greville, vol. ii, p. 56.

† Letter of the Duke to General Malcolm, quoted by Mr. Fitzgerald, vol. i. p. 274.

‡ WESTMINSTER REVIEW, N.S., No. CXXX, April 1884, p. 386.

§ With this agrees Brougham’s account of the transaction quoted by Mr. Fitzgerald, vol. i. p. 285 *et seq.* (without reference, of course) from Brougham’s “Life.”

|| We so often differ from Mr. Fitzgerald that we must express our satisfaction at finding that his opinion of Lyndhurst agrees with that expressed in our last number (*Vide* vol. i. pp. 243–291 *et seq.* and notes). We are also glad to find that Mr. Fitzgerald agrees with us that Martin’s “defence of Lyndhurst is more laboured and ingenious than convincing.” In candour we must admit that Sir Theodore Martin’s statement as to the Duke of Wellington’s interference as to Brougham receives some colour from a letter published in Brougham’s “Life,” and quoted by Mr. Fitzgerald, vol. i. p. 288.

inclined to concession."* In one of the King's early interviews with Lord Brougham, he told him that, except "the Duke of Wellington, every one of the last Government, when he saw them on resigning, stated their belief that some reform was necessary."† Sir Robert Peel declared to his colleagues before their resignation that he would never undertake the question of Reform, but he was satisfied that it was in reality carried.‡ It is difficult to reconcile these statements with the violent opposition to Reform offered by all the members of the late Ministry.

The King, at the Council held to swear in the new Ministers, assured Lord Grey and his colleagues that they would receive from him "the most cordial, unceasing, and devoted support." §

Mr. Fitzgerald expresses his admiration—a feeling we fully share—of the extraordinary energy, skill, and vigour which Lord Grey, then in advanced age, showed at this crisis. His difficulties were great and manifold. His brilliant but erratic Chancellor was a thorn in the flesh to him. Sydney Smith, who intimately knew Brougham from the commencement of the *Edinburgh Review*, has left on record a character of him from which we make the following extracts:—

He has a total disregard to truth, which as long as the failing was undetected gave him a great increase of power; and has weakened him in proportion as his true character has been brought to light. His two great passions are vanity and ambition. . . . His first object is his own ambition; but that served and completely served, he loves the public good and understands it. He is deficient in personal courage, is generous and munificent, with a slight, and not very slight, tinge of insanity.||

The Chancellor, however, was only one of the Premier's difficulties. In consequence of the wide difference of opinion among his colleagues, it was extremely difficult for him to keep his Cabinet together. He carried on the Reform contest according to his own judgment. His was the directing mind by which the Government was guided all through that memorable

* "Diary," vol. ii. p. 428.

† "Life of Lord Brougham," vol. iii. p. 146. From Lord Ellenborough's note of his last interview with the King, it does not seem he himself expressed such an opinion ("Diary," vol. ii. p. 436).

‡ Ellenborough, "Diary," vol. ii. pp. 426–432.

§ Greville, vol. ii. p. 71. Partly quoted by Mr. Fitzgerald, vol. i. p. 272.

|| Supposed to have been written about 1836–7. First published in the *Edinburgh Review*, July 1855, and republished in the late Abraham Hayward's selected "Essays," vol. i. pp. 40–41. We regret this character of Brougham was not present to our minds when we wrote our sketch of him *ubi supra*. It is interesting to compare with it the estimate of Brougham by another early friend, Sir Samuel Romilly. *Vide* "Life of Romilly," vol. iii. p. 237, quoted in "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. viii. p. 591.

struggle, though at the same time he was singularly ready to consider fairly objections made by his colleagues and treat them in the most conciliatory manner. It is hardly possible that the struggle could have been peacefully carried to an end if the conduct of it had been in any other hands. Another great, and as time went on an increasing, difficulty was the King. In his dealings with him Lord Grey exhibited an independence and plainness of speech which was probably distasteful to His Majesty, who must have heard from his father and brother of the obsequious, not to say servile, demeanour of Liverpool, Sidmouth, and Eldon. At first the King expressed himself greatly satisfied with Lord Grey's "treatment of him ;"* but very soon Sir Herbert Taylor, who was the King's secretary and amanuensis, wrote the Minister in the following ominous terms:—

I do not conceal, however, from your lordship, that the King looks forward with more anxiety to the proceedings in Parliament than to any other circumstance, and that evils and the mischief which may be met by the salutary exercise of the authority of a vigorous Government strike him as unimportant when compared with the possible admission of projects which may have the effect of permanently lessening the authority and resources of that Government the maintenance of which His Majesty considers indispensable to the security of the country and to its preservation from revolution.†

Lord Grey also soon discovered that—

there were persons having access to the King who were eager to avail themselves of every opportunity of endeavouring to injure his Ministers in his opinion, and there was always a danger that such attempts might succeed, though His Majesty checked them as far as he could.‡

These persons were many in number. They were the Queen and her officers, the Tory peers, and more than all the King's own sons, especially the eldest, Lord Munster. The King's painful and humiliating mistakes and his frequent and undignified submission to his Ministers, were due to the persistent and ignorant pressure of these coteries.

As the meeting of Parliament drew nearer, the King deemed it needful again to warn his Minister against "the wild and mischievous projects of the Radicals." Lord Grey in return warned the King that any paltering with Reform "would be fatal to the character of the Government" and lead to disastrous results.§ All this was enough to make Lord Grey shrink from the task before him, but he never flinched. On January 31, 1831, he saw the King and explained to him the Reform Bill. At

* Vol. i. p. 323. Mr. Fitzgerald does not give his authority.

† Vol. i. p. 324.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 327. No authority is given.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 331-2.

first the result was most satisfactory. "The King," wrote Lord Grey to Lord Durham, "approves entirely of the general view and effects of the measure, reserving to himself only the right of making such observations on the details as further consideration may suggest." One of the great recommendations of the Bill to the royal mind was its omission of the ballot, which had been recommended by the committee formed to prepare a plan of reform for the consideration of the Cabinet.* This was one of the great blemishes of the Bill. It left the new voters exposed from the first to the corrupt practices which prevailed in the old constituencies, and tended to perpetuate them in our electoral system. Though the King gave his consent to the Bill, not only verbally but in writing, and "plainly, unequivocally, and without any reserve,"† his habit of talking loosely and unguardedly to all persons led to a belief that he had not really given his consent. One of his grooms of the bedchamber resigned rather than vote for reform. "Why do you resign?" said the King; "you don't know what it is, and you might have waited till it came on, for probably it will not be carried," and this he repeated twice.‡ Of course it was at once said that His Majesty's wish was father to his thought, and opponents of the Bill were strengthened, and waverers were tempted, to vote according to the King's presumed wish.

There were other circumstances which caused the relations between the King and his Ministers to become strained. Their policy was announced to be "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform." To carry out a policy of retrenchment involved a considerable reduction of the Civil List, and also of the Pension List. The King was indignant that a Committee of the House of Commons should "presume to dictate to the Sovereign *how* he is to conduct his Civil List in all its minute details, and the amount of the salaries which he is to grant to each and every one of his own personal servants."§ It taxed the powers of Lord Grey and of Lord Althorp (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) to hold the balance fairly between the extravagant demands of the King and of the Queen, and the desire of their supporters in the Commons to carry more Radical proposals of retrenchment than the Ministry were prepared to make. As was to be expected, they did not succeed in pleasing either of the contending parties.||

* See Letters 68, 69, 72, 74, 78, in the correspondence of William IV. and Earl Grey.

† Lord Brougham, as quoted by Mr. Fitzgerald, vol. i. p. 335, note.

‡ C. Greville's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 118.

§ Vol. i. p. 340.

|| *Vide* vol. i. cxxvii. p. 347 *et seq.*, especially p. 353.

The Reform Bill was introduced. It made a great impression on the public mind; "the majority began to gain strength, and it was felt and everywhere repeated that it must pass."* The King indeed had pledged himself to give his Government his utmost and unqualified support on the Bill, but the faction which surrounded him, of which the Queen was the life and soul, was always at work to counteract the efforts of the Ministers. "There is," said Lord Grey, "no practice, either fair or foul, of giving effect to the Opposition we have not to encounter."†

It early became necessary for the Ministry to consider the question of a dissolution for the purpose of carrying the Bill. Their intentions were prematurely disclosed to the King by Sir H. Taylor. The King laid hold of this matter as a drowning man catches at a straw. He hoped

his Ministers would devise some means to avert a misfortune which His Majesty so anxiously deprecates,‡ without coming to the resolution of submitting for his decision *an alternative to which His Majesty cannot agree—namely, a dissolution of Parliament. The state of the country is, in His Majesty's firm opinion, a sufficient ground of objection.*§

The second reading of the Bill was carried by a majority of one only; thereupon His Majesty—or rather Sir Herbert Taylor, for him—expressed his feelings:

His Majesty would have been better pleased if the majority in favour of the second reading of the Reform Bill had been greater, but he sincerely rejoices it has been carried even by one. He considers it of great importance that time should be gained for consideration, and he hopes and trusts, that when the question is resumed the effect of that consideration will realize the wishes of His Majesty and his Government.||

This is eminently jesuitical—the bluff old sailor would not have written thus; the phraseology was Sir H. Taylor's. We agree with Mr. Fitzgerald that the "consideration" was not meant to be favourable to the Ministers or the Bill.

A passage in one of Sir Herbert's letters to Lord Grey throws a side-light on the relations between the King and his Ministers: "The King has never, to the best of my knowledge, entertained the opinion, nor, I believe, expressed such, that his present Government caused the excitement about Reform. He has admitted that it *had* been the occasion of increasing agitation.¶ His Majesty's firmness on the question of a dissolution was soon put to the test. The carrying** of General Gascoyne's instruction

* Vol. i. p. 361.

† *Ibid.* p. 364.

‡ That is, the resignation of the Ministry.

§ Vol. i. p. 362, and *vide* 355, 6, 7.

|| *Ibid.* p. 371.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 372.

** On Monday, April 19, 1831.

to the Committee not to reduce the number of members of the House of Commons compelled the Ministry to decide whether or not they would advise the King to dissolve. They decided to advise a dissolution.

The history of the events of those days is a matter of controversy. Mr. Fitzgerald has collected the various accounts, and the facts appear to be these: On the 20th the Cabinet communicated to the King that it was their "painful duty humbly to recommend a dissolution."* The King agreed to their advice on the ground that a change of Ministers would be a greater evil, but he expressed his hope "that advantage should be taken of any preponderance which his Ministers may obtain in the House of Commons by the result of the ensuing general election to introduce modifications in the Bill."† Henceforward modification—in plain English, the weakening—of the Bill was a fixed idea in the royal mind. In the House of Lords, Lord Wharncliffe gave notice for Friday, April 22, of an address praying the King not to dissolve. On the Commons meeting on Thursday, the 21st, the Opposition resolved to move the adjournment of the House at once, in order to prevent the Government carrying the Ordnance estimates, and to ensure the moving of Wharncliffe's address. The King was known to be wavering, and it was thought the vote of the Lords would encourage him to negative a dissolution. It was confidently asserted by the Tories that he had pledged himself to the Duke of Cumberland not to dissolve. The motion for adjournment was carried by twelve. Lord Grey immediately wrote the King, proposing the intended dissolution should take place immediately. The King approved, and appointed an audience with Lord Grey for half-past eleven, and a council to dissolve at twelve the next day.‡

The present Earl Grey, on the authority of Mr. William Bathurst, then Clerk of the Council, states that on the morning of the 22nd Mr. Bathurst received orders to issue summonses immediately for a council to be held for the dissolution of Parliament, and that he was directed to bring with him the usual papers which are required when Parliament is to be prorogued or dissolved by Commission.§ But a difficulty arose; a prorogation by Commission would not prevent the discussion of Lord Wharncliffe's motion: a prorogation by the King in person would. It was most desirable no vote on the proposed

* Vol. i. p. 379.

† *Ibid.* p. 380.

‡ Note by the present Earl in "The Correspondence of William IV. and Earl Grey." Quoted by Mr. Fitzgerald, vol. i. pp. 381 *et seq.*

§ *Ubi supra*, quoted vol. i. p. 382.

address should take place. Lords Grey and Brougham, therefore, in their audience with the King on the morning of the 22nd, proposed to him that he should go down to the House of Lords and prorogue Parliament. The King at once agreed to the proposal, and Lord Grey repeatedly declared "that notwithstanding the King's strong objection to a dissolution in the first instance, when the measure had been decided upon he resented the attempt to impede it by an address of the House of Lords as an invasion of his prerogative."* The stormy scenes in both Houses which preceded the King's advent, and his announcement that he had come "for the purpose of proroguing Parliament with a view to its immediate dissolution," need not be dwelt on here. Lord Lyndhurst told Charles Greville† "that he had never seen the King so excited before, and in his robes he looked very grand." This, we believe, is the order of events which preceded this memorable dissolution.‡ We agree with Mr. Fitzgerald that one thing is clear. The highly coloured narrative of the audience of William IV. with Lords Grey and Brougham, first published by Mr. Roebuck,§ and by him alleged to have been derived from Lord Brougham, and which Lord Campbell was the first to discredit,|| adds another to the long string of the "mock pearls of history." The prosaic account of the same transaction given by Lord Brougham¶ in his Autobiography is sufficient of itself to discredit the Roebuck legend.

Like the gods of Lucretius, Lord Grey's friend and former colleague in office and opposition, Lord Grenville, had retired to the "Temple of the Wise," and looked down, not with contempt, but amazement and fear, on the struggles and conflicts going on in the world he had quitted. "How can I talk or think," he wrote, "of anything but the fearful news of the dissolution? I must deeply pity the poor King, to whom, if I had the fearful duty of advising him (God be thanked I had not!), I really do not see what other course I could have suggested."** The general election followed. To the Tories the result was disastrous. By May 7 Charles Greville considered "the combat was over, and that the opponents of Reform had only to wait the event and see what the House of Lords will do. In the House of Commons the Bill is already carried."†† The Duke

* *Vide* vol. i. p. 383.

† "Journal," vol. ii. p. 136, note.

‡ Conf. C. Greville's "Journal," vol. ii. pp. 134-7. "Memoirs of Earl Spencer," pp. 365, 366.

§ In his "History of the Whig Administration," vol. ii. p. 148, quoted by Lord Campbell, "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. viii. p. 362, and by Mr. Fitzgerald, vol. i. p. 384.

|| *Ubi supra*.

¶ Quoted vol. i. p. 381, note.

** Vol. ii. p. 9.

†† "Journal," vol. ii. p. 141.

of Wellington, who at this time lent himself to underhand courses and plots for supplanting opponents with extraordinary readiness, wrote:—"We must make a noise in the House of Lords, I believe. I don't think we shall be able to do more, as I understand that the Government are about to create numerous peers."* This is the first mention of the intended creation of peers, about which there were to follow so many struggles, conflicts, and intrigues. The Lord Mayor at this time invited a general illumination in honour of Reform. It took place, and was the occasion of much violence and turmoil. In consequence of this the King declined to pay a State visit to the Lord Mayor which had been arranged. The City felt aggrieved. Lord Grey, for political reasons, pressed that the visit should take place. The Court faction renewed their underhand plots against the Minister, and Lord Grey wrote the King "that the conduct of persons supposed to be in *His Majesty's favour, the known opinion of persons composing Her Majesty's household, and the declared hostility of the princesses*,† have produced suspicions, which every endeavour is used to propagate, that the King is in reality adverse to the measure of Reform."‡

The King addressed to Lord Grey a sort of homily on the "dangers of the times," but concluded with this assurance: "The King thoroughly agrees with Earl Grey in his view of the extreme importance of carrying through this measure of reform, and in deprecating the endeavours of the opposers of the measure to place the House of Lords in opposition to the House of Commons and to the strong opinion of the public."§ We learn from Mr. Greville that in consequence of the rumours spread that the King's real but concealed opinion was adverse to reform, the King wrote to Lord Grey and told him "he thought it of the greatest importance at the present moment to confer upon him a signal mark of his regard and of his satisfaction with the whole of his conduct."|| Accordingly, on May 27,

* Vol. ii. p. 10.

† *I.e.*, the King's sisters, the surviving daughters of George III.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 15. Mr. Fitzgerald does not tell us whence he obtains this letter, nor give its date. On the same page he, with his usual carelessness as to the date and order of events, introduces a story of a pastoral visit of Bishop Philpotts to "an interesting character" who at first appears to be Earl Grey, but on further investigation turns out to be the Duke of Wellington. An account of a similar visit by the Bishop to Lord Eldon is given by Mr. Twiss ("*Life of Eldon*," vol. iii. p. 295). Was the Bishop in the habit of paying pastoral visits to sick noblemen, or has Mr. Fitzgerald confused the Duke with the Chancellor?

§ Vol. ii. p. 20.

|| C. Greville's "*Journal*," vol. ii. p. 146; on the authority of Lord Sefton, who saw the letter. Mr. Fitzgerald does not mention this event.

Lord Grey was invested with the Garter, although there was no vacancy in the Order, but on the 28th the King again wrote Lord Grey urging a "modification" of the Bill. The Premier replied that defects in it should be removed and objections obviated, but he declared frankly that "no alteration that would satisfy the enemies of the Bill could be allowed."*

The intrigues of the Court faction increased.† Earl Howe, the Queen's chamberlain, and one of the bitterest of the opponents of reform, describes the King at this time as "weeping with him over the state of affairs, and lamenting the wonderful imprudence of his confidential servants, and actually advising his private friend to consult the political enemy of his Ministers;" and he adds this remarkable character of his "beloved master:" "His kindness and liberality are beyond all praise: *I wish I could say the same of his morals.*"‡

On June 23 the King opened the new Parliament. Lord Lansdowne said to him, "'I am afraid, Sir, you won't be able to see the Commons.' 'Never mind,' said he, 'they shall hear me, I promise you;' and accordingly he thundered forth the speech so that not a word was lost."§ On the 25th the second Reform Bill was introduced. While it was on its way through the Commons a discussion arose as to the coronation; the King with much good sense urged "the useless and ill-timed expense attending such a public ceremony and exhibition;" and added, "It has occurred to His Majesty that he might take the prescribed oath in the House of Lords before the Lords and Commons assembled, and that this might satisfy all legal and conscientious scruples." The scruples were those of the Duke of Cumberland, who had made the characteristic objection that the King had not yet taken the oath to maintain the Protestant religion.|| It was thought necessary, however, that a coronation there should be. It took place on September 8: the ceremonial was very much curtailed. The cost of George IV.'s coronation was £240,000, that of his successor only cost about £30,000.

On the rejection of the Reform Bill by the Lords,¶ the King sent Lord Grey a lengthy homily on the text "I told you so." The King, "though disappointed at the result . . . would deceive Earl Grey if he were to say that the result is not such as he had long expected: that even the majority is not larger than he expected." He went on to say he trusted "the dangerous suggestion of creating peers would not be thought of, nor

* Vol ii. p. 21.

† *Ibid.* pp. 22, 23.

‡ Letter of Lord Howe to the Duke of Wellington, quoted *ibid.* p. 24.

§ C. Greville, "Journal," vol. ii. 153.

|| Vol. ii. p. 25.

¶ October 8, 1831, by a majority of forty-one.

resignation." This shows the mental calibre of this illustrious statesman. The Ministers were not even "to think" of the only apparent means of carrying their measure, nor yet resign; the only other course open to them being to keep office and abandon the Bill and with it all political character. The King added:—

What had occurred would show his Ministers how wrong they were in thinking that the Bill must pass, and generally he (the King) has felt (and has indeed had occasion to satisfy himself from *personal* observation) how necessary it had become upon this occasion to make allowance for the excitement and irritation produced by the agitation of a question on which the opinions of those who had been in the habit of legislating for the country appear to be much divided.*

He concluded by urging his favourite expedient, "modification."

One of the greatest difficulties with which Lord Grey had to contend was the pressure put upon him by some of his colleagues, especially Lord Brougham, prematurely, to advise the King to create a sufficient number of peers to carry the Bill.† Lord Grey, as we understand, always believed that if he had yielded to this pressure the Bill would have been wrecked. On this creation of peers, Mr. Fitzgerald makes comments which show his utter inability to understand the then position of affairs:

It has always seemed astonishing [he observes] that such a device as the *creation of peers* should have been suggested by Liberals; nothing more autocratic could have been conceived, even in Star Chamber times. It was virtually destroying free debate, setting aside the power of the genuine majority and taking away all power from the House of Peers.‡

Lord Althorp tersely put before the Premier the state of the case:—"If it was clearly proved to me that a revolution would be the consequence of not taking this step, and that not only the House of Lords but every other thing of any value in the country would be overturned, it would be a strong thing to say that it ought not to be taken."§ The rejection of the Bill, of course, encouraged the Court faction to redouble their underhand efforts. Lord Howe, if he is to be believed, at the King's request,|| became the secret emissary between the King and the Duke of Wellington. Lord Grey, therefore,

* Vol. ii. pp. 32, 33.

† See the note by the present Earl Grey, at p. 195, vol. ii. of "The Correspondence of William IV. and Earl Grey."

‡ Vol. ii. p. 47.

§ Letter of Lord Althorp to Earl Grey, November 23, 1831. *Vide* vol. ii. p. 48.

|| *Vide* his letter, *ante*.

insisted on Lord Howe's dismissal; and on October 10 (the day following the loss of the Bill) he was dismissed, to the Queen's great wrath, neither the King nor Lord Grey having told her a word about the intended dismissal.* "The future historian of the country," Lord Beaconsfield truly says, "will be perplexed to ascertain what was the distinct object which the Duke of Wellington proposed to himself in the political manœuvres" of this period.† That he did so, and in an underhand way inconsistent with his reputation for straightforwardness, is clear. Under pretence of giving information to the King, he wrote to him, and not to the Premier or Home Secretary, with a fabulous story as to a large purchase of firearms for the Birmingham Political Union; to his ally, the Duke of Buckingham, he revealed the real motive of his interference:—

I wrote, he said, at a period of the year at which I knew that if the King wished to get rid of the bonds in which he is held, I could assist him in doing so. There was time to call a new Parliament, and the sense of the country would have been taken on a question on which there could be no doubt. What did the King do? He concurred in (I may say without exaggeration) every opinion which I gave him.‡

If this be true, the King was guilty of duplicity; for when lectured by Lord Grey for entering into communication with the Duke, he, by Sir H. Taylor, replied that he considered the Duke's communication "unnecessary," and had told him so.

At the close of 1831 and the opening of 1832, the creation of peers became a "burning question." We have not space to relate the series of interviews and transcribe the voluminous correspondence between Lords Grey and Brougham on the one side, and the King on the other.§ The King, though on the whole staunch to his Ministers, showed much alarm. In one of his communications to Lord Grey, he denounced the "poisonous press," which "almost unchecked guides, excites, and at the same time controls, public opinion," and declared himself "warranted in ascribing the propensity for encroachment, which has been shown by the House of Commons, to that growing fancy for Liberalism which, however fair its appearance, is by many assumed to cover democratic and levelling purposes."|| To

* Vol. ii. pp. 36, 37, and note. Conf. C. Greville's "Journal," vol. ii. pp. 338-340.

† "Coningsby," book i. c. vii.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 39 and note. We wish Mr. Fitzgerald had told us whence he gets this letter.

§ They are related by Mr. Fitzgerald, vol. ii. p. 41 *et seq.*, but without any reference to the sources whence he derives them.

|| Vol. ii. p. 59.

the Marquis of Salisbury, who had an audience to present an anti-Reform address, the King declared "he believed that a reform, and a very considerable reform, must take place, but it was another question *whether it ought ever to have gone so far.*"* To the creation of peers he was bitterly opposed, but he admitted "the difficulty (a second rejection of the Bill by the Lords) must be provided for," and directed Sir Herbert Taylor to give Lord Grey this assurance—"Your lordship will not find the King fail you in the hour of need, being satisfied that every attempt will have been made to avert the necessity of the dreaded alternative." Lord Grey gratefully replied: "I shall go with a new heart to the further consideration of this difficult and complicated business."† In the end, the King seems to have agreed "that, if the dreaded necessity should arise, he would consent to a creation of forty peers, but no more."‡

In January 1832, we find the Duke of Buckingham addressing a frantic appeal to Wellington "to throw himself at the King's feet and tell him you are ready to save him from the task of putting his sign manual to the downfall of the country."§ The Duke answered in a letter|| stating strongly the arguments against his attempting to form a Ministry. It is amusing to read this and compare it with his eager grasp at power in the May following. At this time we find the Queen writing to Lord Howe: "I read Lady Ely's letter to the King, who was as much pleased with it as I was. *His eyes are open, and sees the great difficulties in which he is placed. He sees everything in the right light.*"¶ And she requested to have the opinion of Wellington on the state of affairs. Lord Howe communicated this letter to the Duke, adding one of his unfavourable comments on "his unfortunate master:" "God knows whether the King is sincere or not, but is it not frightful to see him acting as he does, while at the same time he detests his agents?"***

The success of Lord Lyndhurst's disastrous amendment on May 7, 1832, revived the dying hopes of the Tories and the Court faction. The hour of need had come, but in spite of his promise the King failed Lord Grey. Who advised him on Earl Grey's resignation, on May 8, to take the unprecedented step of sending not for Wellington or Peel, the leaders of the Opposition, but to Lyndhurst, then a judge, is not known. We agree with Mr. Fitzgerald, "what was more natural than that the name of the pliant Lyndhurst should be suggested."†† A speech of Earl Munster, and a letter to him quoted by Mr.

* Vol. ii. p. 62.

§ *Ibid.* p. 90.

** *Ibid.* p. 101.

† *Ibid.* p. 78.

|| *Ibid.* p. 92.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 83.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 102.

†† *Ibid.* p. 103.

Fitzgerald,* point to him as the adviser of this improper course. It is certain the Earl took a most active part in the underhand intrigues of the time. Even after Wellington had abandoned his attempt to form a Ministry we find Lord Munster writing to him—

Lord Grey is come. I know not what has passed, but the King repeated to me five minutes before Lord Grey came in that *nothing should make him create peers. He is most stout.*†

It is needless to re-tell the well-known story of the audience given by the King to Lords Grey and Brougham, at which Brougham exacted from him a written promise to create peers sufficient to carry the Bill.‡ What then happened is known only from Brougham's narrative. We agree with Mr. Fitzgerald that Brougham's "Dumas-like imagination embellished any episode where he was concerned with the most dramatic detail."§ It would be interesting to know Lord Grey's account of what then took place. So far forth as we know it has never yet been given to the world. Even after this consent was given the King still harped upon "modification."||

Mr. Fitzgerald's comment on these events shows the utterly unpolitical character of his mind :—

There can be no doubt the whole is a rather humiliating chapter in politics, and the Reformers above all should have shrunk from it. No Minister has ever since ventured on such a proposal. The true constitutional course is to let the opposing body act at their own peril. If they have the country with them, or likely to come round to this opinion, they will oppose with safety; if they have made a mistake in their view they will soon retract.¶

This may be sound policy in ordinary times, but in May, 1832, the country was on the brink of a revolution, and if Lord Grey had taken any other course than that he did take the revolution would have become a fact. No Minister, it is true, has ever since made such a proposal because a like necessity has never since occurred. Again: "The ludicrous part was that the Reformers' Bill was actually meant to do away with a similar evil in the House of Commons when majorities had been formed by nominated or created members."** Cannot Mr. Fitzgerald see the distinction between "nominated or created members," sitting and voting in the name of constituencies in a representative body, and the addition of more members to an oligarchical irresponsible body to bring it into harmony with the

* Vol. i. pp. 120, 121.

§ *Ibid.* p. 383.

† *Ibid.* p. 119.

|| Vol. ii. p. 133.

** *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 124-130.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 133.

representative body—and thus bring the State out of a dead-lock?

The King, baffled, humiliated, and beaten, was no longer inclined to be cordial or even gracious to his Ministers, and he resolved to get rid of them as speedily as possible. The existing Parliament was self-condemned as not representing the people, and it was plainly right and proper that it should be dissolved, and the new constituencies called on to exercise their franchise; but the King "could see no necessity for that," and obstinately refused his consent. It was only by a threat that the Ministry would resign that he sulkily gave way, saying, "Well, I yield; but, my lords and gentlemen, remember it is against my opinion and my wishes."*

About this time, Lord Camden had an audience with the King, at which he showed the memory for details which his father possessed. "There was not a marriage or an inheritance of the present or former time that he did not remember. He seemed anxious about the county elections, because, now that the nomination boroughs were gone, which he most sincerely lamented, the best chance was that good men should represent counties;"† but not unnaturally he avoided politics as an unpleasant subject. Sir Herbert Taylor seems to have been anxious to persuade those admitted to audiences with His Majesty "not to enter into any political discussions with him."‡

The King, notwithstanding his political trials and defeats, was, at the opening of 1833, in sufficiently good spirits to indulge in one of his grotesque performances. "They," writes Mr. Greville, "had a dinner and dancing at the Pavilion for New Year's Day, and the King danced a country-dance with Lord Amelius Beauclerc, an old admiral."§ Lord Howe continued his intrigues. "It is evident," he wrote to Wellington, "that the King's anxiety for a change of Government is rather increased of late. He cannot even get rid of the idea that the House of Lords are now what they are and ought to be, *but for his own folly*, a body powerful enough to assert their own independence, and assist him by turning out his Ministers." Again, we find Howe making this frantic appeal to the Duke: "I am certain you will not leave me and, I may venture to add, *Her Majesty in the lurch*." And again: "The astute Secretary (Sir Herbert Taylor) and his master, Lord Grey, are in a towering passion at my insolence. I shall say nothing, remain quiet, *and hope to God I may yet be the humble means of getting rid of this curse*

* *Ibid.* pp. 263-5; conf. "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. viii. p. 412.

† Vol. ii. p. 254. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 256, note. § "Journal," vol. ii. p. 341.

and his faction." Wellington does not seem to have responded to these appeals.*

The resignation of Lord Grey in July 1834, gave the King the opportunity he desired; he declared that the Grey Ministry "had, in his opinion, fallen to pieces."† He thought this a good opportunity of showing his proficiency in statecraft. He desired Lord Melbourne to consider whether the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Stanley (the late Earl of Derby), with Melbourne and other members of the Grey Ministry, might not form a Coalition Government. Melbourne disposed of this wild notion on the simple ground "that the distinguished individuals enumerated by His Majesty had all and each of them expressed, not only general want of confidence in His Majesty's Government, but the strongest objections, founded upon principle, to measures of great importance either introduced into Parliament or adopted by virtue of your Majesty's prerogative." The King was so proud of his proposal that he directed Melbourne to send a copy of his letter suggesting it to each of the "distinguished individuals." Melbourne complied with the royal wish, but saying, "It is almost unnecessary to add that I write this communication solely in obedience to His Majesty's commands." A Conservative Ministry would certainly have been formed but for the extraordinary promptitude and daring of Brougham. The late Ministry was reconstituted, with Melbourne as Premier.‡

In November, on the death of Earl Spencer, the King engaged in the last struggle of the monarchy to exercise personal power. The facts are so well known that it is needless to dwell on them. The King declared bluntly to Melbourne that he had no further occasion for his services. His avowed reasons were that he had always been told that Lord Althorp's leadership of the Commons was necessary to the existence of the Cabinet, and the alleged fact that there was no one in the Ministerial ranks fit to take his place. Lord Russell states the King's real reasons:—

It has since been explained that his mind was alarmed by some letters of Lord Duncannon's (then Home Secretary) on the subject of the Irish Church, and that he dreaded the proposals which his Ministers might submit to him on the subject of that Church. But allowing that the alarm was natural, the King would have acted more in conformity with prudence, precedent and constitutional usage, and with greater chance of success, if he had allowed his Ministers to bring

* Vol. ii. pp. 257-59.

† *Ibid.* p. 268.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 265-281. Conf. Torrens' "Life of Melbourne," vol. ii. p. 3 *et seq.*; Earl Russell's "Recollections and Suggestions," p. 128; C. Greville's "Journal," vol. iii. p. 104 *et seq.*; "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. viii. p. 432 *et seq.*

forward their proposals, and have founded his opposition on the objections which he and the country might entertain to their boldness and subversive tendency.*

It was in Mr. Gladstone's view—

a very real exercise of personal power. The power did not suffice for its end, which was to upset the Liberal predominance.†

In truth [as Mr. Gladstone also says] that indiscreet proceeding of an honest and well-meaning man produced a strong reaction in favour of the Liberals, and greatly prolonged the predominance which they were on the point of losing through the play of natural causes. Laying too great a stress on the instrument of royal will, it tended not to strengthen the throne but to enfeeble it. Such was the upshot of an injudicious, though undoubtedly conscientious, use of power.‡

The only persons who approved of the King's conduct were Louis Philippe and his Queen. On the news of Melbourne's dismissal arriving at Paris, the Queen inquired of Mr. Henry Greville, "who was at the bottom of it?" He said, "*He* believed the King to have done it of his own accord." "*Je désire*," the Queen said, "*que cela lui réussisse*." Louis Philippe, whose theory of a constitutional monarchy was *Le Roi regne et gouverne*, of course approved of this piece of kingcraft.§

We all remember Brougham's declaration—"the Queen has done it all," and the King's wrath thereat. Looking at the intrigues of Her Majesty and her ex-chamberlain, he was certainly not without ground for this opinion. We reiterate the suspicion we have more than once expressed, that the fact that the King's justification of his conduct was first published in Stockmar's "Memoirs," and the agreement between the King's proceedings and the views inculcated by Stockmar on Prince Albert, point to Stockmar as being in this matter the secret adviser, or one of the secret advisers, of the King.||

The Peel Government "of the Hundred Days" followed. The King's conduct on its fall showed that he was still under the influence of the Queen and her secret advisers. He first sent for Lord Grey, who declined to resume office, and advised His Majesty to send for Lords Lansdowne and Melbourne. They had an audience, at which the King proposed his favourite plan of "an administrative union of the moderate men of all parties."

* "Recollections and Suggestions," pp. 132, 227, 228.

† "Gleanings of Past Years," vol. i. p. 231.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 38. The history of this transaction is given by Mr. Fitzgerald, vol. ii. pp. 290-305. Conf. Torrens' "Life of Melbourne," vol. ii. p. 34 *et seq.*; C. Greville's "Journal," vol. iii. c. xxx. *passim*.

§ "Leaves from the Diary of Henry Greville," pp. 39, 51, 52.

|| *Vide* Stockmar's "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 327; and *vide* Fitzgerald, vol. ii. p. 291 *et seq.* and cap. 20 *passim*.

Both noble lords frankly told him such a coalition was impossible. After many delays and hesitations the King commanded Melbourne to form a Ministry. Almost immediately afterwards he returned to his idea that Lord Grey should be the head of the Government. Lord Grey would not swerve from his resolve. Melbourne was then again commanded to form a Ministry. Sir George Lewis remarks, "that the attaching of importance to declaratory oaths, as a political security, is an indication of minds of a certain stamp and of a certain amount of intelligence which is nearly infallible."*

The coronation oath was always George III.'s bugbear, and now before the Melbourne Cabinet was formed William IV. sent his Minister a long letter full of scruples about the bearing of the coronation oath on the "appropriation resolution"† just come to by the House of Commons, and proposing that the judges should be consulted on the question. This Lord Melbourne refused to agree to. The King then proposed to ask the advice of Lord Lyndhurst on the point. Melbourne rather contemptuously replied that he would not do so, but that there was no objection to His Majesty doing so if he was so inclined. The King thereupon wrote to Lyndhurst. He being no longer keeper of the Great Seal, with due apologies positively declined to perform the duties of keeper of the royal conscience.‡

The second Melbourne Ministry was completed and held office during the short remainder of the reign. Melbourne made one concession to the King's feelings—he could not, he said, bring himself to force Brougham on the King, who feared and loathed him, but complaisance to royal antipathy was not the only motive of Melbourne's refusal again to place Brougham on the woolsack.§ "The disagreeable sensation," we again quote Mr. Gladstone, "of being defeated and of having greatly strengthened and reinvigorated by recoil the fortunes of the party on whom it was meant to inflict an overthrow,"|| produced its natural effect in most uncomfortable relations between the King and his Ministers. He looked with great suspicion on all their measures. He was told by the Queen and her ladies that the Municipal

* "Essays on Administrations," &c., p. 462, note.

† Appropriating the surplus revenues of the Irish Church to secular purposes.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 325; Torrens' "Life of Melbourne," vol. ii. pp. 118-19. Martin, in his "Life of Lyndhurst," does not mention this fact. As to William IV.'s notions about oaths, *vide* vol. ii. p. 100, note.

§ The events of this period are told by Mr. Fitzgerald, vol. ii. pp. 324-330. Conf. Torrens' "Life of Melbourne," vol. ii. p. 102 *et seq.*; Earl Russell's "Recollections and Suggestions," p. 138 *et seq.*; C. Greville's "Journal," vol. iii. p. 250 *et seq.*

|| "Gleanings of Past Years," vol. i. p. 78.

Corporation Bill, the second great achievement of the Whigs, was a most revolutionary scheme, which would be the ruin of him and his dynasty. He sent one of his long rambling letters to Melbourne; he forwarded it to the Attorney-General,* who wrote an explanation of the Bill, which had the effect of quieting and neutralizing the royal mind.† With this exception we find little evidence of active interference by the King in political matters. He was really very miserable, constantly in tears, and saying he felt "his crown tottering on his head." Of all his Ministers he most hated Lord John Russell, and exulted at his defeat for South Devon.‡ His intercourse with his Ministers was strictly confined to business purposes. "You know," he said to one of his sons who suggested he should give the then usual dinner at Ascot Race time, "I cannot give any dinners without inviting the Ministers, and I would rather see the devil than any one of them in my house." We read also of a violent attack made at a Council meeting by the King on Lord Glenelg, which compelled Melbourne to tell the King that it was impossible to carry on the Government if he did such things; and the affair ended in the King's making a sort of apology for the violence of his language—a circumstance not calculated to diminish the bitterness of his feelings against his Ministers.§ On another occasion he was rude to Glenelg, and made a sort of apology to Melbourne, whose only answer was a stiff bow; the King took the reproof most becomingly.|| Equally monstrous, undignified and foolish was his treatment of Mr. Speaker Abercromby. At a drawing-room the King purposely overlooked him, who stood opposite to him, and called up Mr. Mannors Sutton, the late Speaker, whom Abercromby had defeated, to mark the difference by extreme graciousness to him.

On Lord Gosford's appointment as Governor of Canada, the King gave him the following charge:—"Mind what you are about in Canada. By —, I will never consent to alienate the Crown lands, nor to make the Council elective. Mind me, my lord, the Cabinet is not my Cabinet; they had better take care, or by — I will have them impeached. You are a gentleman, I believe; I have no fear of you, but take care what you do." On another occasion he said, "*You cannot wonder at my making difficulties with a Ministry that has been forced upon me.*"¶

* Sir John Campbell, afterwards Lord Campbell.

† "Life of Lord Campbell," vol. ii. p. 65.

‡ In 1835, on appearing for re-election after taking office under the Crown. See C. Greville's "Journal," vol. iii. pp. 251-265.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 265, 272, 276.

|| Fitzgerald, vol. ii. p. 369.

¶ Vol. ii. pp. 358, 359. Apparently taken from Lord Broughton's unpublished "Memoirs."

The King disliked exceedingly the Duchess of Kent, the mother of his presumptive heiress. On his birthday in August 1836, at a dinner at which the Duchess and her daughter, and altogether one hundred persons were present, the King, in reply to the toast of his health, broke out :—

I trust in God that my life may be spared for nine months longer, after which, in the event of my death, no regency would take place. I should then have the satisfaction of leaving the Royal authority to the personal exercise of that young lady (pointing to the present Queen), the heiress presumptive of the Crown, and not in the hands of a person now near me (the Duchess of Kent), who is surrounded by evil advisers, and who is herself incompetent to act with propriety in the station in which she would be placed.*

He continued for some time in the same strain of vulgar abuse. Queen Adelaide looked in deep distress, the Princess burst into tears, and the whole company were aghast. The Duchess of Kent said not a word.

To his conduct towards his successor, the Queen herself bears this testimony : "Of his kindness to herself, and his wish that she should be duly prepared for the duties to which she was so early called, the Queen can only speak in terms of affectionate gratitude."†

The old monarch's wish for the continuance of his life was fulfilled. In the early part of 1837, his attendants perceived a slight decline in his strength. On May 17, the King held a levée; on his return to Windsor he showed great signs of debility, exhaustion, and oppression of breathing, but he rallied, and attended the drawing-room held on the 18th; this was his last appearance in public. After the 20th, he was confined to his private apartments. On the 24th the Princess attained her majority. The King daily grew weaker. To Queen Adelaide he said : "I wish I could live ten years, for the sake of the country. I feel it my duty to keep well as long as I can."‡ He continued daily to transact business with Sir Herbert Taylor. Sunday, June 18, was the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo. The King said to his physician : "Let me but live over this memorable day. I shall never live to see another sunset;" and he sent a message to the Duke of Wellington, desiring that his Waterloo dinner should take place as usual. After this, for the last time, he transacted business with Sir Herbert Taylor, and then received the Communion from the hands of the Primate,

* C. Greville's "Journal," vol. iii. p. 368. An incomplete and confused narrative of some of these and of other and similar events is given by Mr. Fitzgerald, vol. ii. p. 347 *et seq.*

† "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 117, note.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 371.

who remained in attendance on him to the end, and "whose presence was a source of joy and consolation to the dying monarch." He expired between eleven and twelve of the night of Monday, June 19, being then in his seventy-third year.*

Who that can look back some years [wrote one of the ladies of the Court, who was in attendance throughout these last days of the reign] would have thought that he would have died more loved, more lamented, than either of his predecessors on the throne? Least of all, who could have thought he would have died the death of a good Christian, deriving hope and comfort from religion, and every alleviation which the most devoted conjugal affection could shed over him? . . . One feeling seems to actuate the nation, and all mourn, if not so deeply, quite as unanimously, as they did for Princess Charlotte.†

Lord Brougham, notwithstanding the late King's hatred of him, spoke in exaggerated terms of what he had the best opportunity of observing, his gentle disposition, "his inflexible love of justice, and the rare candour by which his character was distinguished."‡

Stockmar remarks, "that the conduct of George IV., of the Duke of York, and of William IV. contributed more than any other circumstance to weaken the respect and influence of royalty in this country, and to impair the strong sentiments of loyalty among the English people for which they have been for centuries distinguished;" and he points as a proof of "the strength of the English constitution, and the great political tolerance and reflection of this practical people," to the fact "that the moral part of the nation execrated George IV. during his whole life. Nevertheless, he expired quietly on the throne, his brother York, after all his blunders and errors, was able to regain some partial and temporary popularity; and William, who all his life had been anything but a moral and wise man, went towards the close of his reign under the endearing appellation of 'the good old sailor King.' "§ Unfortunately the good old sailor was not qualified for the throne on which destiny placed him.||

In one of the many eulogies pronounced on the departed Sovereign he was called "William the Reformer."¶ Truth and candour compel us to say that to make this description accurate the words must be added *malgré lui*.

* Vol. iii. p. 376 to the end.

† Miss Wynne, quoted by Mr. Fitzgerald, vol. ii. p. 304.

‡ In the debate on the address to the Queen from the Lords on her accession, as quoted by Lord Campbell, "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. viii. p. 481. Had Brougham in his mind the King's remark about Brougham's "ugly face."

§ "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 177.

¶ Spencer Walpole's "History of England since 1815," vol. iii. p. 338.

¶ By the late T. S. Duncombe, M.P.

ART. VII.—THE WOMAN QUESTION IN EUROPE.

The Woman Question in Europe. A Series of Original Essays. Edited by THEODORE STANTON, M.A., with an Introduction by FRANCES POWER COBBE. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. London : Sampson Low & Co. Paris : G. Fischbacher. 1884.

THE editor of this work says in his Preface :-

I began collecting the materials for this volume in the winter of 1880-81. It was my wish to secure, in each country of Europe, the collaboration of one or more women, who, in connection with a literary training, had participated, either actively or in spirit, in some phase of the woman's movement—that remarkable social revolution now going on in old Europe as well as in young America. With the exception of the chapter on Portugal and a portion of the chapter on France, all the contributions are from the pens of women. . . . It will be noticed that England has the first place and the lion's share of the volume. But as it is in Great Britain of all Europe that, on the whole, the most marked progress has been made, especially in the direction of political rights, the *summum bonum* of the age, the largest space and the post of honour justly belong to the Mother Country. . . . I have endeavoured to make this volume on the European movement for women a storehouse of facts rather than a philosophical study. The latter itself presents, however, a theme of the deepest interest, and one which, if I may be permitted to say so, might well be based on the material found in the following pages. . . . The principal object of this volume was, as has just been stated, to furnish facts. The style in which these facts were to be presented was to be free from extravagance of every kind. I did not wish to take as my guide Diderot, who says: "When woman is the theme, the pen must be dipped in the rainbow, and the pages must be dried with the dust of the butterfly's wing." Nor was the "vile wretch-man" spirit to prevail. But rather Horace's golden mean was to be observed. In order to stick to facts and the *juste milieu*, the editor greatly increased his labours.

Miss Frances Power Cobbe says in her "Introduction" to this volume :—

There have been many movements in the world—some of them recorded in history as portentous events, others forgotten within a few years of their occurrence—which may each be compared to a wave on the surface of the Mediterranean. From the insignificant ripple to the wave-high billow flecked with foam and breaking in

cataracts, they have arisen only to subside to their original level, leaving the boundaries of land and sea where they have stood for a thousand years. There are other movements, on the contrary, which resemble the tides of the ocean, wherein each wave obeys one uniform impetus, and carries the waters onward and upward along the shore.

Of all the movements—political, social, and religious—of past ages there is, I think, not one so unmistakeably tide-like in its extension and the uniformity of its impulse, as that which has taken place within living memory among the women of almost every race on the globe. Other agitations, reforms, and revolutions have pervaded and lifted up classes, tribes, nations, churches. But this movement has stirred an entire sex, even half the human race. Like the incoming tide, also, it has rolled in separate waves, and each one has obeyed the same law, and has done its part in carrying forward all the rest. The waves of the Higher Education of women all over the world; the waves which lifted women over the sand-bars of the medical and (in America) of the legal and clerical professions; the waves which seated them on the School Boards and Boards of Guardians of the Poor; the wave which gave them the English Municipal Vote; the wave which restored to Married Women a right to their own property; every one of these waves, great and small, has been rolled forward by the same advancing tide.

We shall consider in this article but three of these “waves”—viz.: 1. Women’s Suffrage; 2. The Higher Education of Women; and 3. Women in the Medical Profession,—waves which at this moment are slowly but surely sweeping away every barrier of opposition and prejudice in the eastern as in the western hemispheres.

Let us first take up the all-important question of women’s suffrage. Miss Cobbe, having mentioned the conquests already made, as given in the last citation, continues:—

But the crown and completion of the progress must be the attainment of the Political Franchise in every country wherein representative government prevails, and till that point be reached, there can be no final satisfaction in anything which has been achieved. It has been repeated till it has become a commonplace, that the suffrage is the “key of woman’s position.” Obtaining it, every privilege she can reasonably desire must follow. Failing to obtain it, nothing—not even such instalments of her rights as she has hitherto enjoyed—is secure. An easily raised storm of prejudice and selfishness, whether of trade or party or sect, passing over the masculine population, might sweep them away, while she remained helpless and unable to protect them by a single vote. On a small scale such confiscations of the rights of women in trades and other matters have occurred again and again. The sufferers had no appeal from injustice, and because they were unrepresented their wrongs were overlooked.

The man is not to be envied who can view the struggle of women.

for political rights with contempt or indifference. That those struggles may not always have been guided by infallible taste and wisdom, and that they have often been met—for lack of sensible argument—with silly derision, need not blind us to the fact that they constitute one of the bravest battles, one of the most pathetic movements, the world has ever seen. Other strifes have been carried on between rival races, rival classes, rival sects; but here we have only the patient, persistent appeal of daughters to fathers; of sisters to brothers; of wives to husbands; of the women, who make the charm of society, to the men who call them friends. There are no “garments rolled in blood” in the battle of these warriors. The combatants command neither cannon nor bayonets. They cannot even break down iron palings, like the populace of London, when the rights they demanded were withheld; or threaten dynamite and petroleum like Nihilists and Fenians. They have not the minutest political influence at their disposal wherewith to coerce their opponents. Never was there a case of such pure and simple moral pressure—of appeals to justice, to reason, to men’s sense of what is due, and right, and expedient for all. When the time comes to look back on the slow universal awakening of women all over the globe; on their gradual entrance into one privileged profession after another; on the attainment by them of rights of person and property; and at last on their admission to the full privileges of citizenship, it will be acknowledged that of all the “Decisive Battles of History,” this has been, to the moralist and philosopher, the most interesting; even as it will be (I cannot doubt) the one followed by the happiest peace which the world has ever seen.

Let us see what has been and is being done in Europe towards getting possession of this “key.”

The readers of the *WESTMINSTER REVIEW* are already pretty well acquainted with the nature of the agitation in England in this direction. But Mrs. Fawcett’s contribution on “The Women’s Suffrage Movement in England”—perhaps the best essay in the book—contains one or two points deserving of notice.

Mrs. Fawcett, evidently having the American women’s rights movement in mind, says:—“The suffrage has not been claimed for women in England as an abstract and inalienable right, but it has been claimed upon the ground of expediency; that is to say, on the ground that the good resulting from it would far outweigh any evils that might possibly attend it.”

Her definition of expediency is then given in the following words taken from the speech by John Stuart Mill, delivered in the House of Commons in May 1867. On that occasion Mr. Mill said:—

I do not mean that the elective franchise, or any other public function, is an abstract right, and that to withhold it from any one, on

sufficient grounds of expediency, is a personal wrong; it is a complete misunderstanding of the principle I maintain, to confound this with it; my argument is entirely one of expediency. But there are different orders of expediency; all expediencies are not exactly on the same level; there is an important branch of expediency called justice, and justice, though it does not necessarily require that we should confer political functions on every one, does require that we should not capriciously and without cause withhold from one what we give to another.

Mrs. Fawcett continues:—

This basis of expediency on which the women's suffrage movement in England has rested, has led every women's suffrage society, without exception, to seek for the suffrage on behalf of those women, and those women only, who fulfil all the qualifications which the law demands of the male elector; that is, for householders in boroughs, the owners of freeholds, and the renters of land and houses, above a certain value, in counties. . . . This character of practical moderation and rather humdrum common sense, which has stamped the movement in England, has prevented a good deal of what strikes one as rather comic about the movement in other countries. We talk about "women" and "women's suffrage;" we do not talk about Woman with a capital W. That we leave to our enemies. . . . The studious moderation of the societies, the absence of tall talk, is one great secret of the progress the women's movement has made in England. The words Man, Woman, Humanity, &c., send a cold shudder through the average Briton, but talk to him of John and Elizabeth and he is ready to be interested and, up to his lights, just.

John Bright's relations with the women's suffrage agitation is dwelt upon at some length in Mrs. Fawcett's essay. Referring to the discussion which took place in the House of Commons on April 26, 1876, when Mr. Forsyth's Bill came on for second reading, she says:—

Mr. John Bright, for the first and only time, took part in the debate. To the great regret of the promoters of the Bill and the great joy of its opponents, he spoke against the enfranchisement of women. His main argument was that women did not need representation because they were not a separate class. The reply to this argument seems to be that women are not a separate class as long as they are treated with strict and equal justice, but that they are created artificially into a separate class as long as special legal penalties and disabilities are attached to their sex. A life devoted to setting free the oppressed, to extending the boundaries of constitutional liberty, to bringing home to all minds the priceless blessing of freedom and self-government, more than outweighs a single speech. Mr. Bright's influence is with us, though his speech, and recently his votes, have been against us. No one, however, can read his speeches on the extension of the suffrage to men without feeling that almost every argument he uses so

forcibly applies with equal weight to women. It was, however, a great blow to the movement when the old leader of reform lifted his voice against it.

The following letter, addressed to the editor of the volume, and now published for the first time, is interesting in connection with this subject :—

One Ash, Rochdale, October 21, 1882.

DEAR SIR,—I have never *changed* my opinion on the question of women's suffrage. I voted with great doubt and reluctance with Mr. Mill, and more out of sympathy with him than from agreement with him on the subject before us. I have always regretted the vote, and explained the whole matter in a speech against women's suffrage in a subsequent session of Parliament. I cannot give you the date of this speech, but it is fully reported in Hansard's Debates. I cannot give you all the reasons for the view I take, but I act from a belief that to introduce women into the strife of political life would be a great evil to them, and that to our own sex no possible good could arrive. If women are not safe under the charge and care of fathers, husbands, brothers and sons, it is the fault of our non-civilization and not of our laws. As civilization, founded on Christian principle, advances, women will gain all that is right for them, although they are not seen contending in the strife of political parties. In my experience I have observed evil results to many women who have entered hotly into political conflict and discussion. I would save them from it. If all the men in a nation do not and cannot adequately express its will and defend its interests, to add all the women will not better the result, and the representative system is a mistake. But I cannot discuss the question in a note. I give you an idea merely of the view I take of it. There is more in my speech, but even that very lightly touches upon the whole subject.

I am, respectfully yours,

JOHN BRIGHT.

THEODORE STANTON, Esq.,
à Jacournassy,
par Sorèze,
Tarn.

The editor makes this commentary on the foregoing letter :—

When in London in the autumn of 1882, I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Bright, and, the conversation turning on the subject of women's suffrage, he developed more at length the same lines of argument contained in the above note written a few weeks before. It is a curious fact, however, that John Bright stands almost alone in his views on this question among the members of his very large family. For instance, his sisters, Mrs. McLaren, wife of the member for Edinburgh, and Mrs. Lucas; his brother, Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P.; his daughters, Mrs. Helen Bright Clark, Mrs. R. F. Curry and Mrs. Bernard Roth; his nieces, Mrs. Ashworth Hallett, Mrs. Joseph Cross and Mrs. John P. Thomasson, wife of the member for Bolton;

and his nephews, Mr. Charles B. McLaren, M.P., and Mr. Walter B. McLaren, not to speak of almost as many more relatives by marriage, are advocates of women's suffrage, and several of them active workers in the movement.

But this movement for the political enfranchisement of women is not limited in the old world to Great Britain. Women's suffrage in one form or another is either an accomplished fact or is under discussion in several continental countries.

In the congresses of the National Association of German Women (*Der allgemeine deutsche Frauen-Verein*), organized at Leipsic in October 1865, and still in active operation, the subject of the political rights of women is often discussed. For instance, on the occasion of the eleventh meeting, held at Lübeck in October 1881, Miss Assmann, of Hanover, spoke on "The Citizenship of Women;" Mrs. Füllgraff, M.D., of Hamburg, in her address entitled "Women's Position in America," showed that she accepted many of the political "heresies" of the trans-Atlantic reformers; while Miss Marie Calm, of Cassel, who is not unknown in London, came out squarely in favour of women's suffrage in her essay on "The Women's Movement in its Principal Localities Viewed from a Historical Standpoint."

Even sleepy Holland is beginning to consider the question. Mrs. Elise van Calcar, of The Hague, one of the best known Dutch female writers, says:—

The idea of women enjoying the same political rights as men is as yet accepted by a very small number of persons. Our great female landed proprietors especially feel their undignified position, for they signify less in the sight of the law than the very peasants on their farms, who exercise the elective franchise, from which they are excluded. They often think the distinction wrong and absurd, but still lack the courage to demand a reform.

Miss Elise A. Haighton, a young literary lady of Amsterdam, writes:—

If Dutch women do not vote, it is probably due in the main to the fact that they have never earnestly asked for the right, for it is by no means sure that female taxpayers might not vote under the present law. Every 45,000 inhabitants, which includes women, "are entitled to a representative in the Lower House. A few of our women do not hesitate to participate actively in politics and social questions in so far as this is possible. The Union (*Unie*), a society which aims to promote popular interest in politics by meetings, discussions, tracts, &c.; the Daybreak (*Dageraad*) a radical association which holds very ultra opinions on politics, religion and science, and supports a magazine to which many scientific men contribute; and the New Malthusian Bond, an organization sufficiently explained by its name, all count several women among their members.

Miss F. van Uildriks, a teacher in the public schools of Groningen, Holland, writes :—

In 1870 there appeared at Leeuwarden an essay entitled "Equal Rights for All, by a Lady" (*Gelyk Recht voor Allen door Eene Vrouw*), which claims for women not only better instruction, but more social freedom and the amelioration of her legal *status*. "The law seems to take it for granted," we read on page 5, "that women have no interest whatsoever in the political affairs of their country, that they are indifferent as to the manner of raising the taxes, how the public moneys are spent, what measures are taken to defend the honour of the nation, or for the instruction of their children. The laws, therefore, shut against them all the paths which lead to public life, and do not suffer them to have any voice in the election of their rulers."

Miss Aletta Henriette Jacobs, M.D., the first and only female physician in Holland, has gone a step further. In 1882, she tried to vote, and carried the matter before the courts. In a recent letter to the writer of this article, Dr. Jacobs says: "I did not succeed in my attempt to vote. Little slips were found in the wording of my petition, and so the principal question was eluded. But, although my demand to be registered has been refused, the way is not barred for a second attempt. If my efforts had met with some sympathy among our women, I should have tried again this year, but unfortunately they do not comprehend the grand importance attached to the ballot."

In Italy a great victory is on the point of being gained. In 1876 a committee of the Chamber, of which the deputy Peruzzi was chairman, reported a Bill in favour of conferring on women the right to vote on municipal and provincial questions (*voto amministrativo*), a privilege which they had formerly enjoyed in Lombardy and Venice under Austrian rule. This Bill was reintroduced in 1882 by the Depretis Ministry. The first clause declares that "all citizens of both sexes, who know how to read and write, are electors." Miss Anna Maria Mozzoni, of Milan, one of the most talented of the Italian women's rights leaders, said in May 1881: "There will be another hard fought battle over the proposed administrative suffrage, but I think we shall here come off victors." Mrs. Aurelia Cimino Folliero de Luna, of Florence, writes the author of this article under date of April 8, 1884: "The Bill has been passed by the Chamber of Deputies, but it has not yet come on for discussion in the Senate. In the approaching debate on the reform of the municipal law, it will be taken up, and I am sure that it will pass with but little opposition."

In the Austro-Hungarian Empire women actually vote. Miss

Elise Krásnohorská, the Bohemian authoress and poetess, says:—

The electoral law of the empire—and what I say here holds good for the whole monarchy as well as for Bohemia—treats women more fairly than is the case in other European countries. They have a voice in the municipal, provincial and national elections, though a male citizen duly authorized by them casts their vote. With this single reserve—a very important one, it must be confessed—our women are politically the equal of men. At Prague, however, this is not the case. The Bohemian capital preserves an ancient privilege which is in contradiction to the Austrian electoral law, and which excludes us from the elective franchise.

Universal suffrage does not exist in Bohemia, nor for that matter in the empire, but the payment of a certain amount of taxes confers the right to vote. I do not enter into the details of the electoral law, which is somewhat complicated, which has its exceptions, and contradictions, and is in fact an apple of discord in Austria in more than one respect; but, speaking generally, it may be said that a woman who owns property, who is in business, or who pays taxes, may designate a citizen, possessing her confidence, to represent her at the polls. Our women are satisfied with this system, and prefer it to casting their ballots in person.

It may be said, also, that women are eligible, or at least that there is no law against their accepting office, while there are instances of their having done so. In southern Bohemia, a short time ago, a countess was chosen member of a provincial assembly (*okresní zastupitelstvo*) with the approval of the body, on the condition that she should not participate personally in its deliberations, but should be represented by a man having full power to act for her. At Agram in Croatia (Austria) a woman was elected some time ago member of the municipal council, and no objection was made. Of course these cases are very rare, but they have their significance.

It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that von Kirchmann, the distinguished German author, in his recently published work, entitled “Questions and Dangers of the Hour” (*Zeitfragen und Abenteuer*), devotes a division of his volume to “Women in the Past and Future,” where he shows that the female sex has been gradually gaining its freedom, and predicts that the day is approaching when women will obtain their complete independence, and will compete with men in every department of life, not excepting politics.

Turning towards the North, we find as marked progress as in the parts of Europe already noticed. In Iceland, which is a dependency of Denmark, unmarried women and widows, if they are householders, vote at municipal and School-board elections. This reform was brought about in 1882. In the mother-country, too, there are signs of an awakening. The “Woman’s Review.”

("Tidsskrift for Kvinder") began to appear in January 1882, and is still in existence. Its editor, Mrs. Elfride Fibiger, has recently associated with her Mr. Fries, a very earnest friend of the women's movement, who has given a more progressive turn to the paper. It now advocates women's suffrage—the first journal in Denmark to take this radical step.

Miss Kirstine Frederiksen, the well-known educationist of Copenhagen, speaks as follows concerning the situation in her country:—

One of the most striking signs of progress among Danish women are the societies which they have formed during the last ten or twelve years. In 1871 a society auxiliary to the Geneva International Women's Rights Association (*Association internationale pour les droits des femmes*) was organized, and was soon afterwards transformed into a national association. This organization still exists. . . . The examples of individual women striving to do something to advance the interests of their sex are more and more frequent. They have come forward with propositions to modify the marriage ritual in a way more in keeping with the dignity of the sex, and have founded prizes for essays on subjects concerning the woman question. We also meet on every hand girls struggling through all manner of difficulties in order to secure the benefits of a higher education. It is plainly evident that Danish women are weary of the part allotted to them in the old society, a part well characterized by the saying attributed to Thucydides, that the best that can be said of a woman is, that there is nothing to say about her. . . . The young Mathilde Fibiger, in her "Letters from Clara Raphael" ("Clara Raphael Breve I"), which appeared in 1850, was the first to awaken an earnest discussion of the woman question. This great subject had been treated up to that time only with laughter and mockery by its opponents, and with timid sympathy by its friends. For twenty years thereafter the agitation seemed to sleep. But reports came to us of the activity of the English women; the writings of that original Norwegian author, conservative and radical at one and the same time, Camilla Collett, penetrated Denmark; we learned that in Sweden some of the best men pleaded our cause and, when the struggle for our national existence ceased for a moment, after 1864, public opinion on the woman question was found to have changed. The sympathetic utterances of the greatest poets of the north—Björnson, Ibsen, Hostrup—have, perhaps, done more than all else to awaken an interest in the subject. The Swedish *Home Review* (*Tidsskrift för Hemmet*) has also exercised considerable influence in Denmark. But if some progress has been made during the last ten years, it is probably due in no small measure to John Stuart Mill's celebrated book, "The Subjection of Women," which was translated into Danish in 1869 by Georg Brandes, the well-known critic, and widely read throughout the country. It was from the educated women of the middle classes that issued the demand for better instruction and better paid employment for their sex, and it

has been thought that the movement would keep within those limits. But women are human beings: give them an education and a competency, and they must have all the rest.

In Sweden women vote. Mrs. Rosalie Olivecrona, wife of the distinguished Swedish jurist, and herself one of the most active and intelligent workers for the amelioration of the condition of her sex, thus sums up briefly the political rights enjoyed by women in Sweden:—

In many affairs relative to the municipality, women vote on the same terms as men; as, for example, in the choice of the parish clergy and the municipal counsellors (*stadsfullmäktige*), and in the naming of the electors of the county council (*landsting*), which elects the members of the Upper Chamber. As regards women's admission to the complete elective franchise, which would confer upon them the right of voting for members of the Diet, no demands have been made in this direction, nor any meetings held for this purpose.

In a private letter to the author of this article, under date of May 5, 1884, written subsequently to the publication of the foregoing extract, Mrs. Olivecrona says on this same subject: "Several important questions concerning women's rights were laid before the Diet of this year. The proposition to make women electors of, and eligible to, membership in the Lower House of the Diet, met with but little sympathy, and was rejected. In answer to your question whether women *generally* exercise the privilege of voting in the three cases already stated, I must reply in the negative, except in regard to the choice of the parish clergy."

Crossing over into Russia, we find the situation much the same as in Sweden. Miss Marie Zebrikoff, of St. Petersburg, who has devoted herself so assiduously to the cause of the higher education of women at the Russian capital, writes as follows on this subject:—

The pecuniary independence of the Russian woman—for she is mistress of her own fortune, as I have already stated—has led to her obtaining the few other privileges which she enjoys. As she owns property, she pays taxes, and therefore participates in the choice of the members of the municipal council (*gorodskaya ouprava*) which expends her money. Women do not go to the polls themselves, as I have said before, but are represented by some male relative or friend who votes for them.* They choose in the same way the members of the

* Mrs. Worden, Seward's sister-in-law, adopted a somewhat similar plan. She required all the men who worked on her farm near Auburn, New York, to vote as she wished, for, being a taxpayer and yet a widow without father or son, she felt that she ought to be represented at the polls.—"History of Woman Suffrage," i., 462.

county assembly (*zemstvo*), who appoint the board or committee which supervises the public affairs of the county.

These rights possessed by Russian women must not be measured by a European or American political standard. The powers of the municipal and county assemblies may be likened to those of a house-keeper or intendant of a great estate; they gather the taxes and expend them on schools, hospitals, roads and canals. But they may make no laws, vote no supplies—in a word, do nothing to change the ordained order of things. Yet the *gorodskaya ouprava* and the *zemstvo*, although they have no voice in legislating for the nation, nor even for their own province, county, or town, exercise a great influence in their narrow circle, and are a step towards self-government. Before their creation, the work which they now perform was in the hands of a crowd of government agents (*tchinovniki*), who were an absolute plague to the country.

American women ask for participation in the enactment of the laws which they are bound to obey. But Russian women cannot make such a lofty demand, for men even do not enjoy this right. We can feel, however, that politically we are almost the equal of men, although we may not, like them, deposit our own votes, and are not eligible to either of the public bodies of which we are electors. Universal suffrage does not exist in Russia. The ownership of property, or the payment of a certain tax, is the necessary qualification of an elector. Every woman who meets this requirement votes.

Next in importance to the political enfranchisement of women comes their intellectual enfranchisement—the throwing open to them of the walks of Higher Education. This volume contributes considerable new and important information to the study of this question.

The longest and completest essay on this subject in the book under examination is from the pen of Mrs. Maria G. Grey and Miss Emily Shirreff, and is entitled "The Women's Educational Movement in England." But as the readers of the REVIEW are quite *au courant* of the question in this country, we hasten on to the Continent. We shall first take up those countries which are favourable to the Higher Education of Women, beginning at the North, and coming down across Europe to the South-West.

Scandinavia may be proud of what she has accomplished in this direction. This triad of States, whose achievements are so little known to the outside world, might teach Europe and America, too, many lessons in the liberal treatment of women.

Miss Cecilie Thoresen, of Eidsvold, Norway, the first female student to matriculate at Christiania University, applied in 1880 to the Minister of Public Instruction for the necessary authorization. The perplexed Minister referred the application to the

university authorities, who, in their turn, submitted the portentous question to the faculty of the law-school. In due season Miss Thoresen received this rather unsatisfactory response: "The admission of women to the University is denied, but we recognize the necessity of changing the law on this subject." Thereupon, Mr. H. E. Berner, a prominent Radical member of the Storting, or Norwegian Parliament, introduced a Bill permitting women to pursue studies in the University leading to the degrees of arts and philosophy (*examen artium* and *examen philosophicum*). The Committee reported unanimously in favour of the Bill; on March 30, 1882, it passed without debate the Odelsting, one of the two chambers of the Storting, with but one dissenting voice—that of a clergyman. On April 21, 1882, it received the unanimous vote of the other House, the Lagthing; and it became a law on June 15, 1882.

Mr. Berner, in a letter dated Christiania, December 5, 1882, writes to the editor of the volume:—

It is my intention, next year perhaps, unless a similar move is made in other quarters, to propose an amplification of the recent law, which will render it possible for women to take the final university degree. It may be necessary to explain that the law of June 15, 1882, permits them to aspire to only the first degree. It was thought best to make haste slowly. Now these two degrees do not confer any privileges, do not open any of the walks of life. It is only after passing this final examination that one may enter the civil service of the State, be a judge, clergyman, principal of a high school, lawyer, physician, &c. Such is the provision of the law of July 28, 1824. In order, therefore, to place women on an equality with men, this law must be changed, and the former admitted to this examination. I do not think this proposition will encounter much opposition now that a beginning has been made. We shall then see women competing with men for employment in the civil service, a calling for which they are admirably fitted. It is a reform of this description that I propose as the next step in the movement now begun.

In a letter from the same to the same, dated April 23, 1884, occurs this paragraph:—"To-day the Odelsting, our second chamber, passed with but one dissenting voice (that of the same clergyman who in 1882 voted against my Bill opening to women the *examen artium* and *philosophicum*) my proposition admitting women to *all* examinations for academical degrees and to the enjoyment of the university scholarships."

Concerning the situation in Denmark, Miss Kirstine Frederiksen writes:—

In 1875 women were admitted to the University of Copenhagen—the only one which exists in Denmark—and are allowed to take degrees in every department except theology. The higher and lower forms of

instruction—the primary school and the university—are thus open to women. But the whole intermediate stage, the vast field of secondary and professional instruction, depends entirely upon private initiative. It has, therefore, been a serious check to the higher education of women that everything except the most elementary instruction has been until recently exclusively monopolized by men. The State supports thirteen gymnasia, or boys' colleges, but entirely neglects the other sex. In 1881 a young girl, who wished to prepare herself for the university, applied for instruction in the upper classes of one of these boys' colleges in the country, but after considerable delay the application was refused. But Danish women have made noble efforts to fill up this gap in the system of female instruction, and the greater part of the talent and energy of the sex has been devoted to this end.

In May of this year there were eleven ladies at the University of Copenhagen, of whom six were studying medicine, one philosophy, and three the modern and ancient languages.

In Sweden, probably the first country in Europe for excellence in public instruction, we should expect to find progress, and we are in fact not disappointed. Mrs. Olivecrona writes:—

In 1870 women were admitted to the universities, and in 1873 they were allowed to take the same academic degrees in arts and medicine as male students. Upwards of fifty young women—twelve in the single year of 1883—have passed creditably the matriculation examination. Only a limited number have, however, pursued studies at the universities, and still fewer taken academic degrees. One of the latter is a teacher in a boys' school at Stockholm. At present (January 1883) there are four female students in Upsala, all belonging to the philosophical or arts faculty; two in Lund studying medicine, and one in the Stockholm Medical School (*Carolinska Institutet*). It is with satisfaction I add that they are treated with perfect deference by their fellow-students of the other sex. There are three scholarships for female students, all founded by private persons—viz., one at the University of Upsala, another at the University of Lund, and the third at the Medical School in Stockholm.

In a private letter written last May, Mrs. Olivecrona says: "Matriculation examinations for admission into the universities are passed every year by a limited number of female students (hitherto upwards of sixty in all), but not many of them continued their studies at the university and still fewer take any academical degrees, probably because the practical advantages arising therefrom are not a sufficient compensation for the necessary exertion. The number of students and graduates is, however, steadily increasing."

Although the Russian Universities are not open to female students, the higher education of women is not neglected. The history of the movement in Russia is exceptionally interesting

and we therefore quote at some length from Miss Zebrikoff's

The difficulties that this movement has encountered and at last overcome would require too much space for enumeration, and could be understood in their full significance only by Russians, or by those foreigners who are well acquainted with the country. They show the importance of the victory, and are a happy omen for the future. . . . The moral and intellectual power of women is recognized not only by the progressive, but also by the retrogressive, element of Russian society, and the latter class does not hesitate to use it. When, in 1867, three ladies, delegated by some of their own sex, requested the late Minister of Public Instruction, Count Tolstoi, to establish university lectures for women, they were met by a decided refusal. Thereupon the professors of the St. Petersburg faculty, taking advantage of their right to lecture in public, opened, under the auspices of a committee of ladies who managed the enterprise, a course of lectures, which, while not so considered officially, were in fact instituted for women. Although these lectures were attended by both sexes, women alone were allowed to use the library and cabinets in connection with them, to be examined if they wished, and to receive certificates from the professors. Ten years had not elapsed when the same Minister who, in 1867, forced the scheme for the higher education of women to begin life under the guise of public evening lectures, acquiesced in the plan of instituting at St. Petersburg superior courses for women. Count Tolstoi wished to introduce into Russia his classical system—a profound study of the Greek and Latin, in imitation of the German gymnasiums—but not having the necessary number of teachers, on account of the aversion of the youth to pursue the classics to the extent he desired, the Minister hoped to render the idea popular by having these languages taught in the girls' schools. So women were invited to acquire Latin and Greek, in order to fill the new positions; and thus was Count Tolstoi glad to avail himself of women's learning; and thus was he brought over from an enemy to a very reluctant friend of women's higher education.

The honour of the initiative step in this movement belongs to Mrs. Konradi. In 1866 she addressed a letter to the members of the association of natural and physical sciences, which met that year in St. Petersburg, requesting them to do something for women's university education. Her letter met with warm sympathy, and from that moment our men of science* have taken an active part in the work,

* The chemist Louguinin subscribes annually five hundred roubles to the St. Petersburg courses for women, and Professor Bestoujeff is always ready to assist needy girls who cannot pay the tuition fee of fifty roubles a year. The celebrated professor of physiology, Siechenoff, has lectured in aid of a fund for a physiological cabinet for women, while Professor Miller, Professor Ovsiannikoff, and others have contributed money. Mr. Mendeleieff, professor of chemistry, and Mr. Vagner, professor of zoology, have lectured in our courses without pay. All the other professors offer their services at the modest charge of two hundred and fifty roubles a year for one hour, five hundred roubles for

so that to-day Russian women may pursue their studies not only at the capital, but also at Moscow, Kief, Kasan, and, in a word, in almost all the provincial cities where universities exist.

The curriculum of studies at St. Peteraburg is very extensive, and is divided into two grand divisions—the historical and literary, and that of the natural sciences and mathematics. The latter embraces anatomy, physiology, botany, zoology, chemistry, physics, geology, mineralogy, astronomy, cosmology, and mathematics even in the highest branches. Lectures on agricultural chemistry are delivered to those women who are preparing themselves for agricultural pursuits, and a series of lectures on the civil law is given annually. The same studies with modifications are pursued in the other towns.

The courses for women in St. Petersburg were opened in 1878. The students are divided into four classes, each class representing a year's work. An examination occurs annually for all the classes. The first examination for graduation took place in the summer of 1882, when ninety-nine young women secured degrees in the literary and historical department, and sixty-four in the scientific department. About nine-hundred students attended these lectures every year, and up to September, 1882, two hundred and one new matriculations had been registered for the session of 1882-3. These numbers are all the more remarkable when it is remembered that as yet women derive no practical advantage from these long years of study, for, while the aim of the courses is to fit graduates for positions in the higher classes of girls' schools, men alone may fill them. Every man who desires a place in the intermediate schools must pass a teacher's examination before the university authorities. Now our courses prepare women for these very examinations, from which, however, they are excluded. The professors of the University of St. Petersburg, and the members of the committee superintending the women's courses, have petitioned the Government to admit women to the teachers' examinations. No answer has yet been given, but when it comes, it will doubtless be a favourable one, for a refusal would leave unsatisfied one of the most crying wants of Russian education.

Passing over in silence, for the moment, the broad belt of territory inhabited by the Teutonic races, stretching from the North Sea to the Adriatic, and embracing the German and Austrian Empires, where nothing or next to nothing is done for the higher education of women, we reach Central and Western Europe, where progress can be again reported.

Miss Isala van Diest, M.D., the first and only female physician of Belgium, thus describes the situation in her country :—

There existed in Belgium some years ago a law which required students who would enter the university, to pass the examination of

two hours, and so on. The same spirit is shown in the other university centres. In Moscow the literary and historical courses are superintended by Professor Gueré, who founded them.

graduate in letters (*gradu  en lettres*.) Candidates for this degree were expected to know how to translate Greek and write Latin. But as there were no schools where girls could study the dead languages with the thoroughness of boys, who were trained six years in the classics, the former were almost entirely shut out from enjoying the advantages of a university course. This *graduat*, however, no longer exists, and the entrance of women into our universities is now possible. Female students are found to-day at Brussels, Liege and Ghent, but their number is still very small. It was in 1880 that the first woman entered the university of Brussels, but it was not until 1883 that their admission became general.

Miss Aletta Henriette Jacobs, M.D., says that the four Dutch universities are open to women, and are "frequented by female students pursuing various branches."

Mrs. Marie G  gg, the indefatigable women's rights advocate of Geneva, writes as follows concerning Switzerland:—

In October 1872, I sent a petition to the Grand Council of Geneva, asking that women be admitted to the University of Geneva on the same footing as men. The state of public opinion on this subject in Switzerland, and especially in Geneva, may be judged from the fact that, fearing to compromise the demand if I acted in my own name, or in that of the *S  larit  *, the petition was presented as coming from the "mothers of Geneva." Our prayer was granted. The following table gives the number of female students who have pursued their studies at the Geneva University:—

Year.	Sciences.	Medicine.	Letters.	Total.
1876-77	1	1
1877-78	4	...	4
1878-79	3	2	...	5
1879-80	5	4	...	9
1880-81	6	7	...	13
1881-82	8	6	...	14
1882-83	12	8	1	21

This table shows that the number of students is steadily increasing. The list of female graduates up to December 31, 1882, gives nine bachelors of science, physical and natural, and one doctor of medicine. In Germanic Switzerland, at Zurich for example, the number of female students is much larger than in the universities of Romanic Switzerland, and they are for the most part Russians. The admission of women to the University of Neuch  tel dates from 1878, but few have profited by the concession. Fifteen ladies, non-matricul  tes, have listened to a course of lectures on general history and the history of modern literature, and one female student has matriculated, but up to the present time (May 1883) no degree has been conferred on a woman.

As regards Italy, the Princess Dora d'Istria writes:—

I shall terminate this sketch with a few words concerning the higher education of women. No law of the kingdom now hinders women

from entering the Italian universities and taking degrees. A short time ago, to cite but one example, a Russian lady, Miss Paper, passed the examination for doctor in medicine at the University of Pisa, took her diploma, and is to-day practising with success at Florence.

Professor Charles François Gabba, the liberal-minded jurist of the University of Pisa, adds :—

Higher scientific instruction for woman is not neglected in Italy. It may even be said that more has been done in this direction in Italy than in several other European countries. Our universities are open to women as listeners and students. Several, during the past few years, have taken the doctorate of medicine and the doctorate of literature. Besides the universities, a superior girls' college was established at Milan in 1861 and at Turin in 1866. A law of June 25, 1882, established at Rome and Florence a Superior Normal School for Women with twelve State-scholarships. The curriculum covers four years.

Mrs. Concepcion Arenal, the celebrated Spanish authoress and reformer, writes :—

During the academic year 1881-2 twelve women attended lectures in the Spanish universities. The three at Madrid were all working for the doctorate, and one has passed the necessary examinations; the two at Valladolid were occupied with medicine, while at Barcelona five were studying medicine, one law, and one pharmacy. Three of the medical students have passed their examinations, but, instead of the degrees, which are refused them, they are granted certificates, which do not allow them to practise. . . . Public opinion is progressing, as is evidenced by the laws, and especially by the educational reforms, which are the exclusive work of men. The Council of Public Instruction, a consulting body holding by no means advanced ideas, was called upon a short time ago to decide whether the university certificates conferred upon women could be converted into regular degrees, which would entitle the recipients to the privileges attached to these titles. The learned council discussed, hesitated, tried to decide the question, but finally left it in a situation which was neither clear nor conclusive. This hesitancy and vagueness are very significant: a few years ago a negative decision would have been given promptly and in the plainest terms.

We have left France to the last, as we wish to cite at some length Mr. Stanton's account of the history of the development of State instruction for women in that country, where a veritable revolution in public opinion has been wrought, since the advent of the Third Republic, in this matter of the secondary and superior education of girls.

Mr. Stanton says :—

In order to fully appreciate what has been accomplished in the

matter of girls' instruction, we must know what was its condition when the work began. The situation previous to the Revolution may be judged by this extract from one of Mme. de Maintenon's essays on education: "Bring up your girls of the middle classes as such," she says; "do not trouble yourself about the cultivation of their minds; they should be taught domestic duties, obedience to husband, and care of children. Reading does young girls more harm than good; books make wits and excite insatiable curiosity." As regards history, Mme. de Maintenon allows that girls should have a slight knowledge of it, in order to know the names of their own princes, so as not to mistake a king of Spain or England for a ruler of Persia or Siam. But ancient history is proscribed. "I should fear," she says, "lest those grand traits of heroism and generosity exalt their mind and make them vain and affected."

But the Revolution modified French ideas concerning women's education. A descendant of La Fontaine, Mme. Mouret, who edited a women's educational journal in 1790, read at the bar of the National Assembly a plan for the instruction of girls, which was received in most complimentary terms by the president.* It was the Convention which first spoke out clearly in France for girls' instruction. But the Convention was too short-lived to accomplish its work, and war and bad government adjourned for many long years the realization of its liberal plans.†

The Empire did nothing for the instruction of women, and the Restoration was worse than the Empire, for it was clerical. But the culpability of Napoleon and the Bourbons is of a negative nature. It is not the same with Louis Philippe, however. When the July monarchy, in 1833, at the instance of Guizot, created primary instruction for boys, the girls of France were entirely neglected. This was positive culpability. It must have been at this period that Balzac exclaimed: "The education of girls is such a grave problem—for the future of a nation is in the mothers—that for a long time past the University of France has not thought about it!" Efforts have since been made to remedy this fault, but there are still 3,281 *communes* which have no primary schools for girls, and 31·34 per cent. fewer girls' than boys' schools in all France.

The history of girls' intermediate instruction is still less creditable to the country: Although private initiative has nobly endeavoured

* "Dictionnaire de la Presse," p. 161.

† M. Auguste Desmoulin, the radical member of the Paris Municipal Council, in a speech at Foix, on the occasion of the unveiling of a statue to Lakanal, September 24, 1882, pointed out how this great Minister of Public Instruction under the Convention, who considered "the education of girls as indispensable as that of boys," saw his hopes, blasted in France, realized in the United States. "It is not sufficiently known," said M. Desmoulin, "that the vast system of national instruction so brilliantly consummated at this hour across the Atlantic, is the direct and natural result of all that was thought out by our encyclopædists, longed for by our grand revolution, and prepared by the National Convention."—*Bulletin de la Ville de Paris*, September 30, 1882.

to supply a crying want, the State began to act but yesterday. M. Duruy, Minister of Public Instruction under the second Empire, created, in 1867, courses of lectures for the intermediate instruction of girls, but it was not until December 21, 1880, after a long and bitter struggle of three years' duration, that M. Camille Sée saw his Bill become law, and France offered its girls something more than an elementary training. "Our law is at one and the same time a moral law, a social law, and a political law," said M. Sée, in the Chamber; "it concerns the future and the safety of France, for on woman depends the grandeur as well as the decadence of nations."

The manner in which this reform has been received by French women shows that they were only waiting for an opportunity to improve their minds. I cannot resist citing a few examples of their enthusiasm in what has become, in so far as France is concerned, a second Revival of Learning. The day before the Rouen College (*lycée*) opened, in October 1882, the names of 202 girls were already on the register. The Amiens College had, during its first term, 60 day and 40 boarding scholars. At Lyons, a very clerical city, although the college opened very late in the autumn of 1882, some 40 scholars were in attendance. When the Montpellier College—the first girls' college in France—was organized, it had 76 scholars, at the end of the year more than 100, and during the autumn of 1882 the lectures were attended by 215 girls. The college at Grenoble began on April 17, 1882, with 47 girls, and in January 1883, this number had risen to 112. This same tendency is seen in the lecture courses founded by M. Duruy, to which reference has already been made. Whereas, in 1875, these Sorbonne studies were pursued by 165 girls, in the collegiate year 1881–2 there were 244.

But the Government and the municipalities enter as heartily into the work as the women themselves. The Chamber voted, in 1882, ten millions of francs for the creation of girls' colleges. Rouen, one of the first cities to demand a college, found that it would cost a million francs; the municipality forthwith contributed half that sum and the Government the other half. At the end of the first year after the promulgation of the Sée law the following results had been obtained: the foundation of a superior normal school for women at Sèvres,* the opening of four colleges, all the preliminary steps taken to the same end in twenty-six other cities, while similar negotiations had been begun by thirty-eight other municipalities. To-day (October 1883)—less than three years after the Sée Bill became law—still greater progress can be reported, and almost every month a new girls' college is added to the vast system of public instruction in France.

* This is a national institution corresponding to the celebrated superior normal school for men in the Rue d'Ulm at Paris. Its aim is to fit women to become directors and professors of girls' colleges. It was created July 28, 1881, at the instigation of M. Sée, by a vote of Parliament, and opened December 19 following, with about forty scholars, ranging from 18 to 24 years. In October 1882, forty new scholars entered. The course of studies now covers two years, but efforts are being made to extend it to three years. The director of the school is Mme. Favre, widow of the celebrated Jules Favre.

University education for women was secured long before intermediate education, due mainly to the fact that no new schools had to be created. From 1866 to 1882, 109 degrees were conferred upon women in France. There have been 49 bachelors of arts, 32 bachelors of science, and 21 doctors of medicine; 98 degrees have been conferred in Paris alone. Many foreigners, especially in medicine, are found among these 109 graduates, but within the last year or two—particularly since the *Sée* law has created a demand for educated teachers—the number of French women studying for university degrees has greatly increased.

A word remains to be said of the countries which have not yet opened the doors of their universities to women.

Mrs. Anna Schepeler-Lette, the President of the useful and successful Lette Society of Berlin, writes as follows concerning Germany:—

German women who would secure a higher education must study in private, for their admission into the lecture-rooms of any of our universities is very difficult. Female students, to our knowledge, have been admitted only at Heidelberg and Leipsic, and even in these two institutions they have not been suffered to pass the examinations. It is at foreign universities that our women are forced to pursue their studies and take their degrees.

What is said of Germany holds good for the whole Austrian-Hungarian Empire.

The situation in Portugal may be judged from the following paragraph written by Mr. Rodrigues de Freitas, the well-known author, professor, and Republican statesman of Porto:—

There is not a single intermediate school for girls in all Portugal. In 1883 the Portuguese Parliament took up the subject of intermediate instruction, and discussed the question in relation to women and the progress in this direction realized in France during the last few years. A deputy, opposing the reform, recalled the words of Jules Simon, pronounced in a recent sitting of the Council of Public Instruction at Paris: "We are here a few old men," remarked this philosopher, "very fortunate, gentlemen, in being excused from having to marry the girls you propose to bring up." Our Minister of the Interior, who has charge of public instruction, followed, and declared that he was in favour of the establishment of girls' colleges. "It is true," he continued, "that M. Jules Simon considers himself fortunate in not having to marry a girl educated in a French college, but I think I have discovered the reason for this aversion. He is getting in his dotage, otherwise he would experience no repugnance in proposing to such a girl, provided, of course, that, along with an education, she was at the same time pretty and virtuous." The Chamber laughed. And such is the situation to-day: the Minister favourable to the better instruction of women, while neither Ministers nor Deputies make a serious effort to bring it about.

Mrs. Elise Oresko, the ablest of the contemporary female novelists of Poland, writes these words concerning her unfortunate country :—

The higher education of women. In pronouncing these words I am prompted to put on sackcloth and ashes; for throughout all Poland there is not one single institution for university instruction. It is true that the subject has been discussed at great length in the periodical press of Warsaw; it is true that in 1879, on the occasion of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the literary début of the famous writer Kraszewski, it was proposed to open, in connection with the university for men at the capital, a similar establishment for women; and it is also true that the Government might be prevailed upon to give its consent and that the opponents of the measure are so few and feeble that they could do but little to check it. But, for three important reasons, nothing substantial has as yet resulted from all these projects and all this agitation. In the first place, the large amount of money necessary for the foundation of such an institution is an insurmountable obstacle; and even if this were partially gotten over by annexing the creation to the men's university, the expenses would still be too great for a society scarcely risen from its ruins. If there were a representative body of any kind, a congress, a parliament, a diet, to take the initiative in raising subscriptions, the matter would be more easy of accomplishment; but, unfortunately, no such thing exists in Russia. The second circumstance which militates against the measure is a hesitation on the part of even the most progressive minds, as to whether it is best for society and women themselves to increase a class, which, owing to the exclusion of men from the judicature, the civil service and the profession of teacher, has created an intellectual proletariat scarcely able to keep body and soul together, and forced to seek in Russia and occidental Europe the livelihood which cannot be found at home. The third objection—a serious one to every true Pole—is that, in the proposed university, instruction would have to be given in the Russian language. These are the principal reasons, backed by several minor ones, why the higher education of women is entirely wanting in Poland.

We shall close this review with a brief consideration of the situation of medical women, and of those who wish to become such, in Europe.

Mrs. Frances Elizabeth Hoggan, M.D., in her essay on "Women in Medicine," which forms a part of the chapter devoted to England in the book under review, says that when she began her studies the English

medical profession was heaping its anathemas, coupled with disgraceful epithets, on those women who chose the profession of medicine as a career. . . . If any doubt the correctness of the above remark, a glance through the English medical journals from 1865 up to the present time will convince them of its perfect accuracy. The language

often used by members of the medical profession is so bad that it cannot even be quoted. A few generous men, it is true, held out the hand of fellowship, at the risk of incurring professional odium and loss, but the bulk of the medical men of the country raised angry protests against medical women, and the medical journals were inundated with letters and articles, alike false in substance and disgraceful in tone.

In giving an account of the disgraceful riots because of the admission of women into the Edinburgh Medical School some fifteen years ago, Dr. Hoggan states that when Professor Blackie, the eminent member of the Faculty of Arts of that institution, heard of what had been done, he exclaimed: "Ye can say now that ye've fought with wild beasts at Ephesus!" Mrs. Hoggan also quotes the Right Hon. James Stansfeld, M.P., as having said in 1877:—

It is curious to note how persistent hostility still finds its stronghold in the ranks of those practitioners who have devoted themselves to the special treatment of the diseases of women, and to the practice of midwifery. Can it be that they, more than others, tremble for their monopoly?

It is interesting to compare this treatment of medical women in England with that which they experience in Holland. Miss Jacobs, M.D., who has already been mentioned in this article, writes Mr. Stanton:—

I attended the lectures [of the University of Groningen, Holland] without ever experiencing any annoyance from either professors or students. On September 15, 1879, I established myself at Amsterdam for the treatment of the diseases of women and children. I have no fault to find with my success, nor, if the inevitable professional jealousy be excepted, with the conduct of my confrères. I have been admitted with the greatest complaisance to the Medical Society and participate in all its meetings. The State and municipality accord me the same rights and impose upon me the same duties as in the case of my fellow-practitioners, and yet this same State and municipality treat me, as in fact they do all women, as a minor! Public opinion, it will be observed, throws no obstacles in the way of my professional success, so that in this respect my own land is in advance of every other European country.

Again Dr. Hoggan says:—

The exclusion of qualified medical women from medical societies and congresses is now, indeed, so much the order of the day, that it deserves more than a passing notice or brief reference, and it will no doubt prove of interest to pass in review some of the most notable instances of this arrogance of sex, both in our own and in neighbouring countries.

Mrs. Hoggan then cites as deserving of this censure the

Obstetrical Society of Great Britain, the British Medical Association, the Association of German Naturalists and Doctors, and the International Medical Congress held in London two or three years ago. Compare this statement with what Miss Jacobs has just said of Holland and with the following paragraph from Miss Zebrikoff's chapter on Russia:—

The scientific societies are more liberal than the universities. They do not shut their doors in our faces. The law society of St. Petersburg counts among its members Miss Evreinova, who took her degree of doctor of laws at Paris. The medical society is not afraid to affiliate with female physicians. Miss Nadiejda Skvortzova, whose ability has been recognized by the Paris medical celebrity, Dr. Charcot, is one of the women more recently received by this society.

We have just seen that women enjoy in Holland every facility to study and practise medicine. But, curiously enough, the moment the frontier is crossed into Belgium, we find a very different state of things. Read, for instance, the history of the experience of Miss Isala van Diest, M.D., of Brussels:—

Miss Isala van Diest began her medical studies at Bern, Switzerland, in April 1874. "I had a strong taste for the sciences," Miss van Diest writes, "and especially for chemistry, which opens such a vast field for theorizing, and I determined to take the degree of doctor of sciences." This she did in 1876 at Bern, and next turned her whole attention to medicine, securing the degree of M.D. in May 1879, from the same university. Her thesis for the doctorate of sciences was an "Essay on the Gonolobus Condurango" (*Etude sur le gonolobus condurango*), a substance much praised in America for its curative effects on cancer; that for the doctorate of medicine was entitled "Hygiene in Prisons" (*Hygiène des prisons*). "I chose this subject simply as a pretext," Miss van Diest says, "in order that I might expose my views concerning man's responsibility for crime, and that I might have an opportunity of criticising the repressive system in vogue in the Swiss penitentiaries." Besides these two theses, Miss van Diest has published anonymously some essays on social questions. "Conscious of the great moral influence which the physician who relieves physical suffering exercises over women," Miss van Diest remarks, "I decided to study medicine as a means of opening their hearts to me, and of exhorting them to throw off their apathy, to help each other, and to demand the rights which belong to them. My efforts are very limited, the struggle has only begun, and I shall probably not live to see the end. But if it be permitted me only to see the question taken up in every country, and above all in my native land, where such powerful causes are at work to hold women in subjection, I shall die happy, certain of the triumph of our cause in a not too distant future." Miss van Diest is the first and only female physician in Belgium. But she cannot secure the authorization which allow her to practise. "I fear that I shall soon be obliged to give

up the fight," she wrote recently, "and go to France, England, or Holland, unless I wish to lose the fruit of all my studies."

But Miss Van Diest must not be discouraged. The first Zurich graduate was seven years in practice in London before she was allowed to present herself for examination and subsequent registration.

Concerning the situation in France, Mr. Stanton writes:—

The history of women's medical instruction in France is very significant, and shows most strikingly the growth of public opinion in regard to the higher education of women generally. In 1864 Legouv   wrote: "The reader must not think that I desire to see women mingling with male students on the seats of the law or medical school; this would indeed be a poor way to provide for their improvement." In 1875 Dr. G. Richelot, President of the Paris Medical Society, styled the study of medicine by women "that deplorable tendency," "a malady of our epoch." But Legouv   has lived to see women sitting on the same benches with male students without detracting from the improvement of either sex, and Dr. Richelot's malady has become an epidemic. There was a time when the female students at the Paris Medical School were almost without exception from abroad. But this is not the case to-day. The first Frenchwoman to take a medical degree in France was Mlle. Verneuil, who is still practising at Paris. She graduated from the Paris Medical School in 1870. Up to 1881 six more Frenchwomen had followed her example, five taking their degree at the capital, and one at Montpellier. Since that time several new names have been added to the list, the last being Mlle. Victorine Benoit, who was graduated at Paris in August 1883, with the highest approval of the board of examiners, composed of such doctors as Potain, Strauss, Rendu, and Monod.

That the Paris Medical School has not shut its doors against women, in marked contrast with the action of so many other medical schools, is due in no small measure to Laboulaye. He once told me that some years ago the question of refusing women admission to the Paris Medical School was brought up in the Department of Public Instruction. The matter was referred to him. His report to the Minister was to this effect: "The rules of the school say nothing on the subject; it would therefore seem the best and the simplest course to require of women, who desire to pursue medicine, the same preparatory studies and the same tests for graduation which are demanded of the male students, and thus allow both sexes to enjoy the advantages offered by the school." This sensible and just advice was followed, and the question has never been mooted since.

Miss Marie Zebrikoff gives the following account of the situation in Russia:—

The vastness of the Russian Empire and the paucity of its population are in one respect favourable to this movement. Russia is sadly lacking in intellectual workers. The numerous villages disseminated

throughout her wide plains want teachers and physicians. The professional emancipation of women is not therefore threatened by that inveterate opposition observed in densely peopled countries which annually disgorge into America their surplus of population. Our *zemstvo* needs and pays for the education of physicians in the woman's medical school at St. Petersburg, and for teachers in the various normal schools of the country, on the condition that the women who enjoy these scholarships serve five years the county which grants them. This scarcity of brain force constrains even the Government to further the cause of women. We had a striking example of this in the recent struggle with Turkey, when the War Department was only too glad to avail itself of the assistance of female physicians for the army. . . . The highest professional instruction for women is given in the medical courses, which began in a way that may appear strange to those not acquainted with Russian life. A young woman gave fifty thousand rubles for this object, but the sum was not large enough to cover all the expenses of the proposed school, and the undertaking would have fallen through if the War Department had not come to its aid. The Minister of War patronizing the medical education of women seems odd at the first blush. But his conduct was in fact very natural and very practical. The Academy of Medicine was already under the superintendence of the Minister of War, its chief aim being the education of surgeons for the army and navy, and, as it occupied a very large building, a part was handed over to the women for lecture rooms and clinics.*

The tentative of the Government was very timid, not to say amusing. The female graduates were to be called "learned midwives;"† they were to study only the diseases of women and children; and when they went forth to practise the healing art, women and children were alone to be their patients. But the Minister of War builded better than he knew. The professors were real men of science, and found it impossible to keep within the narrow limits prescribed by the Government. They gave a full course in medicine, added a fourth year, and then a fifth year, threw open the wards of the hospitals to their new pupils, and, in a word, treated the women just as they treated the men. And Russia was soon a thousand-fold repaid for what it had

* Since these lines were written the medical instruction of women at the capital has entered upon a severe crisis. Recent reforms in the War Department call for economy, and the Minister has been forced to refuse the usual subsidy and to close the hospital and clinics. The St. Petersburg municipality offers to take the women under its protection, and furnish them a building and a hospital. Nothing is yet decided in the matter. The women who are now (May 1884) studying will be allowed to finish their course, but no new students will be received. A public subscription, in aid of the Women's Medical Courses, has been opened at the capital. A women's medical college is about to be founded at Moscow, but it will, unfortunately, be far less complete than the St. Petersburg courses.

† This was the term used in the Government plan, and was meant to distinguish the women who had received a scientific medical education from ordinary midwives.

done. Twenty women followed the army in the last war, and gave admirable proofs of courage, skill, and tenderness on many battle-fields and in the hospitals, amid the ravage of the typhoid fever. The late emperor, who witnessed their conduct, always entertained a high opinion of them.

There are now in St. Petersburg fifty-two female physicians, and about two hundred and fifty in all Russia, although it is not yet ten years since medicine was opened to women. Many Russian women have also pursued their medical studies abroad in the Universities of Zurich, Bern, and Paris. I may also mention as among the professional institutions frequented by women, a school for the training of nurses, and two schools of midwifery in St. Petersburg, and one in Moscow. Women also study obstetrics in many of the hospitals. . . . Although they pursue all the studies and pass all the examinations, women are not physicians in the eyes of the law. They may treat the diseases of women and children, but that is all. In the country, where there is often no male physician within the distance of fifty miles, our women might have employment and confer immense blessings upon the poor peasants of both sexes. Some years ago a woman passed a brilliant examination and defended with success a thesis on the diseases of the eye. But she could not become an oculist. And yet women, by the delicacy and flexibility of their fingers, are far better fitted physically than men for this calling. There have been instances of some of the medical inspectors in the provinces interfering with the practice of medicine by women, although invited by the *zemstvo* to come into their midst, by prohibiting the apothecaries to put up a prescription emanating from a female physician.

Here is the condition in Poland as recounted by Mrs. Oresko :—

In medicine, besides a foreign diploma, the candidate must be a graduate of the St. Petersburg Medical School. It is true that the same rule holds good for men, but I have already shown how much more difficult it is for women to fulfil these conditions. What has become of the Polish female medical students at the Russian capital? One practices at Riga and another at Polock. Where are the rest? It is a difficult question to answer. Three or four years ago, Mrs. Tomaszewicz-Dobrska returned from Zurich to Warsaw, and is still the only female practitioner in the kingdom of Poland. Her success is evidenced by the increasing number of her patients, which equals that of the most celebrated physicians of the Polish capital, and which shows that society, far from opposing the innovation, heartily approves it. I must add, however, that this friendly disposition of the public is due in no small measure to the admirable conduct of Mrs. Tomaszewicz-Dobrska, who knows how to unite simplicity with learning and modesty with independence. The diseases of women and children, and the great demand for female physicians in the country, where men do not willingly go, open a grand field of lucrative work for our sex,

which will doubtless be quickly filled when the difficulties blocking the way to a medical education are removed.

The situation in Scandinavia is full of encouragement. In 1873 women were allowed to take medical degrees in Sweden, and in January 1883, two women were studying medicine at the University of Lund and one in the Stockholm Medical School (*Carolinska Institutet*). There is a scholarship for female students at the last-named institution. Referring to these female medical students, Mrs. Olivecrona says:—"It is with satisfaction I add that they are treated with perfect deference by their fellow-students of the other sex." This is the way Mrs. Olivecrona explains, in a private letter, why so few Swedish women as yet devote themselves to the study of medicine:—

It is far more difficult to obtain a degree in medicine in Sweden than in the United States. I have even heard that the requirements are greater in Sweden, Norway and Finland than elsewhere in Europe. A thorough course of study is demanded which generally embraces a period of from eight to ten years, with three examinations. *Venia practicandi* is only very exceptionally granted to those who have not fulfilled these conditions. None of our female students of medicine have as yet (May 1884) gained the degree of M.D., but it is to be hoped that Miss Björck, the most advanced of them, will soon obtain it, having shown during the past year remarkable skill in curing deafness.

Although women may not as yet take a medical degree in Norway, this will not be the case very long. The present astonishing revolution in favour of their higher education will soon open the doors of the medical schools to female students. Professor Lochmann, of the Christiana Medical School, is favourable to the enlargement of the sphere of women's activity, and has recently pronounced, with the approbation of the faculty, for their admission to the pharmaceutic examination. He

Pharmacy is a field for which women seem peculiarly fitted. I have no doubt that they would conscientiously and carefully prepare and dispense medicines, and experience has shown that there are many advantages in employing them in this department. They are indeed already found there, and the general opinion is that they do their work satisfactorily. It would therefore be in the interest of society as well as that of women themselves, to give an official stamp to their employment in this profession, which could be very easily done by opening to them the pharmacy school connected with the university.

Mr. Berner, of the Norwegian Storting, says, in connection with this subject, under date of April 20, 1884: "Women's admission to the pharmaceutic examination, with the conse-

quent right to be in charge of apothecary shops, is soon to come up for debate, and in view of recent votes on questions pertaining to women's education, I have no doubt that the proposition will be favourably received by the House."

In Denmark women may study medicine, and a few have taken advantage of their new right.

We have already seen, in what has been said concerning higher education, that in Switzerland women are quite free to pursue medical studies. The rector of the University of Geneva, Mr. G. Julliar, writing under date of February 8, 1883, says:—

Besides the diploma of doctor of medicine given by the University, the Confederation confers a medical degree on examination. This degree has been taken by three women, who passed their examinations very well.

Professor Pflüger, of the University of Bern, says, in a letter dated April 27, 1883:—

Since February 2, 1876, up to the present time, thirty-five women have taken degrees at our medical school. The courses are, on an average, attended each semester by from twenty-five to thirty women, while from three to six female students follow the lectures on philosophy and letters. The presence of women at our university has occasioned no serious inconvenience, and many of my colleagues favour it.

In Italy women have taken medical degrees at the university, and we have already seen that in Spain during the academic year 1881-2, seven women were studying medicine in the universities, while three had passed their examinations. But, instead of the degrees, which are refused them, they are granted only certificates, which do not allow them to practise.

We have not yet exhausted the contents of this volume. It contains much more fresh and useful information concerning the status of European women,—what they are doing in literature, art and philanthropy; how they are treated by the various codes; their moral, social and industrial condition. But such copious extracts have been made from its well-filled pages, that we feel sure we have given our readers a fair idea of the nature of this latest contribution to that all-important problem—the irrepressible WOMAN QUESTION.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY.

SI MUOVE. The world is not standing still. "Hic liber est mundus; movet et sine fine movetur." The young science of Comparative Religion has already developed such widespread influence even among English Christians as to compel accomplished ecclesiastics like the editor of the "Speaker's Commentary" openly to grapple with the difficulties into which the modern philological victories over Zend and Sanskrit have plunged Judaising theologians. In "The Origins of Religion and Language,"¹ are published the results of Canon Cook's intelligent study of the Rig Veda and Avesta in their originals. The significance of the book in our eyes is due much more to the fact of its having been written than to its intrinsic merits. Crowds of far abler workmen than its author, and even than another Canon by whom he swears—de Harlez of Louvain, who has also written on the Avesta²—have laboured and are labouring in these fields.

In the space at our disposal it would be impossible to notice all the five essays which compose the book, and the present remarks are therefore chiefly confined to the two essays on the Avesta. In the first place, their chief and not unlooked-for fault is a foregone conclusion. Mr. Cook says himself, (p. 201) "We ought to produce works on the Avesta and the later Pehlevi and Parsi literature . . . distinctly rejecting unfounded and highly mischievous claims to identification with or priority to the revelation of God in his written word." Is that the calmly serene, lofty, untrammelled condition of mind in which the study of the truth should be approached, or is it the reverse—the narrow-souledness of the partisan? The "immense importance" of the Zend Avesta is however fully admitted by all sound critics (p. 107) and even, furthermore, Genesis and the Avesta were derived from a common source (p. 187) of "primitive truths." The Indo-Aryans have modified these truths which for a time they undoubtedly retained (p. 105) and although the Iranians,³ that is the

¹ "The Origins of Religion and Language." Considered in Five Essays. By F. C. Cook, M.A., Canon of Exeter, Chaplain to the Queen, and Editor of the "Speaker's Commentary." London: John Murray.

² The concord of mind of these two Canons may be gauged from the following sympathetic extract from Mr. Cook's book. "M. de Harlez utterly rejects the system which regards all ancient religions as mythological representations of natural phenomena, and their gods as personifications of heaven, earth, light, heat, storms, &c." (p. 207).

³ Mr. Cook writes Eranians because "the letter *e* pronounced as in English gives the correct sound." He really means *ee*. At the same time he invariably writes *yagna*, which is perfectly French, for *yashna*. And yet he enters a protest against innovations in transcription (p. 161). We endorse his protest, and especially point to the long table of Transliterations of Oriental Alphabets at the end

Zoroastrians, retained these truths for ages in a far purer and more complete state (p. 106), the Avesta presents developments or corruptions of them (p. 107). But Israelites and Christians, too, retain "primeval truths, and have true developments of those truths," and the *rapprochement* is obvious. "Zoroaster's own teaching is in substantial and very remarkable harmony with the fundamental truths which were made fully known to the ancestors of the human race, and preserved in their entirety by one family [*i.e.*, the Jews] under the guidance of Him by whom it was (*sic*) communicated to man" (p. 256). It is already pretty evident what the Canon's argument is. Still—and here we must note the numerous inconsistencies and general sloppiness of mind presented in these essays—there is "the great problem which, to speak frankly, has been [to Mr. Cook] by far the most important and interesting subject—did the Hebrews learn from the Zoroastrians the power of Satan, the spirituality of monotheism, the resurrection of the body, and the order and character of the celestial hierarchy?" The Canon sticks up for Satan. Van Rohlen's "persistent attempts" to explain the Bible doctrines about evil and good spirits by the Jewish intercourse with Persia in the sixth century B.C. are "most mischievous." Most mischievous to what? Justi, who is "a writer of moderate views," agrees with Van Rohlen, but though of sound judgment on other matters he is wrong here, and so are "the common ruck of followers" who repeat what the leaders say (pp. 167, 168). In short Mr. Cook writes as a man who believes firmly in his devil, and faithfully defends him against misconception or any identification with the eternal Ahriman; and still, with strange inconsistency, he uses Abaddon (the destroyer Apollyon in Rev. ix, 11) for the Aêshma of the Avesta, "which designates the demon of malignity, held by most biblical commentators to be the Asmodeus of the book Tobit" (p. 231). But Aêshma, which was originally an epithet of the storm-fiend, gradually became a name of Ahriman himself! Mr. Cook will have his hell too, like the Neufchâtel elders; "the eternal fire which was prepared for the devil and his angels" (Matt. xxv. 41) by highest wisdom and the fount of love, as Dante says—*somma sapienza, e'l primo amor*; and any efforts to confound the Christian's own hell with Zoroaster's are "a grave error, grave in itself, and mischievous in its consequences." We ask again: Mischievous to what? John Sterling once objected to something Carlyle was maintaining: "Flat Pantheism; it is mere Pantheism, that."

of each volume of the "Sacred Books of the East." The editors are doubtless in the secret, but they do not take their readers into their confidence. Does there exist an unaided human mind capable of arriving at the conclusion that *Drugs* should be pronounced *droosh-es*, on being merely told that *g* belongs to the second class of missionary alphabets, and is the media of the gutturales modificata (palatales, &c.)? An additional column of English (and other) words illustrating the sounds would meet the case.

* The pastor having been dismissed for the laxity of his doctrine, which implied the non-eternity of future punishment, Frederick the Great interfered on his behalf, but without success, and at last exclaimed: *Eh bien, si messieurs de Neufchâtel veulent être damnés à toute éternité, ainsi soit-il.*"

"And suppose it were Pot-theism," cried Carlyle, "if the thing is true!" It would seem that the Canon's objections to this confounding of the two hells are that the Persian hell is black, and that there is no indication of penal fire (pp. 175, 176). As to the penal fire, Mazdeism was precluded from it by the cardinal sanctity of Fire in its system of the universe. It was "the most rejoicing fire, the beneficent and assembly-making" (at the hearth and altar); it was to be fed with holy wood; no unclean matter should be thrown in it; to blow it with the mouth was a crime, to extinguish it a deadly sin; the perfume of it was pleasant to the creator Ormazd, the supreme God (the "mighty Varuna who rules above" of the Vedic Age, the investing sky, the arched heavens); it was prayed to: "Hail unto thee, O Fire! mayest thou have the right fuel;" it was the earthly form of the eternal, infinite, godly Light—*ignem coelitus delapsus*—its very ashes were a purifier from defilement; it was the son of God, for the fire that springs from heaven can be conceived as being born of it.⁵ Thus it is evident that hell could not be its abode. Therefore too cremation was a fatal crime, and in cases of accidental death by burning it is not the fire that kills, but the demon of death and fate; "it is the bad Vâi (destiny) that kills the man." In the result, hell became cold; it lay in the North: "snow and stench and foul-scented winds blowing from the regions of the North;"⁶ where the food was poison and poisonous stench, and there was endless darkness. It was "the dark world made of darkness, the offspring of darkness." Mr. Cook's objection to the darkness seems to us weak in the extreme; all he has to say is that "the Persian blackness is eternal, uncreated, absolutely independent of the supreme good." Then we may ask, how about "the outer darkness" in Matt. xxii. 13, and "the power of

⁵ "Life of John Sterling." First edition, 1851 (p. 163).

⁶ "Sacred Books of the East," vol. iv. pp. lxxxix, xc, xcii, 22, 49, 62, 166; vol. xxiii. pp. 120, 200, 341, 358, 359.

⁷ *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 51.

⁸ In Dante's ninth circle we have (in Carey's version of the "Inferno," xi. 4; xxxii. 34)

The horrible excess
Of fetid exhalations upward cast.

And

Blue-pinch'd and shrin'd in ice the spirits stood.

And on Milton's "frozen continent" beyond "fierce Phlegethon" ("Paradise Lost," ii. 594),

The parching air

Burns froze, and cold performs th' effect of fire.

Queen Hel in the Scandinavian mythology had her home in the frozen underworld, the dark Nifheim; and the torment of the extremity of cold is found in the Eddas too (eleventh and twelfth centuries)—see the "Song of the Sun," translated by Rev. Jas. Beresford, 1805. And we shall hold too that, to go to the root of it, the poets—the makers—are the best authorities upon these matters, to which they have a prior right even to cathedral theologians. It might be added that the Red Indians of Florida believed that the damned were borne off into the mountains of the North, where they were abandoned helpless to the fangs of bears and the rigours of perpetual ice.

⁹ "Sacred Books of the East," vol. iv. pp. 75, 172, 204; vol. xxiii. pp. 319, 320, 321.

darkness" in Luke xxii. 53, and "the blackness of darkness for ever" in Jude 13? In despite of all the Canons that ever thundered theology we shall use Goethe's simile and say that the two things are as like as two shoes. He is horribly shocked too that it can be viewed as scarcely open to reasonable doubt that the thaumaturgical doctrine of the resurrection of the body has been derived from the Zoroastrian religion, and he asserts there is only one passage to support it. There happen to be five passages at least¹⁰ which speak of "the mighty day of resurrection," when "the dead will rise, when life and immortality will come;" and that distinguished Zend scholar M. Darmesteter, points out that it is clear from Plutarch's "Isis and Osiris" that the ideas of "the resurrection of the dead and the everlasting life" were already fully developed before the fourth century B.C. And surely it is pretty well a matter of notoriety among scholars that the immortality of the soul was not known to the Jews before Plato's time, while the whole sect of the Sadducees denied it and the Pharisees confused it with transmigration. Add to this that the learned Jews of the present day hold that it was the Talmud that first affirmed this floating doctrine which Philo taught to Origen and Clement of Alexandria;¹¹ but that of course will not satisfy Mr. Cook, who is more Hebrew than the Israelites themselves. And we could go farther and remind him of what he refrains from mentioning—that the resurrection of Christ on the third day and his ascent into heaven (Luke xxiv. 51) bears a strange generic resemblance to the Mazdean doctrine that after three days and three nights the holy soul entered paradise; and so rooted among the masses was this belief that during that period the sacrifice of the zanda ravân had to be continued for the soul's salvation.¹²

Another point that sorely exercises our good Canon is the comparison of the Amesha-spentas with the archangels of the Bible and Jewish tradition.¹³ Here we fear we must prefer even

¹⁰ "Vendidad," xviii. § 51. Yasht xix. §§ 11, 19, 23, 89.

¹¹ The Talmud is not a book; it is—and we include the Mishna—in some sort the record of the sayings and of the discussions and actions of the Israelites of Palestine and Persia during a period of seven or eight centuries . . . out of this lengthy labour have come institutions and ideas which affirmed the dogma, otherwise somewhat vacillating, of the immortality of the soul . . . and the right of all the just, without distinction of religion, to the joys of life eternal. This is what Philo taught Origen and Clement of Alexandria.—(M. Ad. Franck, of the Institute of France, in the "Annuaire des Études Juives," 1883, p. 86). See also Note 13 *infra*.

¹² It is not our present purpose to pursue the idea of this myth and period to Thrætōna, the first Mazdean enchanter, who flung Vafra Navaza for three days and three nights into the air, whence he was rescued at dawn (Âbân Yasht); or to Jonah; or to the Phœnician myth of Hercules rescuing Hesione; or to the three days of the winter solstice when the sun reaches the lowest expression of its power.

¹³ By the way—and the Canon refrains from mentioning it—Gabriel and Michael, whose names alone appear in the New Testament, are introduced—in a dim way, it is true—in the Old Testament by Daniel only, in the wild visions he had at the Court of Babylon under Belshazzar and Darius (perhaps Cyaxares II. 559 B.C., thirty-eight years before Darius, son of Hystapes). Here we insert a brief extract from another book on our table: "When the Old Testament closed there

to Canon Cook's authority that of the Jerusalem Talmud, which says expressly that the names of the angels (and of the months) were brought back from the Babylonish captivity.¹⁴ As regards another of the Canon's chosen points, "The spirituality of Monotheism," we cannot do better than quote his own words. As to the first chant of the Ahunavaita gâthâ (Yashna xxviii.) he says: "Nay, to speak clearly, we have in this chant a full expression of the true principles of Monotheism as they are presented to us in the Book of Life" (p. 217). And he had already admitted (p. 197) that—

moustrous as it seems to me, and unauthorized as it is, some such theory [as that Zoroaster lived some eighteen centuries before Christ] is necessary, on the supposition that the Gâthâs must have been composed soon after the separation of the Aryans of India and Persia, who previously had a common language and common mythology.

Even de Harlez maintains the same theory, and as this would put Zoroaster's date two centuries before that assumed for Moses, it is rather hard on the Pentateuch. In fact, with these admissions, we do not see how it is to be saved;¹⁵ and in view of them we may pass by Mr. Cook's laborious but amusing and utterly inconsistent efforts to prove Zoroaster's Vistâspa to be Darius or his father Hystaspes, simply referring him to the Âbân Yasht § 98; and we know not how to characterize the outrageous assertion that the mythical Husravah or Khosrav of the Avesta was Cyrus (p. 124). We get more philosophical and rational views from M. Darmesteter:

Great is the value which that small book the Avesta, and the belief of that scanty people the Parsis, have in the eyes of the historian and theologian, as they present to us the last reflex of the ideas which prevailed in Iran during the five centuries which preceded and the seven which followed the birth of Christ, a period which gave to the world the Gospels, the Talmud, and the Qur'ân. Persia, it is known, had much influence on each of the movements which produced or proceeded from these three books; she lent much to the Rabbis, much to Mohammed. By help of the Parsi religion and the Avesta we are enabled to go back to the very heart of that most momentous period in the history of [our] religious thought which saw the blending of the Aryan mind with the Semitic, and thus opened the second stage of Aryan thought.

We have given too much space to Canon Cook, though not too much to the subject, but we cannot part from him without drawing his attention to certain points in Zoroastrianism which he perhaps

was no trace anywhere of any belief in any doctrine of immortality, in any heaven or hell. The New Testament is full of both. There was no trace anywhere at the end of Malachi of any *developed doctrine* of angels good or bad. The New Testament is full of the hierarchies of good angels under their leader, and over against them the hierarchies of bad angels under the fully-developed Satan or devil."—"Beliefs about the Bible," p. 97. By M. J. Savage. London: Williams & Norgate.)

¹⁴ Dr. Goldziner's "Mythology among the Hebrews," p. 319. 1877.

¹⁵ It is well worthy of remark that in sect. xxii. of the "Religio Medici," Sir Thomas Browne said: "Præter Zoroastrem etiam alios ante Moysen scripsisse credo, qui tamen omnes temporis fato functi sunt. The commentary of Moltkenius on this passage is of much interest. ("Religio Medici," cum annotationibus. Argentorati: CIO IOO LII—Strasburg: 1652—Merryweather's Translations.)

finds it more convenient to ignore. In the sculptures over the Behistun inscriptions (circa. 500 B.C.) we have in Ormazd, floating in mid air, the "God the Father" or *père éternel* of Christian sacred art. The haoma (Indian soma) is the tree of eternal life, and grows in heaven. Celestial rivers like those of Eden come down from heaven. The ark and the deluge are anticipated by the Vara formed during a deadly winter to save the seeds of sheep, oxen, men, dogs, birds, and blazing fires¹⁶. Ormazd revealed the law to Zoroaster on the top of the mountain of holy questions. Saoshyant, the Mazdean Messiah, is to be miraculously conceived by a maid in the regions of the dawn; his two precursors will also be miraculously born. Yima (the Vedic Yama) is, like the Indian Vayu, constantly called "the good shepherd" throughout the Avesta. It is clear from the tenth Fargard of the Vendidad that the casting out of devils was commonly practised. Zoroaster's temptation by Ahriman is recounted in the nineteenth Fargard, and to this Mr. Cook does allude (p. 172) but only to make the astonishing and unsupported assertion that it was borrowed from the Roman Christians! Finally, the petition "Keep us from our hater, O Mazda," so frequently recurring in the Avesta, is precisely the "Deliver us from the Evil One" of the Lord's Prayer.

We have received the (undated) first part of the "Biblical Thesaurus"¹⁷ of the Old Testament, which is conveniently arranged. This part runs to 128 pages and consists of Gen. i to xvi, 2. First on each page comes a narrow column with each word or clause in vowelised Hebrew, and (for the first chapter of Genesis) its pronunciation in English letters. Each word or clause is numbered in a consecutive series, and the rest of the quarto page is devoted to a literal rendering and commentary, chiefly philological, in which the author seems chiefly to rely, when they suit him, on Gesenius and Mendelssohn. There will be an index to each book of the Old Testament and a general index to the whole work, which will also serve as a dictionary and a concordance. We notice that no attempt is made at a separation of the Elohist and Jehovistic portions, nor is there a word of comment or a hint given upon the subject to the "candidates for the ministry" for whom the book is especially destined. Bishop Hellmuth is thus content to ignore the acquired facts of European scholarship, and to jumble up the two independent accounts of the Creation and the Deluge, asserting that "all details are minutely dealt with [in those accounts] and are found to agree in a remarkable manner with the discoveries of science" (p. 4). Among these remarkable agreements we suppose we are to put Dr. Hellmuth's remark on Gen. iv. 26: that the Rabbis say that in the days of Enoch men's faces assumed ape-like form and features, "with which accords the opinion of the French scientist Boudin (!?) that the ape is the offspring of former human creatures

¹⁶ The Celtic peasantry still send to each other's houses for "the seed of the fire"—generally a kindled sod of peat or turf.

¹⁷ "Biblical Thesaurus." By the Right Rev. J. Hellmuth, D.D., D.C.L., Assistant to the Bishop of Ripon; formerly Bishop of Huron, &c.: London: Hodder & Stoughton.

degenerated through unnatural connections between blood relations" (p. 67). If this be Bishop's science it is marvellously like old women's folk-lore. And Dr. Hellmuth may be surprised to hear that he is thus out-Darwining Darwin. In the first place he surrenders the act of creation in the case of the apes. Then Darwin only posited (and proved) the infinitesimal variability of varieties and species during indefinitely long intervals of time. But here is the whole family of the anthropoid apes suddenly cropping up in direct defiance of the dictum of Linnaeus—*Natura non facit saltus*. And if apes from men why not men from apes? But we forget; that would be evolution. "Devolution as much as you please," say the theologians, "but evolution—Never!" The theologian's appetite for wonders is further well exemplified in the substitution of "sea-monsters" for whales¹⁸ in Gen. i. 21, with the gloss, "long-stretched animals, sea-serpents." In philology the assistant-bishop is no stronger, adopting from Trench (p. 4) the theory that "heavens" is from heave, because heaved up; a guess which Skeat disposes of by mildly saying that it has not been proved. Then the latin *luna* is derived from *l'ghanah*, the white one, a Hebrew epithet for the moon. It is almost needless to say that both Freund and Littré ignored this sportive "shot" which is of the kind that Swift ridiculed in the celebrated All-eggs-under-the-grate etymologies. The true source is of course the Aryan root *ruk* or *luk*, to shine, which is common to a host of cognate European words.¹⁹ As to a few other points, we find "expanse" substituted for that nondescript word firmament; the days of creation everywhere called "periods," to support one orthodox view of that myth which endeavours to sail in company with geology. Eve is replaced by Chayvah, and Adam everywhere vanishes in favour of "the man" until we get to Gen. iv. 25, where Adam suddenly appears without a syllable of comment. "Aprons" become "girdles," and "coats of skins" are now changed for "tunics of skin;" why preferably tunics we do not know,

¹⁸ Perhaps Bible commentators do not generally know that whales *do* visit the Levant. A shoal of six was seen in Chrysochou Bay, on the N.W. coast of Cyprus, on the 16th of May last, to the great surprise and awe of the natives.—*Cyprus Herald*, May 31, 1884.

¹⁹ For the English ecclesiastical theologian there is nothing like Hebrew. Canon Cook, in his almost valueless Essay on Languages, "speaking to Christians"—as if Christians needed a special philology of their own—says: "We have the first group, the Semitic, which includes all languages spoken by the descendants of Shem and Ham. Next we have two great divisions, the Aryan and Scythian, which trace their origin to a common ancestor, Japhet" (pp. 264, 265). It should never be forgotten that these thread-bare old-clothes-shop theories are grounded solely on the Old Testament, where these said theories are not even mentioned; for the sole contribution of that collection to the Science of Language is the myth of Babel, Dr. Hellmuth's derivation of which from *babel*, to confound (the basis of the borrowed Babylonian legend), was long since acknowledged by Bishop Colenso to be altogether wrong. The tower itself, the repair of which is described on the cylinders of Nebuchadonazar (Rawlinson), was called the "Stages of the Seven Spheres," and was probably the observatory tower in the Chaldean temple of Belus mentioned by Diodorus. It may be added that the only English words, not merely borrowed, which come from the Hebrew are cabal, camel, cider, ebony, elephant, Jack (whence jockey), jot, jubilee, jug, lazarus, leviathan, maudlin, sapphire, simony, sodomy, and zany.

for tunica was emphatically an under-garment implying others; Plautus says: "*tunica proprior pallio est*"—is closer than the cloak—blood is thicker than water. The window in the ark, too, becomes an "illuminator." The four rivers of Eden are Chiddequul or the Tigris; Phrath or Euphrates; Peeshon, which is either the Nile, or the Araxis, or the Ganges, or the Indus—a wide choice; and the equally unknown Gheechon. Hot-foot upon this information comes the following amazing episcopal note:—

It is evident the author was familiar with the existence and course of these rivers. He speaks of them *with an accuracy* which leaves no doubt as to the object he has in view—viz., the removal of any uncertainty concerning the land and garden of Eden and their whereabouts. By merely following up the course of these four rivers to their common source the successful explorer will reach the delightful location of the garden (pp. 35, 38.)

Surely we have here the absolute bankruptcy of the critical faculty, with "assets nil." As well might one seek to prove the existence and position of the scenes of a novelist's life-pictures from the fabric of his word-landscapes,²⁰ as believe on such evidence in the "delightful location" where our first parents, according to one of Dean Ramsay's good stories, "ran about naked, eating green apples."

Dr. Budde's book on Genesis²¹ gives a dozen of essays on the Tree of Life, Cain, Noah, the Deluge, Babel, Nimrod and so forth; and his restoration of the text proceeds on the hypothesis that the first eleven chapters are the work of a compiler who dovetailed data later than the Exodus into others more ancient belonging to the age of the prophets. Dr. Budde traces three Jehovistic documents—one of the tenth or ninth century B.C., which knows nothing of Abel, Seth or the Deluge; a second of the eighth century, which ignored Eden, Cain, the giants, and Babel; and a third of the seventh century, which endeavoured to reconcile both. He is also of opinion that in the primitive traditions of Israel there was no deluge, the myth being of foreign origin; and he suppresses the tree of life, finding himself in this, as in many other matters, at variance with Dr. Kuenen.

A book full of authentic and valuable information has been produced in M. Berger's "History of the French Bible in the Middle Ages."²² Although many independent attempts were made in the twelfth century to present different portions of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, it was not until the thirteenth that a complete version was

²⁰ "I am realistic," wrote Trollope of his fictive Barsetshire, "I had it all in my mind—its roads and railroads, its towns and parishes, its M.P.'s, and the different hunts that rode over it. I knew all the great lords and their castles, the squires and their parks, the rectors and their churches. "*Framley Parsonage*" was the fourth novel in which I had placed the scene in Barsetshire, and as I wrote I made a map of the dear county."—(Trollope's "*Autobiography*," 1882. I. 204).

²¹ "Die biblische Urgeschichte untersucht." Die älteste Gestalt der biblischen Urgeschichte, versuchsweise wiederhergestellt. Hebr. Text und Übersetzung. Von Dr. Karl Budde, a. o. Prof. der evang. Theol. zu Bonn, Gießen: 1888. London: Trübner.

²² "La Bible Française au Moyen-Age." Par Samuel Berger, Secrétaire de la Faculté de Théologie protestante de Paris. Imprimerie Nationale. 1884. London: Trübner.

undertaken. About 1226 the University of Paris, anticipating the Dominicans, made an important revision of the Vulgate, with which the French Bible as it now stands is intimately connected, and then came the Historial Bible of Guyart Desmoulins, which eclipsed its predecessor. It is a mistake to fancy that the Bible was not read by the laity in the Middle Ages; a great movement in that direction in the eleventh century was due to the activity of the Norman monk Lanfranc le Bec, whose expositions of the Psalms and the Pauline Epistles were attended by crowds even from Germany. At the end of the twelfth century the Bible was read from Provence to the Walloon districts—the Vaudois, Béghards and so on. But these Bible-readers getting to feel too independent of their more ignorant clergy, Rome interfered, and the Bibles were burnt, forbidden and put down; all the more easily that the number of those who could read was naturally but limited. We find family Bibles, too, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, containing baptismal registers.

A very violent book, full of italics and capitals as a young lady's letter, is the reprint of Dean Burgon's articles in the *Quarterly Review* against the Revised Version of the New Testament.²² Although he seems to think he has given the Revised Version its death-blow, and calls it "the most astonishing as well as the most calamitous literary blunder of the age," we perceive that the editors of the "Pulpit Commentary" are using it in their volumes as if nothing had happened. Mr. Burgon prides himself upon hitting straight and hard (p. 8), but we cannot say we have been so much struck by the importance of his points, or the manner in which they are put, as by the *odium theologicum* displayed. This volume also contains a lengthy reply to a pamphlet of Bishop Ellicott's. The quarrel is, as we observe from p. 517, between the "Old English school of textual criticism," which Dean Burgon affects, and the "new German system in its most aggravated and in fact intolerable form;" but we fancy Dean Burgon has undertaken the defence of a lost cause, and that in these matters "High Church and old port for ever" is but an antiquated cry. However he is persuaded that textual inquiry as conducted by himself "is destined to become a truly delightful science" (p. 39).

An "Introduction to the Study of Theology"²³ deals not with the matter but with the "scientific form"—that is, the horrent technicalities—of its subject. Here one may learn to call a vicar's relation to his parish "poimenics or pastoral theology"; the schoolmaster's daily work pædutics; the teaching of piety catechetics and didactics, and "the theory of foreign missions" halieutics, keryktics, evangelistics, or apostolics. "It is not expected," we may learn further, "that any single mind should be versed in every subdivision of theology;" and perhaps that is one reason for the calamitous number of inconsistent theological books.

²² "The Revision Revised, &c." By J. W. Burgon, B.D., Dean of Chichester. London: John Murray.

²³ "Introduction to the Study of Theology." By James Drummond, LL.D. London: Macmillan.

Owing to the heterodox nature of Dr. Hardwicke's book²³ there was considerable difficulty in arranging for its publication. He had to buy a printing-press and type and, with the aid of his son, print and publish the work himself.

It traces the history of religion from the earliest times down to the institution of Christianity, and examines the Bible from beginning to end, with the object of pointing out to those who have not time or opportunity for searching for themselves the one true and eternal religion.

We cannot do better than recommend all friends of independent thought and, to use Milton's phrase, "unlicensed printing" to repay the author's energy by writing to him for the volume, which they will find intelligent and fearless in an eminent degree, while it evinces a by no means common acquaintance with the science of comparative religion. "Some may ask," he writes, "whether free thought does not lead to infidelity. I reply that I cannot believe that the exercise of man's highest endowment—intellect—can ever be productive of any but good results" (p. 2). But in this exercise Dr. Hardwicke ventures to theorize upon the unknowable, and holds "we have a right to hope that we shall not at death cease to exist as conscious beings." The only way of proving such a right, unfortunately, is by exercising it, and this all are free to do, if only their intellect will let them. Still, again: "it has never been shown that consciousness is the highest consummation of our existence, and there is no reason why we may not in the next state attain to some condition of a far higher order" (pp. 5, 6). Such speculations are but considering too curiously—to employ Horatio's phrase; the advantage of them is not apparent, and one is sorely tempted to reply here with Hamlet—Why may not imagination trace the noble dust of Alexander till he find it stopping a beer barrel? The basis of Dr. Hardwicke's theory and arguments about the popular faith is the zodiacal origin of religious myths, and there is no doubt he is in agreement with the greatest authorities so far as the broad lines go; but his radical fault is that he makes a hobby of the theory, and rides the nag to death; needlessly turning many trivial and natural incidents of human life and history into myth, and then referring them to the sun, moon, stars and seasons.

We gladly direct attention to an extremely interesting volume by the able and philosophical vicar of Otford,²⁴ which merits a much longer notice than we can at the moment afford. The key-note of the book is given in the preface:—

"Christianity and Pantheism must be reconciled, otherwise it will be the worse for Christianity," were the words of one of the reviewers of the "Essay on Pantheism" [published by Dr. Hunt, eighteen years ago]. The object of the present book is to show not only that they can be reconciled, but that Christianity will be a great gainer by the reconciliation.

²³ "The Popular Faith Unveiled." By Herbert Junius Hardwicke, M.D., F.R.C.S., M.R.C.P. Edin., &c. Printed and published by the author [Sheffield?] 1884.

²⁴ "Pantheism and Christianity." By John Hunt, D.D., Vicar of Otford, Kent. London: Isbis'er.

But it would be a great mistake to fancy that Dr. Hunt's Christianity is the same as Dr. Hardwicke's "popular faith." "Something which is called Pantheism," he says, "is found invariably to be the ultimate utterance of reason on God and his relation to Nature. Christianity properly understood will meet at the same goal;" and he quotes with approval from Peter Lombard: "The determinations of the Church were rather designed to exclude from the simplicity of the divine essence than to put anything into it." He is, too, diametrically opposed to Canon Cook and his friend de Harlez (*vide* Note 2 *ante*) holding that "worship of the powers of Nature is the origin of all the religions of antiquity" (p. 25), and that "it is probable the religion of Persia is the oldest in the world" (p. 26). It does one good, amid the phenomenal ignorance or disingenuousness of the mass of Judaizing books, to meet with such frankness as this:—"The creating god or gods is called Elohim, a name (says Gesenius) retained from Polytheism, and which means the higher powers and intelligences. . . . That the sacred writer himself had passed from Polytheism to the belief of the one God is evident from the whole record of creation, and confirmed by the succeeding history" [of the Jews] (p. 73). Again: "Philo says it would be a sign of great simplicity for a man to suppose that the world was created in six days, or, indeed, created at all in time. But naked truth can only be received by very wise men; it must be put in the form of lies before the multitude can profit by it" (p. 88). It will easily be understood that there is much in Dr. Hunt's remarkable book from which we dissent, but we are far from thinking—to use a saying of Macrobius which is especially applicable to theological subjects—that it errs *toto cælo*, and we hope to return to it.

The natural origin of religion is the master-key for the Shintô of Japan no less than for the myths that survive in Christianity, and thus M. de Rosny's article on the Great Solar Deity of the Japanese in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*,²⁷ jejune though it be, calls for some criticism. He seems to have paid no attention whatever to Mr. E. M. Satow's notable treatise on "The Revival of Pure Shintô," and flounders about in an amusing manner, showing once again how dangerous a little knowledge may be. He puts the Mikado Jimmu, the first mortal ruler of Japan, in 660 B.C.; but he should know that, as there were no official calendars in Japan until 1,350 years later, this date is factitious, and is got merely by calculating backwards according to the duration of the reign of each of the 123 Mikados. Now the first seventeen of these are represented to have lived for 143, 141, 137 years, and so on, and this period of unnatural ages significantly ended soon after the introduction of Chinese literature and science about 285 A.D. The late Mr. Bramsen, in his valuable Japanese Chronological Tables (Tokio: 1880), made a happy hit when he

²⁷ Tome ix. No. 2 (Mars-Avril, 1884). Paris: Leroux. London: Trübner. We note that under the editorship of M. Jean Reville this *Revue* has been much improved.

detected that the Mikados began to live the years of ordinary mortals immediately the Chinese mode of reckoning became known to them. The next step was to conclude that the earlier Japanese year had been shorter, and the ingenious Mr. Bramsen suggested that they had reckoned their year from equinox to equinox. This, which must be accepted as a working hypothesis, corrects the unnatural ages of the earlier Mikados and puts the commencement of Jimmu Tennō's reign 530 years later than do the Japanese fictitious calendars. These were manufactured simultaneously with the almost Chinese *Nihongi* or Japan-Chronicles (A.D. 720), which M. de Rosny innocently calls a "true sacred or canonical book of the Japanese," and form with it one of the greatest literary frauds ever perpetrated. The importance of Jimmu's date will appear farther on.

The Japanese mythology starts with infinite space (*oho sora*). In it existed the Lord of the Middle of Heaven, *Ame no mi Nakanushi no kami*, and next *Taka mi Musubi* and *Kamu mi Musubi*. Here we undoubtedly have the Trinitarian number, but M. de Rosny, who says *Musubi* was only one person of it (p. 208) misses the point. This, too, will make clear to him the three black spots in a circle from which start the mythological diagrams of Hatori and Hirata. *Musu* has the sense of begetting, and this explains, what seems to puzzle M. de Rosny, why "*Musubi* plays the leading part." Then came "a Thing in the great sky," "like a floating cloud on the sea," or "like the sprout of a rush," or, again, "like floating fat," for all these similes are in the "true sacred book." This thing originated with the creator and creatrix, the two *Musubi*, who out of it gradually formed the sun, earth and moon, and brought various Gods into existence at various stages.²⁸ M. de Rosny need make no apology for being "tempted to refer" this duality of creators to the Chinese philosophy. He may rest assured that it has long since been settled that it is Chinese, and that the terminology of positive and negative, male and female, was utterly unknown to the Japanese until they assimilated it from the Chinese in times gone by, just as we have seen them in our own time rapidly absorbing the results of European thought. The many-titled sun-goddess, whose chief name is *Amaterasu oho mi kami* (Heaven-shining adorable great deity), was maintained by the antiquarian Shintōist Motowori (1730-1801) to be the sun itself; and Hirata (1776-1843) followed by identifying *Ame*, the first portion of her name—which rightly interpreted means *heaven*—with the Sun: an illustration of the all-embracing power of sun-worship wherever we find it. *Amaterasu* thus came to occupy the indubitably central place in mythology and in the worship of the "Way of the Gods"—in Japanese *Kami no michi* or, in words of Chinese origin, *Shintō*.²⁹ The lower classes in Japan still turn towards and worship the sun on rising in the morning, joining their

²⁸ "The Revival of Pure Shintō." By E. M. Satow, C.M.G. 1875 (p. 62).

²⁹ *Shin Kami* = "that which is above," head (Aryan *root*, *kap*); thence chief (chief, *caput*); thence the supreme or governing beings, for every event is the act of the *Kami*. *Tō = michi* = way, path. *No* = cf.

hands and repeating prayers. The Japanese Ceres is very naturally associated in adoration with the sun-goddess, and the evil Kami of storms is her brother, while Jimmu Tennō—to return to the first mortal Mikado—was the fourth in descent from her adopted son. Before him the throne was filled by three sovereign gods; and thus we have a divine and solar ancestry for the ruler who is called “the visible Kami,”³⁰ and a clear instance of an incarnate deity, a man-god (*arahito-gami*). He has always been the high-priest of the country (Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedec—Heb. v. and vii.), and the mediator for his people with God. These points seem to be remarkable illustrations of the similarity of the myths of Shintō to those in Christianity, and of both to Sun-worship.

We have also received another volume containing 3,398 more of the “Thirty Thousand Thoughts.”³¹ Under “Instinct” (p. 140) we find the following, signed by some one called Thos. E. Beecher:—

A horse tossed overboard in the Bay of Biscay swims ashore and finds his way through France, swims the strait of Dover, and finds his way back to Yorkshire.

Mr. Beecher is apparently a humorist of the most painful American kind. Mr. Joseph John Murphy—a name we fancy we can recollect in relation to religious assaults in the manufacturing districts many years since—states on page 123: “We may thus say of Science, as we have said of Faith, that it is the evidence of things not seen.” A man who states that would state anything. One George Harris, who contributes a good number of the so-called thoughts, says “rarified and debased atmosphere” [are they the same, or what does debased mean?] “depresses the animal spirits . . . but does not, however, always or necessarily affect also the nervous ether or fluid.” Why this gibberish was printed and numbered as thoughts 4,836 and 4,837 it is hard to conceive, for it is at once followed up by “B. G.” who says in thought 4,838: “animal spirits and nervous ether are phrases to cover ignorance;” and then he too must try his hand, adding the invaluable information that “bright or gloomy thoughts of purely mental origin explain these changes of mood.” We cannot give a better idea of the wholesale stupidity of this vast book than by quoting B. G. again on “Wit” (thought 4,348).

[4,348] Wit is genial, and is often seen in the adaptation of passages from known writers. Thus, lately, one who was about to employ another on an errand rather doubtful, as to fetch a little brandy [could it have been B. G., or was he the “slight unmeritable man, meet to be sent on errands?”] excused himself by saying, “How oft the sight of means to do ill deeds makes ill deeds done.” To this the proposed messenger replied—“Yes, I think the same. Shakspeare says: ‘My poverty but not my will consents.’” This was apt if not inimitable, *B. G.*

³⁰ In Aryan mythology the Sun is well-marked as the symbol and source of royalty, and thus of the divine right of kings. Persian kings in particular are the “brothers of the Sun.” Even Louis XIV. was the *Roi Soleil*.

³¹ “Thirty Thousand Thoughts” (on Religious and Allied Topics). London: Kegan Paul.

This "gloomy thought" we take to be "of purely *bodily* origin," and the whole book fits well to the lines Pope makes Bentley address to Dulness:—

Thine is the genuine-head of many a house,
And much Divinity without a Noſe.

It gives us pleasure to comply with the request for a notice of a modest little volume by a plain-spoken man.³² The eccentricities of public worship chiefly engage Mr. Earp's attention, and he writes of them in a masculine way. We cannot, however, agree with him when he says, "it requires no small degree of moral courage to stand up against thousands of men who earn their sustenance by sermon-making; also against the millions who are expecting salvation merely by sermon-hearing." Mr Earp, who is proud of his age of 73, must be thinking of years gone by when he writes thus. He may rest assured that, notwithstanding a few prominent instances apparently to the contrary, thought was never freer in England than it is this moment, and it is every day freeing itself more and more.

Among others, we have also to acknowledge two more volumes of the "Pulpit Commentary" (Kegan Paul) containing "Acts;" "Christian Beliefs Reconsidered," by Rev. G. Henslow (F. Norgate); "The Gospel of Divine Humanity" (Elliot Stock), which is apparently an American book; "The Bedell Lecture for 1883," by the Bishop of Edinburgh (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons); "The Hulsean Lectures on the Atonement," 1883-4, by Rev. J. J. Lias, of Cambridge (Deighton, Bell & Co.); "Beliefs about the Bible," by M. J. Savage (Williams & Norgate), a thoughtful American book; "Life in Palestine when Jesus Lived," by J. Estlin Carpenter (Sunday School Association), a well-compiled, clever little booklet which we can confidently recommend for reflecting boys and girls; and yet another American book—"Clavis Rerum" (Norwich, Conn.: F. A. Robinson & Co.), in which the anonymous author propounds the theory that both man's body and his soul (as distinguished from his spirit, to which alone belong his moral attributes) have ascended through all the inferior animal forms, and are now on their way to ultimate union with the Infinite in the Incarnate Word. A statement which we shall not pretend to understand.

PHILOSOPHY.

LOTZE'S system¹ is now before the English public. The "Logic" and "Metaphysic" form the mature results of his ripest thought, results which his death prevented from comprising Ethics in addition. The volumes, the translation of which lies before us, supersede the

³² "Strictures on Religious Creeds and Usages." By John Earp. London: William Reeves.

¹ "Lotze's System of Philosophy." Part I. Logic. Part II. Metaphysic. English Translation, edited by Bernard Bosanquet. Two vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1884.

more popular "*Mikrokosmos*" as a scientific exposition, and it is upon them and their effects that Lotze's reputation as a thinker will rest. The translation is the work of several hands. It was planned and commenced by the late Professor T. H. Green, and the work which he began has been admirably carried out by Mr. Bosanquet, who is himself the translator of a large portion of the two volumes. It is almost unnecessary to observe that the translation discloses throughout what is unhappily too rare in the rendering of German philosophy—understanding and sympathy, as well as general accuracy. Yet the merits of the style notwithstanding, the writer would be sanguine who should predict that Lotze will lay a permanent hold on either the thought or the imagination of English students of philosophy. It may be that impressions to the contrary are not well-founded, and it is certainly true that there never was a time when the tendencies of Lotze's mind, his everywhere obvious desire to bring philosophy and science together, were more likely to meet with sympathy. Lotze's system is the latest, or nearly the latest, example of that extra-academical way of thinking which may be said to have begun in Leibnitz, and to have been handed onwards through Herbart and Schopenhauer. Its distinguishing characteristic is that it has never aimed at, or at least succeeded, in creating a following in the German universities. Lotze used himself to say that his philosophical progenitor was Leibnitz, and that next to Leibnitz he owed most to Herder. It is, however, possibly to Herbart that he is most akin. Following Herbart, Lotze rejected the doctrine of Kant, that philosophy must begin with the criticism of knowledge; and he rejected it, not as in the case of Hegel, merely to restore the criticism of knowledge in another form, but in effect absolutely. The result was that Lotze became a realist. But he was no ordinary realist. In the first place, space is for him subjective. In the second place, what is real is only real in so far as it is related. "*Das Wesen des Seienden besteht in Beziehungen*" may be taken as the text of his metaphysic. He is never tired of showing that existence apart from relation to other existence is nothing. And thus he comes like Leibnitz to the conception of monads, which are simply centres of action, and all of which it is no great stretch of inference to regard as endowed with consciousness. But if the real is to be sought in action, supreme reality must be attributed to the unity of action, which for Lotze characterizes the world. And this action is not mechanical, for what we call mechanism is but a particular and abstract view of it. Such is the most general aspect of Lotze's metaphysical system. It has absolutely no counterpart in English thought, and it may be doubted whether it ever will have. But it is fascinating, alike in the grace of the language in which it is presented, and in the subtlety of its matter. The "*Logic*" will probably be ultimately esteemed the more important work. At all events, it is likely at once to take its place in England as a leading contribution to the subject of the standard of Mill's classical treatise. We refer to Mill because his treatise occupies a position which is almost unique. How much

influence Lotze has already exercised on some minds in the country, any one may see who reads Mr. Herbert Bradley's recent work on logic. Lotze's "Logic" consists of three books. The first deals exclusively with pure or formal logic, including the theories of the concept, of the judgment and of inference, for Lotze the different stages of one and the same activity. The object of this book is to show in detail that these stages are to be looked on as ideal forms which give to the matter of our ideas, if we succeed in arranging it under them, its true logical setting. This, while a very valuable portion of the work, is less interesting than the rest, as the position which Lotze takes up in regard to the question of the relation of thought to reality is at this juncture only tentative. For the purpose of his inquiry, what is most important as showing the radical defect of formal logic is its inability to show what sum of matter has a claim to form a determinate concept and be opposed to another, or which predicate belongs universally to which subject, or how the "universal law" for the arrangement of a manifold material is to be discovered. The methods of investigation which obviate these defects constitute applied logic. This is dealt with in a most interesting book. It commences with an inquiry into the nature of the means by which ideas are communicated, dealing, among minor subjects, with style, definitions, conceptions, schemes and symbols. This section contains a curious criticism of the Hegelian dialectic, which, according to Lotze, regards all the variety of the world as the development of a unity that never rests, all events as only stages in this development, or as secondary effects of it, and things themselves as but appearances, either transitory or begotten anew at every moment, whose whole being lies in the active movements of that unity, crossing each other and coming to a focus in them as subordinate vehicles of that development. Whether Hegel would have accepted this statement of his position, or whether he would not have denied that his dialectic had really any relation to or counterpart in the course of events in time and space, we do not pause to consider. The remainder of the book treats of the forms of proof, the discovery and grounds of proof, fallacies, induction, and mathematical and scientific method. The discussion of the objective basis of the doctrine of probability is here of special interest. The third book deals with the great question, how far the structure of thought, which the methods of pure and applied logic rear for us, can claim to be an adequate account of that which we assume as the object of our ideas, in other words, of the validity of knowledge. Here there is a perhaps unnecessarily laboured investigation of scepticism. What is of most interest is the discussion of the real significance of logical conceptions, including the question of nominalism and realism in logic, which for Lotze, as for all German thinkers, arises out of the confusion of validity with existence. The inquiry at this point passes into metaphysic, and explains how it is that with Lotze logic falls to be treated first. Enough has perhaps been said to indicate that whatever may ultimately be thought of the Metaphysic, the Logic is a work of the very first importance. Its appearance in its present form is to be welcomed as a distinct acquisition to the classical literature of the subject.

Until the appearance of the volume which bears the title of "Outlines of Psychology" there cannot be said to have been a single work on the subject in English which could claim to be a systematic treatise on contemporary psychology. Dr. Carpenter's book is, speaking relatively, too meagre and narrow in its scope to be of use. M. Taine's brilliant sketch is too general and one-sided in another direction. There was no book which incorporated the method of Wundt with a sympathetic treatment of psychology from the subjective side. It is this that Mr. Sully has done, and our only regret is that he has not done it much more fully. What he says is admirable, but the reader cannot help feeling that a great deal more has been repressed. Mr. Sully combines the very unusual qualifications of having at once mastered the methods of physiological psychology, and of having rejected their claims to exclusive possession of the field as against introspection. Here it is that the book fills a gap, and is the first of its kind. No better illustration can be found of the vast advance made on the ordinary books in this work, than the chapter on perception. Berkeleyanism is here worked out on the side of its physiological counterpart, and the results furnished in brief of the modern doctrine of "local signs." We do not attempt to give any account of a book which deals so generally with details. It certainly deserves to be studied by all students of philosophy. It is right to add, that like all attempts to treat psychology apart from any metaphysical theory, Mr. Sully's treatment of his subject leads him inevitably on to controversial ground. And no one can enter on this ground in the way in which Mr. Sully is forced to enter it (*e.g.*, the problem of free-will) without finding himself involved in difficulties with which he cannot deal without partisanship.

Mr. Elwes' two volumes³ contain a piece of literary work which it is surprising should never have been executed before. Until the appearance the other day of Mr. Hale White's careful rendering of the "Ethics," students of philosophy who did not desire to read Spinoza in Latin, were forced to content themselves with Dr. Willis's loose and misleading translation of the "Ethics." Mr. Elwes goes further than Mr. White, for he supersedes not only Dr. Willis's book, but the practically inaccessible translation of the "Tractatus Theologico-Politicus." The work is carefully done. After all there is much less *technical* difficulty in translating Spinoza than there is in translating, say Kant or Lotze, and the literary qualities which Mr. Elwes has brought to bear on his work produce their full result. So far as we have been able to judge, the rendering is, from a philosophical as well as a literary point of view, perfectly accurate. How innocent the Latin language is of metaphysical subtlety any one may judge by comparing the ease which Mr. Elwes has evidently been able to render his text; with the extreme difficulties, of ideas as well as words,

² "Outlines of Psychology, with special reference to the Theory of Education." By James Sully. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1884.

³ "The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza." Translated from the Latin, with an Introduction, by R. H. M. Elwes. Two vols. London: George Bell & Sons. 1883-4.

with which the translators of Lotze have had¹ to grapple. It now remains for some one to write an exhaustive work on Spinoza from the modern point of view, showing his place in the history of philosophy. Mr. Pollock has done his work admirably so far as regards the literary reference. But he has written, as people used all to write in this country a few years ago, as if it were not necessary to look to Kant and the results of the philosophy in endeavouring to ascertain what the effects of Spinoza's teaching have really been. If Spinoza is to be interpreted, as Mr. Pollock apparently seeks to interpret him, from the point of view of the scientific school in English philosophy, it may safely be predicted that much of what he wrote must be disregarded as unintelligible. To get at some elements at all events in his system, we must approach him as Professor Caird has approached him in his article on Cartesianism (*"Encyclopædia Britannica"*). What is wanted is that the work of presenting Spinozism in an historical reference should be done by some one cognisant of more than one point of view.

Principal Tulloch—we refer to his philosophical writing—discourses in a light if pleasant fashion. His essays on modern theories in philosophy⁴ suggest nothing so strongly as sermons. It certainly costs but little effort to follow them, and it may be conjectured that it cost but little effort to write them. The present volume consists of nine essays dealing with several of the leading philosophical and religious conceptions of the day. There is a theological odour about the whole book; there is also a characteristically optimistic way of looking at things from a national point of view. Such sentences as these are curiosities: "Great, however, as is the admiration for Hume's genius in his native country, he never carried before him the drift of speculation there as in England. His limits have been understood in Scotland as in Germany; and acknowledged to be impregnably strong on his own ground, the measure of this ground has been noted and pointed out. We make no pretensions, on the part of the Scottish school of philosophy, of having given an effective rational reply to Hume—pretensions which Kant, no less than many English philosophers contemptuously denies them. Such a question is beyond our present purpose, and is not meant to be raised here. But at any rate they stood in the breach, and the Scottish Universities have never been swept by the wave of materialism which overspread Oxford twenty-five years ago, and still surges in so many of the ablest minds then and since trained within its walls." Many people will find Principal Tulloch's volume pleasant reading.

It is the misfortune of a brief notice that it cannot give any adequate account of a book of unusual excellence. Mr. Merz's⁵ name is known in philosophical circles as that of one of the best qualified exponents of that extra-academical school in German philosophy to which we

⁴ *"Modern Theories in Philosophy and Religion."* By John Tulloch. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. 1884.

⁵ *"Leibnitz."* By John Theodore Merz. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. 1884.

had occasion to refer in connection with Lotze's *Metaphysic*. It was therefore to be expected that he would present the philosophy of Leibnitz with full sympathy, and his work more than fulfils the expectation. This latest volume of the series of *Philosophical Classics* is admirable. It is divided into two parts, the first of which is biographical, the second expository of the system. The latter part places Leibnitz in the true light of a thinker who never left out of view the mechanical aspect of existence, but was driven, not to disregard, but to seek for a deeper view of the meaning of this mechanical aspect. Existence in space, extension, when examined in this reference, is found to present all manner of difficulties, and finally to disclose itself as a vanishing view of things. Their deeper nature lies in their existence as individual centres of action according to definite laws, imposed not from without but from within. Leibnitz, *Monadology* is derived from the very difficulties which in other hands caused philosophy to assume the form of a theory of knowledge, and it is one merit of this book that it shows how this came about. Mr. Merz finds the succession to Leibnitz, not in Kant and Hegel, but in Herbart, Herder and Lotze; and his work is not the less valuable on this account, that he treats Leibnitz from a point of view which is not familiar to the majority of English students. It should be added, in conclusion, that whether or not his views on the much vexed question of the discovery of the calculus meet with approval, he has given, at pages 46 *et seq.*, an extremely clear exposition of the new conceptions which Leibnitz introduced into mathematics.

M. Janet's new book,⁶ like his "*Final Causes*," is thoroughly French. Its characteristic is that eclectic spirit which, since Cousin, has been a leading feature with a majority in number of the leading philosophical authors of France. From Aristotle he accepts the general principle that a good for man must be *his own* good; and he follows Aristotle in distinguishing a true or higher good from the appearance of good; between happiness and pleasure there is a great difference. But at this point M. Janet leaves Aristotle. He cannot account for the existence, which he cordially recognizes, of moral obligation, on the theory of a mere distinction, even a *qualitative* distinction, between the different kinds of "goods." Kant has for him shown once for all that there must be moral obligation, binding in its very nature. The will which desires the true good *commands* the will which desires apparent good. Here we have the element which marks M. Janet off from all Eudaemonists. How then are these two principles to be recognized? Only by the assumption of the existence of God, an existence which, for M. Janet's system, is of vital necessity, since moral obligation and individual well-being must lie in the same direction if it is to be possible to bring their co-existence into harmony. The work of translation has been accomplished with success.

Professor Ray⁷ is a distinguished native student of philosophy. His

⁶ "*The Theory of Morals*." By Paul Janet. Translated from the French by Mary Chapman. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1884.

⁷ "*A Text-book of Deductive Logic for the Use of Students*." By P. K. Ray. Calcutta and London: Thacker & Co. 1884.

book is a textbook of elementary deductive logic of an order similar to that of the late Professor Jevons. The subject is treated uncontroversially but with great grasp, and the work is specially interesting from the nationality of its author. Apart altogether from this, it is well adapted for use by students, as it is fuller in its statements of controverted questions than Mr. Jevons's book.

We have before us vol. iii., part i., of Father Harper's extraordinary treatise.⁸ It is characterized both by learning and ability, but its method is fatal to its influence. A revival of scholasticism is not within the limits of practical discussion.

We regret that want of space does not permit our noticing at length either Mr. Guthrie's⁹ or Mr. Stokes's¹⁰ books. Mr. Guthrie feels the difficulty of reconciling the results of the application of Mr. Spencer's methods to psychology and ethics with the teleological or purposive aspects of the phenomena of life. We would suggest to Mr. Guthrie an examination of Kant's treatment of this question in the Critique of Judgment. Mr. Stokes's essay deserves a consideration which we are unable to give it.

We have also received a pleasantly written little translation from Simplicius,¹¹ and a Dialogue on Ideals¹² by a disciple of Buckle.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS.

IN "Politics," pure and simple, we have nothing of first-rate importance this quarter, but this deficiency is more than compensated by the number of works on the cognate subjects of Socialism and Political Economy.

Mr. Bourinot,¹ whose official position is a guarantee of his fitness for the task, has executed very satisfactorily a laborious work which will prove valuable to Canadian members of parliament, and to all who care to see how that young but vigorous institution is working. The reflection which occurs to one after glancing through this rather formidable-looking volume is that the constitution and practice of the Canadian Parliament is copied, with one important exception, with marvellous fidelity from that of the mother institution. The exception is in the payment of members. Those who are interested in the mag-

⁸ "The Metaphysics of the School." By Thomas Harper. Vol. III. Part I. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

⁹ "On Mr. Spencer's Data of Ethics." By Malcolm Guthrie. London: The Modern Press. 1884.

¹⁰ "The Objections of Truth." By George J. Stokes. Published by the Hibbert Trustees. London: Williams & Norgate. 1884.

¹¹ "The Use of what is called Evil." A Discourse by Simplicius. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1884.

¹² "The New Atlantis; or, Ideals Old and New." A Dialogue by a Disciple of Buckle. London: Williams & Norgate. 1884.

¹ "Parliamentary Procedure and Practice. With an Introductory Account of the Origin and Growth of Parliamentary Institutions in the Dominion of Canada." By John George Bourinot, Clerk of the House of Commons of Canada. Montreal: Dawson Brothers, Publishers. 1884.

nificent dream of Imperial Federation, or the smaller question of Home Rule, will turn with expectation to the chapters which deal with the relations existing between the general parliament of the Dominion and the local legislatures of the provinces. The Canadian experiment, as far as it goes, may be considered thoroughly satisfactory, no conflict of any importance having arisen, and such as have threatened to become serious having been quietly settled by appeal to the English Privy Council. So sparingly has the Governor-General exercised the power, exclusively vested in him, of disallowing enactments of the local legislatures, that out of 6,000 Acts passed since 1867 only 31 have been disallowed. Mr. Bourinot points out an important difference between the constitutions of Canada and the United States as to the principle on which the respective jurisdictions of the general and local legislatures are marked out. In the constitution of the United States it is expressly laid down that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people;" from which it follows that in any difficulty not expressly provided for, the general Government is powerless. In Canada, on the other hand, the powers of the provinces are specifically laid down, while the whole residue—the general powers of legislation—belong to the Dominion. The work is so well got up, and so conveniently arranged under chapters and paragraphs, that even without the index it would be easy to refer to any question on which the reader might desire to consult Mr. Bourinot.

"Principles of the Commonwealth"² is written in a terse, vigorous style, generally clear, but not always correct. As for its *matter*, we hardly know how to characterize it. We presume it is to be considered a contribution to political philosophy. Its author possesses evidently a very considerable fund of general information upon modern politics, and at least a respectable acquaintance with modern history, as well as with political economy and sociology in general. His views are almost always sensible and enlightened, yet we are unable to discover any sufficient reason why Mr. Lawrence should have published his views; nor can we make out what class of readers will seek to learn them. For the scientific student he is too sketchy and discursive, and devotes too much attention to details of transient questions of the day; for the general reader he is a trifle dull and stale. There is no preface from which to gain a hint of the author's aim. We plunge at once into a lot of postulates and definitions, which give an air of scientific accuracy to the "treatise," but no reference to these postulates or definitions is found in the body of the work; and so far as we can see the value of the latter would be in nowise affected by the omission of the former. In the postscript we are informed that the treatise has a leading principle, and that it is identical with the ideas set forth by Mr. Herbert Spencer in the *Contemporary Review* for February of this year. These, however, are facts for which we must take the author's word, having failed to find the principle in question after due search. Never-

² "Principles of the Commonwealth. A Treatise." By Edmund Lawrence. London: William Ridgway, 169, Piccadilly, W. 1884.

theless, Mr. Lawrence discourses intelligently and sometimes suggestively, if not convincingly, upon a great variety of abstract principles which lie at the root of practical politics, such as the relations of Church and State, law natural and artificial, education, taxation, currency, property, &c. One of the best chapters in the book is on "The relation of the Commonwealth to its dependent Commonwealth." The scheme of federation for the British Empire there suggested appears open to fewer objections than any other yet proposed for that purpose. It is suggested that the ancient and constitutional, though now dormant, right of the whole Privy Council to be summoned for the purpose of advising the Sovereign when he performs administrative functions "in council" should be revived; and at the same time there should be admitted to the Privy Council agents or quasi-ambassadors appointed by their respective Colonial governments, and a due number of eminent Indian statesmen.

"In what respects, on purely economical grounds, is the further application of a Free Trade policy required in the Legislation of this Country?" On this subject Mr. C. E. Troup has written a very clear and readable little essay,³ which obtained the Oxford Cobden Prize for 1883. There are no new or brilliant suggestions, but the old arguments are fairly and clearly stated in a very brief compass. One of the chief merits of the essay is that, while confining his investigations to the "purely economical" aspect, the writer has fully justified the claim made in his preface, that he has been careful to point out "the incompleteness of mere economic arguments, and the impossibility of establishing practical conclusions from these alone." This merit deserves recognition, because discredit has been brought on the orthodox school of political economy, through their forgetting sometimes that in practical questions there are other, and it may be more important, considerations than the purely economic. The essay examines the requirements of free trade in relation to taxation, land laws, and monopolies, in England. The objections which have been urged against the two kinds of taxation, direct and indirect, are very clearly stated and briefly examined, the author concluding that on economic grounds they are equally objectionable, but equally necessary; unless indeed the liquor trade were made a vast Government monopoly. Land reform is still, as it was before Cobden's death, the chief field for the extension of free trade principles. The objections to existing law and custom, and the remedies they demand, are stated with studied moderation. A chapter on monopolies points out in what respect it is economically right and practically feasible to secure for the public a larger share than they now enjoy of the advantages which State-created monopoly confers on railway companies and licensed public-house keepers. Mr. Troup's tone is scrupulously moderate all through.

The Parliamentary Committee of the Liberty and Property Defence

³ Cobden Prize Essay: "The Future Work of Free Trade in English Legislation." By C. E. Troup, B.A., Balliol College. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 26, Paternoster Square. 1884.

League have issued their "Review" of the Bills of the Session,⁴ and it is well worth reading. It is pervaded by a tone of sarcasm, generally humorous, never coarse, which enables its authors to turn to good account their keen perception of any taint of socialism. We are very far from agreeing with the League in its indiscriminating hostility to State interference with liberty of contract; but, as we said on a former occasion, we consider that it is performing a most useful function in examining and calling attention to every proposal that violates a principle which, once too rigidly adhered to, is still, and for Englishmen must ever be, one of inestimable value. As one instance of more than usually stupid injustice, to which the League calls attention, we may mention the Fire Brigade Bill, which practically taxes those who insure for the benefit of those who are too imprudent to do so. Mr. Pleydell-Bouverie's address has a fine old-fashioned *laissez-faire* flavour about it.

Mr. Thorold Rogers, in the preface to his new and important contribution to economic history, quotes with admiration Aristotle's famous saying: "The crowd makes better general judgments than any individual whatever. . . . When the individual is influenced by passion or any similar impulse his judgment must be distorted, while it is hard for all collectively to be led by passion or to err." Mr. Rogers's readers will be wise to bear these words in mind, for if we are not sadly mistaken the professor is at issue with "the crowd," in his estimate of English landowners in the past. With all their faults, and these are neither few nor trivial, the country gentlemen of England are not, and have never been, the objects of any abiding hatred on the part of "the crowd," as they certainly would be if the crowd were animated by the spirit which pervades "Six Centuries of Work and Wages."⁵ This warning is rendered specially needful by the fact that Mr. Rogers deals so freely in statements which are merely his own impressions, or for which, if purporting to be ascertained facts, we have to take his word, no reference to the source of his information being supplied. To be sure he explains in his preface the exceptional difficulty he is in as to quoting his authorities, and generally he tells us candidly whether he is stating a fact or an inference; but this does not enable us to verify either. The value of a historian's "convictions" depends on the extent to which he possesses the materials for arriving at a conclusion, and the degree in which he is endowed with the capacity for using them correctly. That the laborious author of "The History of Agriculture and Prices" possesses the first of these qualifications, will be admitted by all; that

⁴ "Over-legislation in 1884." Review of the Bills of the Session by the Parliamentary Committee of the Liberty and Property Defence League.

"The Province of Government." An Address delivered before the Liberty and Property Defence League. By the Right Hon. E. Pleydell-Bouverie. Published at the Central Offices of the League, 4, Westminster Chambers, London, S.W. 1884.

⁵ "Six Centuries of Work and Wages: the History of English Labour." By James E. Thorold Rogers, M.P. Two vols. London: W. Sonnenschein & Co., Paternoster Square. 1884.

he is endowed with the second and equally important qualification, we humbly take leave to doubt. To our thinking, a writer who displays so little sympathy as Mr. Rogers does with every class but one is not fitted to form just opinions upon the conduct of other classes. But these drawbacks to the value of a still valuable book, the author has it in his power to remedy to a considerable extent, as we hope he will, in some future edition. It is but fair also to remember that Mr. Rogers is himself the pioneer in this field of inquiry for the greater portion of the six centuries over which his investigation extends, and that it is only when he reaches the eighteenth century that he is able to make use of the labours of his predecessors, Arthur Young and Sir Frederic Eden. We think it a pity that Mr. Rogers has not given us the results of his labours in a more compact form, omitting a great deal of irrelevant matter, the connection of which with "work and wages" is remote and not easily traceable. Long summaries of political events, sketches of remarkable political characters, dissertations on political maxims, denunciations of the greed of landholders, &c. &c.—all these are good in their proper connection, but thrown in without obvious relation of any kind to the main subject of the work, are distracting. But in spite of serious faults of arrangement and composition, the book is an important and valuable contribution to our knowledge of the life of Englishmen of all classes, especially of those who lived by manual labour, during the last six centuries. The first six chapters—one-fourth of the whole two volumes—are devoted to a preliminary sketch of early English society up to the end of the thirteenth century, the point at which the "six centuries" contemplated by the title of the work commence. Then come twelve chapters in which the political and economical history of these centuries are confusingly blended, but which contain nevertheless precious items of information for historians, antiquarians, and political economists. Naturally the most valuable portions of the book are those which deal with the condition of wage-earners, and enable us to compare different periods in this respect. A little more definiteness as to the time and place to which statements have reference would have increased the value of this part of the work.

Mr. Rogers claims to have shown that "from the earliest recorded annals, through nearly three centuries, the condition of the English labourer was that of plenty and hope." The evidence of this is not very convincing. But from the epoch of the Black Death onwards, evidence as to the economical condition of the labourer is much more detailed and satisfactory, and Mr. Rogers is able to make out a very strong case in support of his conclusions. Collecting and summarizing these as well as we can, we find that they appear to be as follows:—The great and sudden scarcity of labour caused by the Black Death in 1348, produced an equally great and sudden rise in wages, and consequent improvement in the condition of labourers. By the "Statute of Labourers" and other Acts, Parliament attempted in vain to restore the old rate of wages. The country justices, who of course were all landowners, seconded the efforts of Parliament, and, as Mr. Rogers believes, endeavoured to re-impose some of the incidents of

villanage, in particular the obsolete labour rents, which, when labour was plentiful, had been generally commuted for a money rent. These attempted oppressions produced the peasants' revolt of 1381 (Wat Tyler's), which, though crushed in a week, compelled the abandonment of such attempts in future. From this time the condition of the labourer was good, and gradually getting better, until, in the first half of Henry VIII.'s reign, it reached the highest point it has ever attained in English history. But before his death Henry dealt two deadly blows at the prosperity of the poor, "the mischief of which was incalculable, the effects of which lasted for centuries. They were the debasement of the currency, and the confiscation of the guild revenues." In 1543, and during the next ten years, successive issues of base coin took place, each more debased than the preceding, until the actual value of the silver shilling was reduced to 2½d. Prices had been rising considerably during the decade preceding the first issue of debased coin, owing probably to the flow of silver from Mexico into Europe, and would no doubt have continued to rise, but gradually, and so that wages could have followed at no great distance. But the sudden and extreme debasement of the currency brought prices up with a rush. Meat rose to three times its old price; corn and dairy produce to two and a half times, while wages advanced only to one and a half times the old rate. "Henry and his son had at last, though unwittingly, given effect to the Statute of Labourers;" and although Elizabeth restored the currency in 1560, the effect of those few years "was potent enough to dominate in the history of labour and wages from the sixteenth century to the present time, so enduring are the causes which influence the economic history of a nation." The second blow dealt by Henry at the prosperity of his people, though not so far-reaching, was more deliberately cruel. It was the destruction of the trade guilds, and the confiscation of their property. These guilds performed the functions of benefit societies, employing the funds which had slowly accumulated through centuries in relieving the old and the sick, pensioning the widows, and apprenticing the orphans of their members. The confiscation does not appear to have been actually carried out until the reign of Edward VI., but it was planned in the last years of Henry's reign; and Mr. Rogers believes that only that monarch's death saved the universities and public schools from being swept into his all-devouring exchequer. Yet another terrible blow to labour was inflicted, this time by the hand of Elizabeth. The many attempts to fix wages which Parliament had made from 1381 had hitherto been nugatory. But now, Mr. Rogers thinks, labourers were so weakened by the two causes already mentioned, that they succumbed to the country justices, who were empowered to fix the rate in husbandry and handicrafts; and these quarter-session assessments did, notwithstanding the rise in price of the necessities of life, succeed in keeping down wages to an arbitrary standard, until Elizabeth's Act was repealed in 1812. The Parochial Settlement Act of Charles II. "consummated the degradation of the labourer. It made him, as it has left him, a serf without land, the most por-

tentous phenomenon in agriculture." His condition, however, appears to have improved gradually, until in the first half of the eighteenth century he enjoyed "comparative plenty." But in the latter half wages again declined, and at last, when they had sunk so low that the reward of a day's labour was not more than one-eighth of what it was in 1540, the pernicious "allowance system" became general, and workmen experienced the direst misery during the great continental war. Mr. Rogers admits there has been considerable progress during the last fifty or sixty years, but he thinks it "slow and partial;" and though not directly impugning the accuracy of Mr. Giffen's recent statistics on this subject, considers his conclusions "open to debate and discussion." The chapter on the English poor-law, though far from exhaustive, is interesting and suggestive. The two last chapters are devoted to the consideration of "the present situation" and the remedies for its evils. Future legislation must sweep away all distinction between real and personal estate, forbid the settlement of land, and release conveyances from the grip of the attorney by establishing a cheap and compulsory registration of title. The popularity of Mr. Henry George's confiscation schemes are attributed by Mr. Rogers to the odium excited by the "mischievous privileges" of primogeniture and the right of settling land. He would not appropriate even the unearned increment, but he is prepared to tax ground-rents on exceptional principles.

It is more than doubtful whether the author of "The New Republic"⁶ has added to his reputation by his essays on political economy. Readers of the *Quarterly Review* are already familiar with these essays, which are now published in one volume for the benefit of a wider circle of readers. Perhaps we ought to feel more gratitude than we can honestly profess in the present instance to a writer who enables us "to judge whether our social agitators are men of science, revealing to us new social possibilities, or merely quacks beguiling us with new delusions." We do not propose to examine Mr. Mallock's examination of Mr. George's theories of wages and population. The task of defending Mill and Malthus is not a very difficult one, and an ill-natured critic might be tempted to say of Mr. Mallock's arguments—"if new not true: if true not new." But Mr. Mallock is a skilful character-painter, and perhaps the most original thing in his book is his estimate of the writer who has so sorely troubled the waters of political economy these last few years. "His self-conceit," Mr. Mallock tells us, "is inordinate, his temper is often petulant, his finer feelings are so tainted by self-consciousness that he can rarely express them without striking an attitude, and his programme . . . is monstrous." Yet "in spite of all these defects, the intention he has started with is thoroughly pure and honest;" and "however his character may change for the worse hereafter, he is at present an unselfish philanthropist. He is the friend of the poor; he is not the enemy of the rich." To his

⁶ "Property and Progress; or, A Brief Enquiry into Contemporary Social Agitation in England." By W. H. Mallock. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1884.

intellectual powers Mr. Mallock is equally complimentary: "Grave as his errors are, they are the errors of a vigorous thinker. . . . He uses more logical strength in floundering in the quicksands of falsehood than has sufficed to carry others far up the rocks of truth." We do not share Mr. Mallock's alarm at the moral which he draws from "Progress and Poverty." To our thinking it is highly reassuring. It is twofold—(1) that the revolutionary leaders "recognize the necessity of finding a definite economic theory to serve as fulcrum of the lever of social revolution;" and (2) that "a large section of our lower classes are familiar with the idea that some social revolution would be desirable, and are eagerly waiting to be assured on scientific grounds that it is practicable." Society has little to fear so long as its "lower classes" are content to wait patiently till the social revolution they desire—and small blame to them for desiring it—is shown to be practicable on scientific grounds. Mr. Mallock's fear that the people may be led astray by false economic theories does injustice alike to the common sense of the English masses and to the restraining influence of critics like himself. But he lets the cat out of the bag when he tells us that our "modern English Radicalism, in so far as it appeals to the people, is nothing more than an unavowed and undigested socialism." It is in fact Mr. Morley and Mr. Chamberlain that he fears far more than Mr. George and Mr. Hyndman. This appears still more clearly in the third of these essays—"The Statistics of Agitation"—the main object of which is, he tells us, to impress upon his readers that "the ignorance, the perversion of fact," which he brings home to the Socialists, is shared by the so-called "party of progress." We protest against Mr. Mallock's assumption that the whole "party of progress" is guilty of deliberate "perversion of fact" because he has been able to detect some statistical inaccuracies (if indeed they are inaccuracies) in a magazine article, written by the President of the Board of Trade. Especially do we protest against his attempt to identify that party with the party led by Mr. Hyndman. It would be just as fair for us to attempt to identify the whole Tory party with Mr. Hyndman because "A Sincere Tory" has, as Mr. Mallock points out, adopted some of the very errors on which Mr. Mallock founds his charges against the "party of progress." Having disposed of Mr. Chamberlain and the "party of progress" to his own satisfaction, Mr. Mallock sets himself to dissipate, by the aid of statistics borrowed from Mr. Robert Giffen and others, the impression which undoubtedly was till recently rather common amongst kind-hearted but not very well-informed social reformers—namely, that while the rich have been getting richer of late years, the poor have been getting poorer, and the intermediate class of persons with moderate incomes gradually disappearing. If Mr. Giffen's figures are fairly correct this impression is entirely erroneous. Indeed, it appears incontestable that the average income per family in the labouring classes has, in the last half-century, nearly doubled, while prices are on the whole scarcely, if at all, altered to their disadvantage. For proof of this we refer our readers to Mr. Giffen rather than to Mr.

Mallock, who is too rhetorical in his mode of dealing with arithmetic. Candid seekers of economic truth who turn to Mr. Mallock for enlightenment will be often sadly disappointed to find invective where they looked for calm analysis of a fallacy.

Mr. John Rae has already won his spurs as a writer on Socialism.⁷ The book on that subject which he has just published is the best of its kind, in English at least, that we have seen. Its title and the headings of many of its chapters suggest at once M. de Laveleye's recent book on the same subject, and it is hard to resist the conviction that Mr. Rae owes more to his Belgian fellow-worker than he has seen fit to acknowledge. The series of essays which make up "Contemporary Socialism" gives a very complete account of the different schools of Socialists which have left their mark on European thought and politics during the last quarter of a century. These, as the author points out, may be divided into two classes, the types of which are German Socialism and Russian Nihilism, both distinguished from the older schools of St. Simon, Fourier, and Owen, by their insistence on the principle that only political authority is adequate to carry out the social regeneration at which they aim, and therefore political power must first be won by the proletariat. Mr. Rae therefore devotes a chapter to each of the two German leaders, Lassalle and Marx, and one to Nihilism and its founders, Bakunin and Chernyeffsky. The independent speculations of Carl Marlo form the subject of another chapter. These are so little known and so original in themselves that they cannot fail to be of interest; yet they seem to scarcely deserve a whole chapter to themselves, seeing that they have had little influence on contemporary thought and have no school of followers, or indeed are ever likely to have any. The more recent and milder forms of the socialistic movement exhibited by "the Socialists of the Chair" and "the Christian Socialists" are very fairly treated by Mr. Rae, and their theories closely but sympathetically examined. We have besides a chapter on "Socialism and the Social Question," in which Mr. Rae sets forth his own views on the whole subject; and finally we have a thorough *exposé* of Mr. Henry George, who, although not a Socialist, "has done more than any other single person to stir and deepen in this country an agitation which, if not socialistic, at least promises to be a mother of socialism." Our readers must be fairly weary of Mr. Henry George and his critics, and we will not trouble them further than to say that Mr. Rae's examination of Mr. George is calm, scientific and thorough. Mr. Rae himself is a decided but very temperate opponent of socialism, but he is no blind admirer of *laissez-faire* and uncontrolled competition. He appears to approve of the opposite tendency in recent legislation, which he considers is "broadly separated from socialism by the fact that it has never sought to substitute the political providence of the State for the keen and instructed providence of individuals themselves." Holding this intermediate position between the Socialists

⁷ "Contemporary Socialism." By John Rae, M.A. London: Wm. Isbister Limited, 56, Ludgate Hill. 1884.

and the Manchester school, Mr. Rae has just that amount of sympathy with the aims of Socialists which enables him to look at the problems involved from their point of view, and thus to meet their errors fully and directly, while doing justice to them in some respects in which hitherto they have hardly received it. Thus, while far from suggesting that "the present distribution of wealth is even approximately satisfactory," he thinks the evidences of improvement in this respect are sufficient "to give ground for the hope that the existing economy, which all admit to be a most efficient instrument for the production of wealth, may, by wise correction and management, be made a not inadequate agency for its distribution." By the beneficent action of trades unions the rate of wages in the trades they represent now stands nearly at the highest point which the employer can afford, and any further considerable rise is only possible if labour is rendered more productive. The chief means of effecting this lie in the development of the labourer's personal efficiency, on which Mr. Rae justly lays great stress. The romantic story of Lassalle's brief passionate career is told effectively. Mr. Rae's account of Lassalle's work is rather sketchy, but he makes up for this by a detailed examination of Marx's book, "*Das Kapital*." One of the most interesting chapters in the book is that which describes "the Socialists of the Chair"—a name, or nickname, given by Oppenheim in 1872 to "a group of young professors of political economy, who had begun to show a certain undefined sympathy with the Socialist agitations of Lassalle and Von Schweitzer, and to write of the wrongs of the labouring classes and of the evils of the existing industrial system with a flow of emotion which was thought to befit their years better than their position." Of this school Professors Held and Brentano are perhaps the best exponents. They believed both that a grave social crisis had arisen, and that it had been largely brought about by an irrational devotion on the part of the Liberals to the economical doctrine of *laissez-faire*. The remedy for existing evils was to be found, they maintained, in applications in one form or another of their fundamental principle, the principle of association. Their aims and methods, indeed, are so moderate and practical, that to call them "Socialists" at all is misleading. Chapter vii. contains a brief but fairly complete and connected account of Russian Nihilism, its origin and progress, its founders and promoters. Its evolution and differentiation, first from Slavophilism and afterwards from Socialism, the social and political elements which enter into its composition, the peculiarities of national life and character, which first made it possible and now sustain it, the manifold sources of the complex dissatisfaction which feeds the movement, are set forth clearly and succinctly in this the final chapter.

The author of "these few pages, the *avant-courrières* of a larger work," is anonymous, but belongs, we should judge, to the school of Christian Socialists.^a His eloquence is indisputable, but it is of rather

^a "Darkness and Dawn: the Peaceful Birth of a New Age." London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1, Paternoster Square. 1884.

the pulpit style. His fervid enthusiasm causes him to see visions of the world as it is, and the world as it would be if the spirit of Communism, as the author conceives it, inspired every heart.

Professor Fawcett has had the happy idea of republishing, in a sixpenny edition, some of the chapters of his "Manual," which specially refer to questions affecting the interests of the working classes. There has never been more need than there is at present for impressing upon the working classes the sober truths of political economy, and there is no man living better fitted for the task, or better entitled to a hearing, than the author of these chapters. Their merits are too well known to require any notice here.

"Usury,"¹⁰ by Mr. W. Cunningham, is an able and learned "attempt to sketch the course of Christian opinion on the subject of usury." In a little parchment-covered volume of eighty-four pages, the author successfully traces the changes in the attitude of the Church and of public opinion generally towards the questions, ethical and economical, involved in the lending of money on use. As he gives chapter and verse for every reference to his authorities, the reader who cares to follow up his investigations will have no difficulty in doing so. We have at the present day in Western Europe so entirely dissociated the question of interest on lent capital from ethical considerations, that it is difficult to realize how exclusively such considerations once ruled, how tenaciously they maintained their influence, and how recently they have been entirely discarded. Mr. Cunningham lays down a doctrine which will sound strange in the ears of commercial England—that "only under very special conditions is such freedom (*i.e.*, of the individual to get what he can for the use of his money) at all tolerable"—the special conditions being "when much capital is being formed and is ready for investment and when that capital is in many hands." But it would seem that these conditions though necessary are not sufficient if, as Mr. Cunningham assures us, the question of usury has appeared in a new form in the present century and amongst ourselves. "Are not the returns of capital such as to be really oppressive to labourers, and may we not therefore justly stigmatize the capitalist classes as guilty of usury?"

The author of "Labour and Capital"¹¹ would have welcomed this suggestion. It was no doubt a one-sided view of the truth contained in it that led him to see in high rates of interest the source and

⁹ "Labour and Wages." Chapters reprinted from the "Manual of Political Economy." By the Right Hon. H. Fawcett, M.P., Professor of Political Economy in the University of Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

¹⁰ "Christian Opinion on Usury, with Special Reference to England." By W. Cunningham, B.D. Printed for Macmillan & Co., at the Edinburgh University Press. 1884.

¹¹ "Labour and Capital; A new Monetary System; the only means of securing the respective rights of Labour and Property, and of protecting the public from Financial Revolutions." By Edward Kellogg. Revised from his work on "Labour and Other Capital." With numerous additions from his Manuscripts. To which is prefixed a Biographical Sketch of the Author. Edited by his daughter, Mary Kellogg Putnam. New York: John W. Lovell & Co., 14 and 16, Vesey Street. 1883.

explanation of the poverty of the many. But while Mr. Kellogg thought that the adoption of his "true monetary system" would bring in the millennium, Mr. Cunningham will trust neither Socialist enthusiast nor scientific economist. We must after all come back to the ethical principles of Christianity on which the canon law founded itself.

Dr. Carl Menger protests against the intrusion of the historians into political economy. He complains that the historians, like conquerors of a foreign land, have taken possession of political economy. His little book¹² is written with the object of expelling the invader, and placing the professor's favourite science on an independent and dignified footing. Once the meaning and aim of political economy is clearly established and understood in Germany, the science will preserve for itself the spirit of universality, which will enable it to adapt to its own uses the results of the researches of other branches of knowledge, without being overpowered or unduly obscured by them.

"Practical Essays"¹³ is the vague and rather misleading title Dr. Bain has given to a volume of reprints from various Reviews. Everything that so distinguished a professor of logic writes is sure to find appreciative readers, but those who have the misfortune not to be acquainted with the nature of our author's other works, will possibly be surprised to find so much psychology and metaphysics in "practical" essays. Still there is a good deal that may fairly be called by the name the author has chosen, notably the articles on "The Classical Controversy" and "The Art of Study," but for our part we confess to a decided preference for the more speculative articles. "Common Errors on the Mind" is a thoughtful and suggestive paper, although the errors it condemns may not be always errors at all, and we have a shrewd suspicion they are not so common as the author assumes.

In the January number of this REVIEW for the present year we noticed M. Guyot's merciless *exposé* of the *police des mœurs*. In laying bare the frightful abuses of that institution, M. Guyot has demonstrated the evils inherent in every system of State regulation. We have now before us a still more important contribution,¹⁴ from the same earnest reformer, to the ever-increasing mass of evidence unfavourable to such systems—more important because wider in its scope. It is an English translation, admirably executed by Dr. Truman, of "La Prostitution"—a work which, our

¹² "Die Irrthümer des Historismus in der deutschen Nationalökonomie." Von Dr. Carl Menger, o. ö. Professor der Staatswissenschaften an der wiener Universität. Wien, 1884. Alfred Hölder. Rothenthurmstrasse 15. London: Trübner & Co.

¹³ "Practical Essays." By Dr. Alexander Bain, LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Logic in the University of Aberdeen. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1884.

¹⁴ "Prostitution under the Regulation System, French and English." By Yves Guyot, Member of the Conseil Municipal of Paris. Translated from the French by Edgar Beckit Truman, M.D., F.C.S., Honorary Surgeon to the General Dispensary, and to the Hospital for Women, Nottingham. With twenty-five Diagrams. London: George Ridgway, York Street, Covent Garden. 1884.

readers will recollect, formed the text of an important article in this *Review* in the April number of last year. If there be any one in France or England who, having read that article, still thinks that the condition of things there laid bare does not cry aloud for reform, we recommend him to read this book. He will find in it a ghastly picture of tyranny and greed on the one side, slavery and disease on the other—the results of State regulation in Paris and elsewhere. M. Guyot is a writer of rare power. His “keen sarcasm and earnest denunciation” rouse our indignation to a white-heat. “Crushing logic” and sheer weight of facts displayed in all their naked hideousness, bear down all opposition in the reader’s mind. His book is not one to be lightly taken up. It is a panorama of revolting spectacles, only too faithful to the reality it is to be feared. The book is in three parts. Part I. contains a short summary of the history of attempts to regulate prostitution from the time of Solon! and a description of the actual systems at present in operation all through Europe. Part II. deals with the medical aspect of the question; and in Part III. the movement for the abolition of State interference is described and the arguments of the abolitionists are put into the shape of dialogues with various supporters of the systems. There are twenty-five diagrams illustrating the statistics, which are very full and appear to be very carefully compiled. They tend undoubtedly to show that the police control and medical inspection have utterly failed either to check prostitution or to diminish disease—in fact, they have distinctly operated, in Paris at least, in a contrary direction. But the collateral evils arising from the tyrannical abuse by the police of a powerful engine of oppression are by far the most serious consequences of the Parisian system. In England, we are happy to believe, these evils have been hardly felt, and indeed would not be tolerated if they were felt. It is due to M. Guyot more than to any other Frenchman that the whole system of State regulation is under revision, not only in England and France, but in Belgium and Italy as well. Sweeping reforms will almost certainly be carried out before long in these and other European countries. The movement is in fact international, and M. Guyot’s claim upon the gratitude of the oppressed is not confined to those of his own country.

Sir Alfred Lyall’s thoughtful and polished essays¹⁸ are a real help to Englishmen who wish to gain some insight into the wonderfully complex character of the heterogeneous populations of India, and the ideas which rule their lives. They are also rich in raw material for the sociologist. India is admittedly unrivalled as a field for the study of institutions and ideas which were once dominant throughout the civilized world but have long since faded away in the West. As a worker in this field, Sir A. Lyall belongs rather to the class of observers than to that of scholars. But the labours of the one class are as essential to the student who would reconstruct the past as are those of the other, and

¹⁸ “*Asiatic Studies, Religious and Social.*” By Sir Alfred C. Lyall, K.C.B., C.I.E. Second edition. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1884.

amongst competent observers of Indian life and thought, Sir A. Lyall stands deservedly high. Ten of the eleven essays which make up the volume relate mainly to the religions of India, and to the social and political problems most closely bound up with the religious. Our author is greatly impressed with the resemblance between the religious condition of India at the present day, "with its extraordinary variety of rites and worships," and "the state of the civilized world in the ages of classic polytheism, before Christianity or Islam had appeared;" India being, in fact, a survival of the pre-Christian world, preserved by geographical and political accidents from the full effects of the levelling influences of Islam. This view is presented and illustrated in chapters i., v., and xi. Obvious as is the truth that Indian beliefs and rules of conduct are essentially different from those of Europeans, and readily as we all admit the fact, it is nevertheless extremely difficult for Englishmen who have not lived in the East to realize how profound and all-pervading the difference is. In reading these "Studies" this fact is borne in upon us very often. Thus, for instance, the relation in which religion and morality stand to each other is the reverse of what we conceive it. Religions are not judged by the morality they inculcate; on the contrary, morality derives its validity from theology. Without the sanction of theology the most obvious and elementary rules of morality command no respect: with that sanction the grossest cruelty and indecency become respectable and even hallowed. A close observer may see something of the kind even in modern Christian countries. But in its very primitive stages, theology is naturally looked upon as entirely independent of morality. To the primitive mind the conception of the function of theology is that it is "like navigation or astrology, or any other empiric art which helps one through the risks and chances of the voyage through sensitive existence; that it is the profession of interpreting signs and tokens of the Divine caprice, and of propitiating powerful deities who take a sort of black-mail upon human prosperity." That morality will take a higher tone under the settled order of British rule and the flood of Western ideas, and that it will assert itself with or without the sanction of theology, it is impossible to doubt. The only question is, What will be the effect upon religion of such a rise in morality? Will morality advance too fast for the gods to reform themselves? Will they even be able to "manœuvre their retreat out of the material into the spiritual world, give up the distribution of material blessings, and fall back upon future states of existence over which their power cannot be tested?" The consideration of these questions, and of the mode by which Brahmanism may keep pace with advancing morality, forms the subject of the most interesting of these essays. In chap. v. Sir C. Lyall takes exception to Professor Max Müller's description of Brahmanism as non-missionary and moribund. He points out how the unconscious growth of a great polytheism differs from the conscious propagandism of the more highly organized religions that spring from the teachings of a founder and his disciples. Now Brahmanism makes no conscious efforts to gain proselytes, but it keeps its gates invitingly

open for all who choose to enter and conform; "and one may safely aver that more persons in India become every year Brahmanists than all the converts to all the other religions in India put together." There is an excellent chapter on the Rajput States, the most primitive of all the native States, and the only ones that managed to maintain any considerable degree of independence of the Mahomedan invaders. There we see the tribal system with very peculiar social and political usages still in full vigour. Incidentally the author alludes to the erroneous popular notion that our conquests in India absorbed nationalities, displaced long-seated dynasties, and levelled ancient nobilities—one of the "self-accusations by which the average home-keeping Englishman justifies to himself the indulgence of sitting down and casting dust on his head whenever he looks back upon the exploits of his countrymen in India." The fact is that, outside Rajputana, there were no nationalities, no long-seated ruling dynasties, no ancient aristocracies. The ruling families had established themselves by the sword in the century of "chaos unprecedented even in the annals of Asiatic history" which followed the death of the Emperor Arungzeb, in 1707; and the Rajput chieftainships, "the only ancient political groups left in India," were saved from obliteration only by British interference. Chap. ix. is an able and candid analysis of the charges brought by Dr. Hunter, speaking for the Mahomedans of India, against the English rule. There is a courageous and dignified candour throughout these essays, well calculated to supply a much needed antidote to that peculiarly English disease of self-depreciation, so apt to take the form of depreciating our countrymen who have to act under circumstances which "the average home-keeping Englishman" cannot possibly conceive correctly because his experience does not supply him with the necessary elements of such a conception. We would gladly linger over these delightful studies, but we must pass on.

Should the reader's appetite for information about Indian people be sufficiently stimulated by C. Lyall's "Studies," he may wish to turn it to account by making a study, on his own account, of some Indian province. If his choice should fall upon the Panjáb, he will find ready to hand an enormous mass of fresh raw material waiting to be inwardly digested. Mr. Ibbetson's "Report on the Census of the Panjáb,"¹⁶ contained in three massive folio volumes, is an able performance of a very laborious task. The ordinary difficulties of taking a census are aggravated in India, and especially in the Panjáb, by two circumstances—"the infinite diversity of the material to be dealt with, and our own infinite ignorance of that material;" and Mr. Ibbetson, while believing that his report will materially increase our acquaintance with the people of the Panjáb, considers that its chief value consists in the light which it throws upon our ignorance, rather than in the additions it makes to our knowledge. The report contains

¹⁶ "Report on the Census of the Panjáb, taken on the 17th of February, 1881." By Denis Chas. Jelf Ibbetson, of Her Majesty's Bengal Civil Service. Calcutta: Printed by the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1883.

first a brief description of the province and of the census operations. This is then expanded into a detailed and exhaustive discussion of the results, *seriatim*, and a full account of the manner in which the enumeration was actually carried out. Incidentally there are introduced many valuable notices of the habits, customs, beliefs, and history of the races and tribes described.

We have an unusually large number of books on Indian subjects this quarter. Amongst them are two of a kind we should be glad to see more of—books descriptive of native Indian home-life and social customs, written by natives. It is very important that the home-keeping English people who rule India should be able to picture to themselves as truthfully as may be how their Indian subjects think and feel and live in the domestic circle—a region into which no Englishman can penetrate, and which he can only describe at second-hand. For this reason we especially welcome a second edition of Babu Shib Chunder Bose's "Hindoos as they Are."¹⁷ In a straightforward, unpretentious manner, which bears the stamp of sincerity and truthfulness, the author "lifts the veil from the inner life of his countrymen," and, what is rarer still, of his countrywomen. He takes us into the Zenana, and allows us to be present at the birth, marriage, and death of a Brahman, explaining most minutely the multitude of ceremonial details with which each of these events is surrounded.

The other book to which we have alluded is Mr. Malabári's "Gujarát and the Gujarátis,"¹⁸ which has likewise reached a second edition. Mr. Malabári is a Parsi, and though still a young man, has won for himself a brilliant reputation as a scholar, a poet, and a journalist. His sketches of typical Gujarátis are lively and clever; but there is often a flippant tone about his remarks which contrasts strongly with the simple earnestness of Babu Chunder Bose. Mr. Malabári's high literary reputation will not perhaps suffer by his latest work, but we are happy to believe that his abilities and rare energy will be devoted to some work of more enduring benefit to his countrymen.

Mr. Roy has reprinted the very learned essays and laboriously compiled statistics which appeared originally in *Bengal Public Opinion*.¹⁹ The whole question is dealt with in a manner which appears to be exhaustive, but our acquaintance with it is not minute enough to

¹⁷ "The Hindoos as they Are: a Description of the Manners, Customs, and Inner Life of Hindoo Society in Bengal." By Shib Chunder Bose. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. London: W. Thacker & Co. 1883.

¹⁸ "Gujarát and the Gujarátis. Pictures of Men and Manners taken from Life." Second edition. By Behránji M. Malabári, Author of "The Indian Muse in English Garb," "Pleasures of Morality," "Wilson-Virah," &c. Editor of the "Indian Spectator," and of the "Voice of India," Bombay. Bombay: Education Society's Press, Byculla. 1884.

¹⁹ "The Rent Question in Bengal." By Parbati Churn Roy, B.A., Deputy Collector, Superintendent of Alluvial Surveys and Settlements in Bengal, and a Zemindar. Reprinted from "Bengal Public Opinion." Calcutta: Printed and Published by M. M. Rakshit, at the Sadharan Bramo Samaj Press, St. Baranasi Ghose's Street. 1883. Price two rupees.

enable us to estimate with any confidence the value of the writer's opinions.

"Things of India made Plain"²⁰ is the clumsy and presumptuous title of a miscellaneous collection of newspaper extracts from a couple of Indian journals conducted by the author.

Readers of the *St. James's Gazette* will recognize with pleasure some old acquaintances amongst the charming little "Pictures from Land and Sea,"²¹ which Mr. Sime has just collected and issued in one volume. However familiar we may be with the scene he is sketching, he manages to give it freshness. We gaze with a languid delight upon his purple seas and golden sunsets, and are loth to leave "the palms and temples of the south" when he summons us to follow him to Ireland. There we are amongst more stirring scenes—Land League meetings, midnight processions, agrarian outrages. Beside the "Mediterranean Papers" and the "Notes from Ireland, November 1880," there are some excellent miscellaneous papers, and three charming character-sketches, of which "The Old Salt" is our favourite.

"By-ways of Nature and Life,"²² a reprint from the *New York Evening Post*, of "some capital sketches penned in out-of-the-way places . . . during trips on two continents, extending over three years of time and some 80,000 miles of distance." They have not the refined charm of Mr. Sime's dainty sketches, but they are fresh, vigorous, and always interesting. The volume is printed and finished in Messrs. Putnam's best style.

All who love to wander, in imagination, over lonely moor and mountain, or by still or babbling waters, will welcome Mr. Jefferies' "Red Deer."²³ The land of the red deer is no longer Exmoor alone, it is the West of England; but Exmoor is still its centre, and the favourite haunt of stag and hind, and there they roam as wild and free as in the days of Otterburn. Over and through it Mr. Jefferies wanders, chatting pleasantly to us of the mysteries of venery, and making us think we see and hear the sights and sounds he loves so well. In these hot summer evenings the jaded dweller in a great town may find coolness and repose if he will only turn his imagination loose amid the scenes from red-deer land which Mr. Jefferies brings before him.

"A Jaunt in a Junk"²⁴ gives a spirited account of a novel and somewhat adventurous enterprise of two brothers. Hiring an undecked

²⁰ "Things of India Made Plain; or, A Journalist's Retrospect." By W. Martin Wood (formerly editor of the "Times of India," and of the "Bombay Review"). To consist of Four Parts. Part I. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row. 1884.

²¹ "To and Fro; or, Views from Sea and Land." By William Sime, Author of "King Capital." London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row. 1884.

²² "By-ways of Nature and Life." By Clarence Deming. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 27 and 29, West 23rd Street. London: 25, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden. 1884.

²³ "Red Deer." By Richard Jefferies, Author of "The Gamekeeper at Home," &c. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1884.

²⁴ "A Jaunt in a Junk: a Ten Days' Cruise in Indian Seas." London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1, Paternoster Square. 1884.

harbour boat, which for "euphony" they called a junk, they proceeded to cruise from Bombay southwards along the Indian coast. The incidents of the voyage are humorously told, but the philosophical reflections of the heroes, Uven and Kinioch, become a little wearisome. However, the authors managed to enjoy themselves mightily, and to make a readable book for our summer holidays.

"Gone to Texas"²⁵ consists of the letters written by three young men—nephews of Mr. Thomas Hughes—and their cousin Tim, who went to seek their fortunes in Texas as sheep-farmers. In consequence of pecuniary losses their father was compelled to take them suddenly from school, and the eldest, after a brief trial of the life of a junior clerk in a London office, determined to strike out for himself, and with his small savings of a £180 "sailed for New York in the steerage of a Cunard packet, September 1878." The letters tell how he set about learning the business, and how he bought a ranche in Texas and set up sheep-farming; how his cousin and brothers joined him one by one, and how their venture fared. The hardships they endured, the difficulties they overcame by patient and unceasing hard work, the laborious though fairly steady progress they made, are told with the manly candour and cheery optimism which we might expect to find in the best specimens of English public schoolboys, amongst whom we reckon the nephews of the author of "Tom Brown." As the letters were written by the boys to their own family without any thought of their ever being published, they may be taken as giving an absolutely true account of their experiences and impressions, due allowance being made for the natural desire of the boys to make light of their hardships lest friends at home should feel troubled on their account. The letters will therefore be of real value to those who may contemplate seeking their fortunes in a similar way, while they cannot fail to interest all who sympathize with youthful enterprise and "pluck." There is a preface by the editor, Mr. Thomas Hughes, and some wholesome advice to intending imitators of "the boys."

Miss Buckland does not profess to be a rival of Baedeker or Murray. She offers us a record of personal experiences and observations, which is pleasant reading enough.²⁶ Most of the ground traversed has been described again and again, but one chapter, that on the "City of the Tarquins," contains some fresh matter of considerable antiquarian interest. Rome occupies a very large space in the two volumes. Roman candles, Roman studios, villas, palaces, gardens, churches, museums, are all treated of at length. The author waxes eloquent on these subjects in sentences which are occasionally rather long-winded, and in which the puzzled reader pursues her, breathless, through the tangled mazes of her metaphors. Apart from such little blemishes as

²⁵ "Gone to Texas: Letters from Our Boys." Edited by Thomas Hughes. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

²⁶ "The World Beyond the Esterelles." In two volumes. By A. W. Buckland, Member of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Author of "Oberammergau," &c. London: Remington & Co., New Bond Street. 1884.

these, the book may be recommended to the visitors to Italy and the south of France, for this is where the world beyond the Esterelles is situated.

The new series of "Globe Readers,"²⁷ edited by Mr. A. F. Murison, and "Geographical Readers,"²⁸ edited by Professor Meiklejohn, show a decided improvement upon their predecessors. They are intended to meet the requirements of the New Code, and we think they will prove satisfactory. Both series are really well illustrated. The Globe series will probably be the favourite with pupils, because its subjects are chiefly drawn from animate nature. Professor Meiklejohn's series have a decidedly abstract and scientific cast, which will make them difficult of comprehension by very young children. Indeed, we suspect there are a good many adults passing as respectably educated who would find these "Readers" a considerable strain upon their attention.

We regret that in our limited space it is impossible to attempt to notice either Dr. Wharton's "Commentaries on Law,"²⁹ or Professor Miller's "Philosophy of Law."³⁰ The world-wide reputation of the former as a writer on international law is a sufficient guarantee that a work of his on the nature, the source, and the history of law, international, public, private, constitutional, and statutory, is of a solid importance to which we could do no sort of justice here.

We have also received:—"The Guide to Nice; historical, descriptive and hygienic." By James Nash, A.C.P., Principal of the Anglo-American College, Nice; Member of the Society of Letters, Nice. (London: Kerby & Endean, 440, Oxford Street. Paris and Nice: The Galignani Library. 1884.)

"Sunday under Three Heads." By Timothy Sparks (Charles Dickens). A reproduction in exact facsimile of the excessively rare original. (London: J. W. Jarvis & Son. 1884.)

"The American University. When shall it be? Where shall it be? What shall it be?" By John W. Burgess, Ph.D., of Columbia College. (Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co. 1884.)

"Wentworth and Hill's Examination Manuals." No. I. Arithmetic. (Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co. 1884.)

²⁷ "The Shorter Globe Readers." A New Series of Reading Books for Standards I. to VI. Edited by A. F. Murison, M.A., sometime English Master in the Aberdeen Grammar School. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

²⁸ "Blackwood's Educational Series." Edited by Professor Meiklejohn. The Geographical Primer for Standard I. and Geographical Readers for Standards II. to VI. London and Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 1883.

²⁹ "Commentaries on Law: embracing chapters on the Nature, the Source, and the History of Law; on International Law, Public and Private; and on Constitutional and Statutory Law." By Francis Wharton, LL.D., Member of the Institute of International Law, Author of Treatises on "Conflict of Laws," on "Criminal Law," on "Evidence," and on "Contracts." Philadelphia: Kay & Brother. 1884.

³⁰ "Lectures on the Philosophy of Law; designed mainly as an Introduction to the Study of International Law." By William Galbraith Miller, M.A., LL.B., Lecturer on Public Law, including Jurisprudence and International Law, in the University of Glasgow. London: Charles Griffin & Co., Exeter Street, Strand. 1884.

"Abstracts and Analysis of the Report of the 'Indian Education Commission,' with Notes, and 'The Recommendations' in full." By the Rev. J. Johnstone, F.S.S., Hon. Sec. "Council on Education." (London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1884.)

"Vivisection: in its Scientific, Religious, and Moral Aspects." By E. D. Girdlestone, B.A. (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. Clifton: J. Baker & Son. 1884.)

"Our Golden Key," a Narrative of Facts from "Outcast London." By Lady Hope. (London: Seeley, Jackson & Halliday. 1884.)

"A Handy Book for Electors. A Short and Easy Guide to what may be done and must not be done under the 'Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883.'" With an index. By Clement Kinloch Cooke, B.A., L.L.M. (of St. John's College, Cambridge, and the Inner Temple), Barrister-at-Law. (London: Griffith & Farran. 1884.)

"Letters to Members of the Parliament of New South Wales on the subject of the Land Laws." (Sydney: A. W. Beard.)

"Original Essays. I. On the Social Relations of the Sexes; II. Science and Sectarian Religion; III. On the Scientific Basis of Personal Responsibility, with a reprint from an essay on 'Evolution and Female Education,' revised from 'Nature,' September 23, 1880." By S. Tolver; Preston. (London: Williams & Norgate. 1884.)

"The Jewish Question in Russia." By Prince Demidoff San-Donato. Translated from the Russian with the author's permission by J. Michell, H.M. Consul, St. Petersburg. (London: Darling & Son. 1884.)

"Der Freie Wehrmann, als Träger der darwinischen Sittlichkeit und Sozial reform." (Im Selbstverlage von John H. Becker, Berlin, 1884), and "Bulletin Annuel des finances des grandes villes, &c." Redigé par Joseph Körosi. (Buda Pesth: Maurice Rath. Paris: Guillaumin & Co. 1883.)

SCIENCE.

THE Memoirs of the University of Tokio¹ are worthy of careful examination, and the present part, by Professor Ewing, on earthquake measurement, is not inferior in interest to the preceding publications. Japan offers unrivalled opportunities for investigating the elastic vibrations of the earth which have come to be termed earthquakes; and the attempt to measure earthquakes is essentially a measurement by means of mechanical appliances of the motions which make up the earth movement. The space in which the movement originates is small compared with that over which the wave motion is transmitted. The waves are of two kinds: first, the normal wave in the line of transit, which is the faster of the two; and,

¹ "Memoirs of the Science Department, Tōkiō Daigaku" (University of Tokio), No. 9, "Earthquake Measurement." By J. A. Ewing, B.Sc. F.R.S.E., Professor of Mechanical Engineering and Physics in the University of Tōkiō. Published by Tōkiō Daigaku, Tokio. 1883 A.D., 2543 (Japanese Era).

secondly, the transverse wave at right angles to the line of transit, which apparently results from the compression indicated by the normal wave. As the wave moves on, its direction may be varied by the density, compressibility, and rigidity of the rock through which it passes, and such obstacles when they exist may shield a region from disturbance, producing what is termed an earthquake shadow. The length of earthquake wave vibrations is relatively great, and as many as three hundred vibrations have been registered in an earthquake, though the movement of the ground, which would throw down chimneys and crack walls, does not exceed a few millimetres, and is usually only a fraction of one millimetre. The periods of the principal motions are usually from half a second to a second, though more rapid at the commencement. The earthquake generally begins very gradually, and always ends gradually; but there is rarely any one motion that can be distinguished from the others as an earthquake shock, and the direction of motion varies continually while the disturbance lasts. The duration of time for which the shaking lasts at one point is rarely less than one minute, often two or three minutes, and sometimes as much as twelve minutes. A large part of the memoir consists in descriptions of the various sismographs and sismometres, among which a good deal of space is given to the different forms of pendulum adapted to measurement of horizontal movement. The vertical movement is measured by a loaded spiral spring with a horizontal bar. The direction and velocity of the transit are most easily found by accurate records of the time at which the wave arrives at three different stations, but these results are only trustworthy in violent earthquakes, unless the stations are connected by automatic electric apparatus. Four observations are necessary to determine the epicentrum of an earthquake or the point which is vertically above its origin. Five stations of observation are required to determine the depth of the origin. Numerous diagrams illustrate the apparatus used, and the results obtained. The University is to be congratulated on the publication of this interesting contribution to earthquake knowledge.

Mr. John Edward Lee has translated Ferdinand Römer's memoir on the Bone Caves of Ojców in Poland,² the contents of which are deposited in the Mineralogical Museum of the University of Breslau. The caves are situate in the white Jurassic limestone, and are similar to those of Franconia. Rounded pebbles are never found in the caves, and the fragments which cover the floor are all such as might have fallen from the sides of the cavern. There are horizontal layers of coarsely crystalline stalagmite, and stalactites hang from the roof. All the caves of this valley of western Poland have yielded human bones, mixed with animal bones, in the rubbish at the bottom of the cave—sometimes under stalagmite, sometimes in it. The skeletons are never entire. The author describes a number of different caves,

² "The Bone Caves of Ojców in Poland." By Professor Dr. Ferdinand Römer. Translated by John Edward Lee, F.G.S., F.S.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1884.

and enumerates the bones found in each. They vary a little, but comprise the usual types—cave-hyena, cave-lion, lynx, fox, badger, polecat, mammoth, various bats; while in other caves the rhinoceros, pig, reindeer, *bos primigerius*, *equus fossilis*, and wolf are found; in all forty-eight species of mammals, twelve birds, a frog and a toad. The human remains include a number of skulls, but Professor Virchow does not regard them all as very old. They are associated with flint implements of the palæolithic type, as well as bones fashioned for a variety of useful and ornamental purposes. Perforated teeth of cave-bear, bone needles, and barbed arrow-heads of bone occur, besides glass beads inlaid with glass thread, amber beads, a shell of the *Cyprea tigris* from the Indian Ocean, fragments of earthen vessels, together with articles in bronze, a Roman silver coin, and an iron lance-head. There are numerous plates.

For a long time palæontology has been the dominant element in geology. Our interests have centred round the history of life; but the educational value of the science consists in the precision of its physical facts, the ease with which these may be verified by observation, and the inductive character of all that relates to the theory of origin and distribution of the different kinds of rock material. Yet it is remarkable in the history of the science that the writings of the older philosophical geologists, like De la Beche, which fully recognized the importance of physical geology, met with much less encouragement than they deserved; and it is only within the last few years that the great attention given to glacial phenomena, conditions of stratification, and the history of metamorphic and igneous rocks, have compelled a more thorough training on the part of students in what may be well termed the elements of geological philosophy. It is, we presume, to meet some such want on the part of students to whom larger textbooks are inaccessible, that Mr. Jukes-Browne has written his "Student's Textbook."³ He divides the subject into dynamical geology, structural geology, and physiographical geology. The dynamical geology deals first with the structure of the earth, volcanoes, earthquakes, and the elevation and depression of land; and, secondly, with the processes by which rocks are first broken up and disintegrated, and then reconstructed as terrestrial, lacustrine, and marine accumulations. Structural geology includes lithology and petrology; and physiographical geology deals with the origin of continents and earth sculpture. Perhaps the first and third sections would logically be included in physical geography, with the result that structural geology would introduce the student to practical study of the physical structure of rocks. The volume is well suited for a class-book. It contains a large collection of facts, perhaps more than necessary, and the author has endeavoured obviously to omit nothing of interest or importance. The chapter on igneous rocks, written by Professor Bonney, is similarly condensed, and gives an

³ "The Student's Handbook of Physical Geology." By A. J. Jukes-Browne, B.A., F.G.S., of the Geological Survey of England and Wales. London: George Bell & Sons. 1884.

excellent summary of the subject. There are numerous useful illustrations.

The "Report of the Indian Meteorological Department" ⁴ draws attention to the importance of snowfall, there being an area many thousand square miles in extent on the northern limits of India around the permanent nevée and glaciers. The snow alternates between these two conditions as it is scanty or copious in winter and spring. It was in 1876, the year of the Madras famine, that a marked connection was first recognized between the persistent dry north-west winds of western and north-western India, and the abnormally low temperature of the north-west Himalayas and Upper Punjab, which resulted in high barometric pressure. In that year there was late and copious snowfall in the spring. In 1878 there was the same late snowfall as in the preceding year, especially in Cashmere and western Thibet, with the same result that the summer monsoons were weak, and the rain failed almost entirely in north-west India, and in the latter year were greatly retarded in the plain of the Ganges. On the other hand, in the spring of 1879 there was remarkable freedom from snow, with abundant monsoon rains. In 1880 there was heavy rain and snow on the north-west Himalayas in June and July, followed in August by dry westerly winds. Hence it is anticipated that knowledge of the condition of the snow-fields will in the future influence forecasts of the rainfall in the plains. Mr. Blanford suggests that the north-west wind, which is produced by the cold of the mountain snows, communicates its high pressure and movement southward to the air over which it moves, so that the whole mass of dry air moves towards the plains of Behar and Bengal, where the pressure is low, so as to constitute hot dry winds. We learn that a detailed chart of Indian rainfall has been prepared, and that the results of discussion of rainfall in past years show that the *spring* storm rainfall is chiefly restricted to the south and east of the peninsula, and the eastern half of northern India. It is heaviest in Assam and Eastern Bengal. The *summer* monsoon rainfall is emphatically the rainy season, except in the Carnatic, Scinde, and parts of the Punjab and Rajputana. The *autumn* rainfall of the Carnatic is really the transition from the summer to the winter monsoon, though it is usually termed the north-east monsoon. It ceases when the north-east monsoon is established on the Coromandel coast. The *winter* rainfall of north-western India precipitates the vapour brought by the southerly winds. The report in many ways indicates increased energy and efficiency in the Meteorological Department of the Government of India.

Mr. Blanford ⁵ discusses some points in which he differs from

⁴ "Report on the Administration of the Meteorological Department of the Government of India in 1882-83." London: Trübner & Co.

⁵ "Indian Meteorological Memoirs: being occasional discussions and compilations of Meteorological data relating to India and the neighbouring countries." Published by order of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council, under the direction of Henry F. Blanford, F.R.S., Meteorological Reporter to the Government of India. Vol. II. Part II. III. "Note on Mr.

Mr. Chambers on the distribution of cyclones in the months of the year in India; and he gives a detailed description of the cyclonic storm in Gujarat in July 1881. This was preceded by an extraordinarily heavy rainfall in the Punjab, Rajputana and Central India, and there came to be a great western barometric depression which was concentrated so as to give rise to the Gujarat cyclone. The barometer rose in the Punjab and Indus valley, but rain continued along the Aravali hills and in Kathiawar. The wind pressure and barometric pressures are shown in charts. Mr. S. A. Hill contributes a memoir on the temperature of north-western India, elucidated with various tables.

There is nothing more pathetic than a belief on an author's part that he has made a discovery, and sacrifices his life in endeavouring to present it to a world which refuses to believe in its value. Among such martyrs is Mr. Thomas Bassnett, who having given some attention to "a mechanical theory of storms," persists in offering the world the "True Theory of the Sun."⁶ In the introduction the author sets forth the scientific history of his ideas with perfect fairness, showing how they were submitted to the American Association for the Advancement of Science forty years ago, tested and rejected; and according to the report of the investigation committee, the theory contends for the existence of a universal imponderable medium, the existence of which is proved by the motions of eddies or vortices which arise from the circumstance that the centre of the earth is not coincident with the axis of the ethereal vortex surrounding it, but inclined so that the vortices follow the moon in right ascension, and describe orbits whose apogees are variously situated in longitude, and are caused to circulate in both hemispheres, between the tenth and eightieth parallels of latitude. The vortices are electrical, their number is seven, they disturb the electrical equilibrium of the atmosphere, causing a fall of temperature. The great difficulty here is the common one, that an author makes a theory not from the facts, but to include them; and then fails to understand why science, whose every step is an induction, cannot reverse its ways of work, and find facts to demonstrate the theory. To the introduction succeeds a series of chapters on the ethereal medium, the solar surface, solar corona, sun-spots, light and heat of the sun, cometary phenomena. The tenth chapter, termed conclusion, reiterates the doctrine that by rotation the solar vortex is rarefied, which originates a perpetual current of ether through the system. The solar spots are said to be

Chambers's List of Cyclones, and on the Gujarat Land Cyclone of July 11-13, 1881. IV. "On the Temperature of North-western India." Calcutta: Printed by the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. London: Trübner & Co. 1883.

⁶ "The True Theory of the Sun: Showing the common origin of the Solar Spots and Corona, and of Atmospheric Storms and Cyclones, with the necessary formulæ and tables for computing the maximum and minimum epochs of solar activity, and the passages in time and place of the chief disturbers of the weather, from the Equator to the Poles in both hemispheres." By Thomas Bassnett. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1884.

due to the displacement of the sun from the vortex, that the solar corona and protuberances are due to the ether or electricity escaping from the sun. The appendix gives various tables which the author considers necessary.

Professor Tait's new book on "Light"⁷ is one of the most suggestive handbooks that the student of physics could possess. It is designed for private reading, because the curriculum at Edinburgh does not admit of an adequate exposition of every department of physics in each session. The sixteen chapters are further divided into 328 paragraphs, so that the subject is treated with more exactness than is usual in a non-mathematical work suitable for general reading. The term light is used in an objective sense so as to exclude the subjective field of physiological optics; and for obvious reasons, the construction of telescopes, microscopes and spectroscopes is omitted. The author begins by describing vision in its characteristics of definition, spectroscopic effect, colour, and the duration of sensation of light, the sources of light; and then succeed certain of Newton's queries extracted from the end of his "Optics," to give an idea of some ways in which modern discoveries were anticipated. The theories of propagation of light known as the corpuscular theory and the undulatory theory are explained with a consideration of rectilinear propagation of light and its speed. Then succeed discussions of reflection and refraction, absorption and fluorescence, the undulatory theory, interference, double refraction, polarization, radiation and spectrum analysis. The book is beautifully printed; it contains a few diagrammatic illustrations.

"The Electric Light in our Homes"⁸ is the substance of a lecture delivered in various forms and places by the representative of the Hammond Electric Light and Power Supply Company, expounding to provincial audiences the nature and advantages of various forms of electric lighting, and the apparatus by which it may be introduced into houses. It is not so much a contribution to scientific literature as an ingenious method of advertizing an industry which has great claims to consideration. The author first shows the disadvantages of the older illuminants, then explains the nature of electricity from which light may be obtained without vitiating the air. The nature of the incandescent lamp is explained, and the various forms of arranging the carbon filaments illustrated by diagrams. The means of avoiding danger from fire are urged, and then the arc lamp and incandescent lamp are compared. The switch which controls the electric light is illustrated, and diagrams show some of the ornamental appliances with which the electric light may be used in houses; the author's idea being to urge that the time has come for distributing mains through the streets for the supply of electricity to houses, in the same way that water is supplied, urging that the cost of pro-

⁷ "Light." By P. G. Tait, M.A., Sec. R.S.E. Edinburgh: A. & C. Black. 1884.

⁸ "The Electric Light in our Homes." By Robert Hammond. With illustrations and photographs. London: Frederick Warne & Co.

duction is such that a company or corporation may supply the electric light on terms equal to 3s. 6d. per thousand feet of gas, and pay a ten per cent. dividend. It is urged that where gas is cheapest electric light would also be cheapest, because the cost of coals is an important factor in producing the electric current; but it is only in large houses and hotels that the electric light can be supplied at a moderate price when it has to be produced on the premises.

The magnetic condition of the North-west Territories, which includes the magnetic North Pole, was observed by Lieutenant (now General Sir) J. H. Lefroy, F.R.S., in the years 1842-44. His results, originally published in the Transactions of the Royal Society, are now issued as a systematic work,⁹ with a preface which explains the history of the survey. A first part sets out the method and synthetic aspects of the survey which, under General Sabine's superintendence, led to the conclusion that the geographical position of the point of maximum force was in lat. 52° 19' N., long. 91° 59' W. Since that determination, secular changes in terrestrial magnetism have been carefully observed at Toronto, with the result that the westerly declination has increased at the mean rate of 1.952' per annum. The dip increased slightly to 1859, after which it declined, and the total magnetic force has varied with the change in dip. The second part consists of the diary, and gives the scientific observations made day by day. There are a few appendices on the induction magnetometer, the identification of stations, and other matters of scientific interest. The illustrations include three important magnetic charts; two give the lines of equal inclination and total force in Eastern Canada and the United States; the third is a general magnetic chart of north-western America.

Mr. Newlands¹⁰ commenced publishing in 1863 a series of papers, in which he pointed out certain remarkable relations between the atomic weights of chemical elements, and he now reprints these papers to demonstrate his priority of discovery of what has since been called the periodic law. The author claims to have been the first to have arranged the elements in the order of their atomic weight, and to deduce therefrom a relation between them. He used this relation to predict the atomic weights of missing elements, as well as the atomic weights of elements then unknown.

Professor Bentley's "Student's Guide to Systematic Botany" is offered, as the preface states, for use abroad and at home by medical, pharmaceutical, and other students who are desirous of

⁹ "Diary of a Magnetic Survey of a portion of the Dominion of Canada, chiefly in the North-Western Territories." Executed in the years 1842-44, by Lieutenant Lefroy, R.A., now General Sir J. H. Lefroy, C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S. &c. With Maps. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1883.

¹⁰ "On the Discovery of the Periodic Law, and on Relations among the Atomic Weights." By John A. R. Newlands, F.I.C., F.C.S. London: E. & F. N. Spon. 1884.

¹¹ "The Student's Guide to Systematic Botany; including the Classification of Plants and Descriptive Botany." By Robert Bentley, F.L.S., M.R.C.S. Eng., Professor of Botany in King's College. London: J. & A. Churchill. 1884.

obtaining a good practical knowledge of some of the more important natural British orders and their medicinal plants. It is essentially a book for examinations, and is divided into two portions, the first dealing with the classification of plants, and a short second part treating of descriptive botany. It is illustrated with a large number of woodcuts, and has all the merits of extreme condensation and brevity; but although these short handbooks are in general favour among students, it may be doubtful whether they do not impose more real labour for their mastery than would the more detailed treatment of a larger volume.

Mr. Sterndale's "*Natural History of the Mammals of India*"¹² is a valuable handbook. It is thoroughly systematic, and gives an excellent and brief account of the life of an important part of the Oriental region. Though the author rejects the larger teaching of evolution, and looks upon man as an original creation, he yet observes that the human race shows how circumstances affect physical appearance. The child of the ploughman or navvy inherits the broad shoulders and thick-set frame of his father; and in India the character is more marked in the difference between Hindoo and Mahometan races, for Hindoos converted to Mahometanism in a few generations acquire a Mahometan type of face. He is disposed to recognize a number of races of man; and tells of low forms known as monkey-men who have occasionally been met with in the jungle. The monkeys belong to four genera, *Hylobates*, *Semnopithecus*, *Inuus*, and *Macacus*. Of these, the species of *Semnopithecus* are most numerous, and lemurs are only represented by two species, and the flying lemur, *Galœopithecus*, found in the Malay peninsula. The bats are a family represented by no less than eighteen genera and ninety species; some reach a large size: the large *Pteropus* has a stretch of wing of between four and five feet. The insectivora are small nocturnal animals. They include representatives of moles, which live on earthworms, snails and small insects; and are less numerous in India than in Europe. The shrews include the so-called musk-rat, water shrew, and burrowing shrews. The hedgehogs are well represented. There are twelve genera of insectivora and forty species. The carnivora comprise many of the larger mammalia—bears, badgers, wolverine, marten, weazels, polecats, otters, the lion; tiger, pard, panthers, and a number of cats; the striped hyena, the civets, musangs, mungoose, dog and foxes, to the number of ninety-four species. Many of these are well known in zoological gardens, where, under the tuition of keepers, bears, hyenas, and some others, have developed singular habits. The Malayan bear, which is so excellent an acrobat, is quoted as developing a taste for choice fruits and wines; though another individual, less discriminating, commenced with cherry brandy and then was satisfied with a bottle of blacking. The sloth bear, which carries its young upon its back, is also fond of

¹² "*Natural History of the Mammalia of India and Ceylon.*" By Robert A. Sterndale, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., &c. With 170 illustrations by the Author, T. W. Wood, and others. Calcutta, Bombay and London: Thacker, Spink & Co. 1884.

mangoes, sugar-cane, honey, and sweet fruits. The tiger, which fills so large a place in the forest life of India, occasionally reaches a length of upwards of thirteen feet. It breeds once in three years. The cubs remain with the mother for three years, and then shed their milk fangs, and are left by the parent to find food for themselves. Each animal has a peculiar temperament, which becomes well known in the district. The marine mammals—dugong, balænoptera, dolphins—number sixteen species. The fresh-water porpoise, *Platanista*, migrates with the seasons, but never goes out to sea. The rodents are another large group. The simple-toothed tribes comprise the squirrel type, the rat type, and the porcupines. The true squirrels mostly abound in Ceylon and southern India, Assam, and the Malay peninsula; the flying squirrels are more common in Nepaul, Assam, and Burmah than in southern India. Among the rat tribe the jerboas form a striking element in the fauna, distinguished by their jumping habits and long hind legs; and the number of species of the genus *Mus*, comprising the ordinary rats and mice, is upwards of forty. The voles are characteristic of the northern districts. The other rodents include various hares and mouse-hares, making up the number of species of Indian rodents to at least 150. The elephant naturally follows the rodents, and to these succeed the ungulata. Of odd-hoofed types India has only the horse, wild asses, the Malayan tapir, and the Indian, Javan, Aracan, and Sumatran species of rhinoceros. The even-hoofed group comprises forty-six species, among which are the European and Indian boar, the pigmy hog, numerous species of sheep, goats, capricorns, gazelles and other antelopes. Several types of oxen, including the yak, the buffalo, musk deer, and true deer of many kinds. The camel is absent as a wild species, and the author remarks that there never was an animal about which more poetical nonsense has been written; for instead of being the patient, long-suffering friend of man, he is really a grumbling, discontented, morose brute, who works only under compulsion, with continual protest. Finally, the Edentata are represented by three species of manis. This completes the roll of 482 species of mammalia. There are numerous woodcuts which give useful, if not always very perfectly cut, figures of many of the mammals and some details of their osteology. It is a volume which we should gladly see paralleled by others, dealing not only with Indian life but the faunas of the other natural history regions. In view of another edition, we would suggest that in addition to the Indian habitat, the distribution should in all cases be given of species which range beyond the limit of the Indian provinces.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

A NEW historian of great merit has sprung up amongst us. Mr. C. A. Fyffe's "*Modern Europe*,"¹ which has reached already a second edition, is a work of unusual conciseness, depth and power. The style is simple, direct and telling. We quote the author's short preface to the first edition :—"The object of this work is to show how the States of Europe have gained the form and character which they possess at the present moment. The outbreak of the Revolutionary War in 1792, terminating a period which now appears far removed from us, and setting in motion forces which have in our own day produced a united Germany and a united Italy, forms the natural starting-point of a history of the present century. I have endeavoured to tell a simple story, believing that a narrative in which facts are chosen for their significance, and exhibited in their real connection, may be made to convey as true an impression as a fuller history in which the writer is not forced by the necessity of concentration to exercise the same rigour towards himself and his materials. The second volume of the work will bring the reader down to the year 1848; the third down to the present time." Mr. Fyffe closes a list of modern English historians, who can vie with those of any country of Europe. Mr. Froude for the sixteenth century, Mr. S. R. Gardiner for the seventeenth, Mr. Lecky for the eighteenth, and now Mr. Fyffe for the nineteenth century, all men of our own generation, make with Macaulay a splendid company of historians for modern times. Mr. Fyffe is not behind Mr. Gardiner for thoroughness, nor much behind Macaulay for brilliancy, nor behind Mr. Lecky for concentration and political insight. If there is one thing which we think Mr. Fyffe has rather neglected so far, it is disregarding the operation of economic forces. It is true that it is a novel thing in history to pay much regard to economic matters, but we would remind Mr. Fyffe of a reproach uttered by Professor Rogers with well-deserved point of past history, and hope that Mr. Fyffe will in his future volumes give some little place to the consideration of economic forces. "Had views," says Professor Rogers, "which are the result of careful calculations, gathered from very numerous and unquestionable facts, been already incorporated into the history of the English race, in place of those absurd fables and careless guesses which have hitherto been taken as the history of the English people—had there been any inclination to search into the life and doings of the great mass of our forefathers, instead of skimming the froth of foreign policy, of wars, of royal marriages and successions, and the personal character of the puppets who have strutted on the stage of public life,—I might have dispensed with the marshalling of facts and figures." We do not charge Mr. Fyffe with being one who does any of these awful things. We only

¹ "*Modern Europe*." By C. A. Fyffe. Vol. I. 1792-1814. London: Cassell & Co. 1883.

remind him that the great wars of and with France in the days of our grandfathers were fought with the blood and sweat of the industrial classes, while the profits and vaunts went to the propertied and capitalist few. And among the forces which have decided a battle, one, not the least, may have been the price of corn in the country where it was fought. On more than one occasion during this period the French were driven out of a country, not by the regular forces of an opposing army, but by the rising of a famine-struck peasantry. Mr. Fyffe duly notes this in the case of General Jourdan's retreat from Austria across the Rhine in 1796, and again in the case of Lombardy. And certainly, amongst the causes which induced England to declare war in 1793 against the French free State, must be reckoned Burke's misguided eloquence, which derived all its power from the iniquitous relations then existing between labourers and employers of labour. In a House of Commons packed with representatives of rotten boroughs, and with a discontented peasantry demoralized by the vicious allowance system, no wonder Burke's eloquence created a panic amongst the propertied classes in England, and spurred them on to immense efforts to suppress the rising republic. We should like to see greater insistence placed on these matters. Mr. Fyffe makes wonderfully keen observations at times. His summary of the effects of the revolutions on the various countries of Europe is an instance. "The Revolution had displayed itself in France as a force of union as well as of division. It had driven the nobles across the frontier; it had torn the clergy from their altars; but it had reconciled sullen Corsica; and by abolishing feudal rights it had made France the real fatherland of the Teutonic peasant in Alsace and Lorraine." And this is why the so-called *restitution* of Alsace and Lorraine to the Germans is rightly considered by the French a *robbery*. We cannot point out a tithe of the passages showing deep insight, as we should wish. Of 1793 Mr. Fyffe says: "No more serious, no more sufficient ground of war ever existed between two nations; yet the event proved that, with the highest justification for war, the highest wisdom would yet have chosen peace. The war, while it was chiefly a matter of sentiment with England, was merely an opportunity for mutual aggrandisement among the other Powers. To the aim of the English Minister, the defence of existing rights against democratic aggression, most of the public men alike of Austria and Prussia were now absolutely indifferent. They were willing to let the French seize and revolutionize any territory they pleased, *provided they themselves obtained their equivalent in Poland.*" Lastly, Mr. Fyffe reaches the core of the matter when he says: "The ideas of social, legal, and ecclesiastical reform which were realized in 1789 were not peculiar to France; what was peculiar to France was the idea that these reforms were to be effected *by the nation itself*. In other countries reforms had been initiated by Government, and forced upon an unwilling people." This history is fascinating, and will prove a success.

Herr Moritz Busch's previous work on "Bismarck in the Franco-German War" was of such merit as to render superfluous any

recommendation of whatever further contribution on this same subject he might be pleased to offer. "Our Chancellor,"² it is needless to say, is a book of uncommon interest, and, it may be added, of unusual merit; it will, consequently, find a wide circulation. We venture to think that the ordinary British mind will receive a rude shock from the perusal of these closely written pages of keen and concentrated criticism. The figure it loved to picture to itself of the great man as a tobacco-reeking, beer-drinking, obstinate, egotistical and cantankerous overbearing old German, it may find itself forced to give up; and in its place may steal a feeling akin to respect, if not admiration. Upon closing the book, few will at any rate refuse to endorse the very equivocal praise bestowed by a Russian writer upon Bismarck that "here, at last, was a German with whom we could associate as easily and pleasantly as with other people: who dare give himself the rein, being certain of his ability to pull himself up; who dictated the tone of society instead of mimicking it; who had self-respect enough *never to bore himself or others with superfluous pretensions*." Perhaps it will now be better understood how this man of iron will has obtained the ascendancy he enjoys in Germany, a country which so many regard as a hot-bed of agnosticism, socialism, and disbelief; and that reply will not seem so odd which was made to the dubious critic of German ideas and religion, who asked "What do you believe in?" "Wir glauben an Bismarck!" The consolidator of disintegrated Germany may be held by posterity to have been the great man of our century, and we Englishmen, who possess marvellous good temper and common sense in the transaction of our affairs, may have laid too great stress upon the evils accompanying the iron rule of the German Chancellor. It is of course shocking to us to read such words as these of Bismarck's: "To me the words 'By the grace of God,' which Christian rulers append to their names, are by no means an empty sound: I perceive in them the confession that princes are called to wield *in conformity with the will of God* (O spirit of Hobbes!) those earthly sceptres entrusted to them by the Deity." Again, "Amongst the associations of mediæval Germany, the notion of interfering with property, and of undermining belief in *God and the monarchy*, occurred to no man." Surely there is some little affectation in these professions, if there is not absolute humbug. It is strange to find statesmen of the nineteenth century putting faith in beliefs and superstitions which may have gone a long way to consolidate the power of Julius Cæsar or Augustus, but which, if they are indeed to be calculated upon, show the extremely slow rate of progress at which the world moves. But the cleverness by which sophistries of all kinds are promulgated by Bismarck is wonderful. In giving to false reasoning that show of reason he was scarcely surpassed by our own Beaconsfield. What could seem more just than the following remarks:—

² "Our Chancellor." By Moritz Busch. Translated by W. B. Kingston. Two vols. London: Macmillan & Co.

The weekly paper supplied to poor and ignorant people who have no means of testing the barefaced lies printed therein—the paper which is read by the impoverished and discontented classes of the population—finds it easy enough to work upon the common man (who knows only too well that he is badly off), in such sort that he fancies he can mitigate his own need permanently by labouring less and relying more upon the assistance of his fellow-citizens: that it is feasible in fact to work less and enjoy more than is prescribed by the common law of supply and demand.

What follows? Shut up such weekly papers, and feed the childish public with patriarchal imperial pabulum! The English reader then cannot but be scandalized at the absolute and uncompromising nature of the Chancellor's remarks upon the royal power and the functions of the State. Bismarck's theories on the functions of government pervade his remarks everywhere. The question constantly cropping up is, "What are the limits of State-interference?" We ourselves are greatly agitated at present about the same question. According to the Manchester catechism it is a settled and irrefutable dogma that Government shall have as little as may be to say or do. Its business is to protect speculators, keep the peace, coin money and leave everything else to the people. "Beware of over-legislation" is their cry. Burke, however, says, "It is extremely difficult to define what the State should undertake to direct, and what it should leave to individual endeavours with as little interference as possible," and Bismarck, it is needless to say, takes a very broad view of the functions of the State. In judging of his political action it behoves us to reflect, firstly, that Germans and not Englishmen form the material he has to work upon—men very differently constituted from ourselves and with very different histories. To say we are all Teutons is a mere phrase: we may as well say we are all men and brothers. Secondly, when the British reader revolts against any uncompromising assertion of State-interference, he should reflect that he frequently only sees his own principles driven to their logical conclusions. If Prussia has Polish provinces, have we not Ireland to deal with? If we revolt against unnecessary interference with the press, have we not a law against blasphemy, and did we not imprison Foote? We all know that Mr. Herbert Spencer stands at the opposite pole to Bismarck, and in his recent articles in the *Contemporary* on "Sins of Legislators," if he had found himself at a loss to discover illustrations of his point in our own over-legislation, this book of Herr Busch would have furnished him with endless examples. One of the most entertaining and one which will tickle Englishmen from its naive confession by Bismarck himself, is his account of interference with the press. In a speech of February 9, 1876, he says:—

It cannot be denied that every Government—particularly that of a great country—desires the support of the press in its foreign as well as home policy. Nothing, therefore, is more natural than that Governments should keep a certain amount of space at their disposal in journals well affected towards them, wherein to put forward views which they do not exactly want to publish in their official Gazette. Formerly, the *Norddeutsche Zeitung* was ren-

dered available to the Prussian Government for this purpose by its proprietors *acting upon their convictions*, and not asking for any remuneration. The Government took advantage of their offer, and the paper profited largely by its official connection. *But what was the consequence?* Most people believed that every article appearing in that paper was either written by the Prime Minister or read over by him before publication, so that he could be held responsible for every word of its text. . . . Thenceforth, even though it should have received only one official communiqué, it is spoken of as "an organ closely related to Government circles"; "a journal notoriously supplied with official intelligence"; and in the French papers, "*la feuille de M. Bismarck*"—which lends its statements as much authority as if they had appeared in the *Staatsanzeiger*.

This is delicious. And how does Prince Bismarck suggest a remedy for this inconvenience—practically a more carefully and concealed deception on the public? Again, in the Accident Assurance Bill of 1881, by which it was proposed to establish an Imperial Insurance Office, in which every operative employed in all sorts of mines and manufactories whose earnings should not exceed £100 a year should be *compelled* to insure, it would be easy to point out, Spencer-fashion, how the evil it was proposed to remedy would have been replaced by a still greater evil. In his arguments in favour of the Bill, it is difficult to see anything but sophistry. Being essentially a politician, Bismarck has fallen into the universal error common to every man of putting too much faith in the power of his profession. He appears to be thoroughly imbued with the idea that no evil exists which the State cannot cure. Therefore, as Mr. Spencer holds the direct converse, the only adequate criticism we can point to is to be found in his works. Most Englishmen, and all Liberals, will foretell that the verdict of posterity will be that Bismarck was great only in spite of his mischievous principles and erroneous convictions. The benefits accruing from a reverence for Royal power, from obedience to the constituted order of things, from submission of the private will and judgment to the authorities, are precisely those which are most easily perceived and appreciated; the benefits accruing from a spirit of revolt against all these things are not easily estimated. Bismarck, like every politician, would reduce the world to a machine, or to a state of insipid order, such as characterized the community of Lytton's "*Coming Race*." But the subtle workings of social forces cannot all be controlled even by such superb practical common-sense as men like Bismarck possess. As long as he is there with his strong will to restrain the evil forces which exist in Germany, order and obedience will reign; but after him will come the deluge. Shall we say then that this great man, after all his devotion and self-sacrifice to his country, has done no manner of good in his generation? Shall we endorse the words which he uttered once in a moment of depression, "that his political activity had brought him but little satisfaction and few friends, and nobody loved him for what he had done, and that he had never made anybody happy thereby?" Far from it. If the deluge is to follow him, it is not because he has brought it about; the forces preparing it existed before, and posterity will nevertheless regard

Bismarck as one of the greatest of Germans. There may be deeper philosophers, and men of wider culture, but there is the stamp of greatness upon Bismarck's work. He has reorganized the disintegrated forces of Germany, and secured to his compatriots the benefits of a régime of which, until his advent to power, they were only reaping the evils. We may condemn that régime altogether, but that is a different matter; we don't quarrel with Julius Cæsar for not having hit upon the system of representative assemblies, nor need we perhaps quarrel with Bismarck for enforcing the existing constitution of his country, and being too inclined to regard legitimate revolt as anarchical reaction. Bismarck has never been content to remain the tool of circumstances; his greatness has been always to make himself the master of circumstances.

Anyone who expects to find in Herr Busch another Boswell, displaying delightful stupidities, will be disappointed. He has carefully kept himself in the background; he has written in the most objective style possible. The whole book breathes hearty respect and admiration for his master, but Herr Busch only gives one unfortunate expression to that abject hero-worship so common in Boswell. At the end of his chapter on Bismarck's "Religious Views," he observes, "I have endeavoured to propound my theme with lucidity, but, as I feel, insufficiently so. In this man of genius, and hero, whom we all honour, there are *mysterious depths which our understanding cannot plumb and for which perhaps even he (!) may be at a loss to account to himself* clearly and sufficiently." This is marvellously ridiculous of course, and the cynical Briton will be at no loss to discover many examples of what he is pleased to designate as traits of German character. Bismarck is no more distinguished for delicacy than the rest of his race. In an affectionate letter to his wife he says, "I know not how I formerly managed to put up with existence. Had I again to live, as then, without thee and the children, I really am at a loss to say why I should not put off this life as though it were a *dirty shirt*." His wife wears her piety after the fashion of three hundred years ago. In a letter to her husband: "I fear you will not find any Bibles in France, and therefore send you the Psalm-book, so that you may read the prophecy against the French, 'I say to you the godless shall be exterminated.'" Herr Busch takes this seriously: was it perchance only amiable jocularly? In his youth he was fond of practical jokes, and even lately it was not at all unusual for him to send his pet bear to wander along his dinner-table, to the discomfiture of his guests. Like master, like man. Herr Busch adopts the simile of the shirt in a wonderful way. In the chapter on Bismarck's private life he says, "Even tact and discretion do not insure us against disapprobation and reproach when we undertake to follow a genius and hero into the privacy of every-day life, and to deliver him up to publicity, so to speak, in his *shirt*!"

As regards Mr. Kingston's translation, we can say that he has accomplished what is always a tedious task fairly well. "Judgmental," and "abolishment," "sustention" and "obtention," are

rather trying. So are "irradicably" and "thereagainst;" but there is only one blemish which by its repetition becomes annoying, the use of the Scottish "anent," and the use of "this latter" for "the latter." To print Frauelein, Juetland, faehig, &c., is also a mistake. On the other hand, the translator has prudently used his judgment in curtailing certain passages uninteresting to the English reader. This book deserves success.

A modest account of the colonies from which sprang the States of South America, by R. G. Watson,³ owes its origin to the want of some handbook on the subject felt by the author himself as long ago as 1866, when he received the appointment of second secretary to Her Majesty's Legation in the Argentine Republic and Paraguay. This work aspires to being merely a *résumé* of existing histories such as Sir W. Parish's "Buenos Ayres," Southey's "History of Brazil," &c., and at the end of each chapter are given their authorities. Nevertheless, only a man acquainted with the nature of the countries described, and their modern developments, could have undertaken the work. The author has been careful to exclude extraneous matter, and perhaps too strictly limited himself to his particular subject. A general introduction, containing a summary of the history of American discovery would have been welcome. We hope to see a third volume appear continuing the history from 1800 to the present time.

Mr. Clark, who is a well-known authority on mediæval architecture,⁴ has devoted so much labour to the subject of the present volumes that for completeness they almost attain to the rank of a standard dictionary. The articles comprehended were written at long intervals of time, some half a century ago, and printed in the transactions of various societies in different counties, and in the *Builder* newspaper. The work is divided into two parts, an introduction and a dictionary of minute description, accompanied with sketches and plans. Works on mediæval ecclesiastical architecture do exist, but mediæval architecture has only been scientifically studied during the last forty or fifty years, and military architecture for a still shorter period. Rickman was the first to read the date of a building in its details. Mr. Freeman has since devoted much attention to the subject. In France the works of Caumont and Deville, and particularly the great work of Viollet-le-duc, and in Germany Krieg von Hochfelden's "Geschichte der Militar-Architectur des fruhern Mittelalters," witness to a greater amount of attention abroad. But Mr. Clark's is an independent work, not in any way supplementary to the above-mentioned works. The history of such castles as are connected with public events is seldom difficult to trace. They are mentioned by the ancient chroniclers, and their repairs and various particulars concerning them are often entered on the Pipe Rolls and other records. About a score, such as Arundel, Bamborough and Hereford, are named

* ³ "Spanish and Portuguese South America." By R. G. Watson. Two vols. London: Trübner & Co. 1884.

⁴ "Mediæval Military Architecture in England." By G. T. Clark. Two vols. London: Wyman & Sons. 1884.

in the Saxon annals, and others, though unnamed, may from their general similarity safely be attributed to the same people and period. But it must not be supposed that any part of the present surviving masonry belongs to so remote a period. A confusion exists in most minds between the site and the actual building. Advantage was of course taken of natural strategic positions, which were successively strengthened by artificial ditches and mounds. Mr. Clark does not in any way mention the earliest dykes and earthworks of the earliest British period, reserving their treatment for another occasion. Dr. Guest devoted a good deal of time and labour to the elucidation of this part of the subject. When we come to Saxon times and hear of Athelstan, Edward and Æthelflaed building "burhs," the word must be taken in a very primitive sense, as signifying the rudest fortifications of earth and timber—masonry rarely, if ever, entering in the construction of such early "burhs" as Tamworth, or Leicester. Of the fifty-nine "burhs" mentioned in the chronicles, about twenty-nine still exist, twenty-two of which are "moated mounds." The Danes, again, although the secret of their success lay in the fact that they secured themselves from surprise by permanent encampments, still never copied the Romans in building fortresses to overawe the country. Their object was not so much conquest as possession. The Saxons fled before the invaders, and evacuated the country, and an arbitrary line, generally a river, separated the Danelagh from the subjects under Saxon rule. It was owing to this fact that the fusion of the two races was so rapid and so easy. In the case of the Normans it was very different; the invaders came as conquerors, resolved upon the subjugation of the "English" inhabitants, whom they had no wish to drive out. And it is precisely along the line of great fortresses that the fusion of races was slowest. A perfect chain of frowning castles ran along the Welsh marches, and along the Scotch marches every point of vantage was crowned by an English castle, which threatened the liberty of the inhabitants beyond the border. The foundations of a great number of existing castles is attributed to the Conqueror and his companions. Fifty-two are mentioned in Domesday, eight of which are mentioned to have been erected by William himself. But this is a loose way of stating the case. Thirty-three at least of these fifty-two castles were on sites far older than the conquest. It is usually assumed that the rapidity of William's conquest was due to the absence of strong places in England. That there existed in England at the time of the conquest no castle in masonry of English work, it may be too much to assert; but that there were strongholds, mounds, hedges and ditches, &c., in great numbers is certain; and, in fact, very few absolutely new sites were built upon by the conquerors. France is regarded as the great home of castle-building; but castle-building in Normandy seems to have preceded the English conquest, if at all, by a very few years. The conquest of England was made possible, not by the absence of strong places, but by the want of organization for their defence. Such strongholds as were in good military positions were seized and reconstructed by the Crown, and every baron or great tenant-in-chief was

permitted to construct castles for the security of the land allotted to him, which in the vast majority of instances meant to remodel the defences of his English predecessors. But the imagination is prone to call up a picture of such reconstructed defences, which is often far from faithful. The massive masonry of the Tower of London and of Rochester Castle show what William could do when he employed masonry, but the material mostly employed in his reign was timber. The greater number of those that remain and exhibit the Norman style of architecture belong, some to the close of the eleventh, and a greater number to the twelfth century. But if William did not actually build so many castles as is supposed, he and his followers certainly restored and occupied an immense number, upon which those who came immediately after him built structures, the ruins of which we now see.

The royal power was fortunate from the first in securing in its own hands the chief strategic positions, and garrisoning the castles reconstructed upon them with its own partisans. Successive rebellions brought fresh additions to the royal castles already in the Conqueror's reign. Rebellions increased more and more under Rufus and Henry I., but the sons always faithfully followed the policy of their father, and confiscated the castles of defeated subjects. It was this strengthening of the royal hands which eventually saved this country from the anarchy which overtook France. And with regard to the temporary anarchy which was rife in Stephen's reign, and which was made possible only by the building of numberless castles, which became strongholds of tyranny, it may be observed that even at this, their worst period, the English castles acquired none of the permanence which made French castles the curse of France. The castles of Stephen's reign were built with great rapidity, and with but little expenditure of labour, upon earthworks, but in the next reign these "*castra adulterina*" were destroyed with equal rapidity, and scarcely any of their sites are now to be recognized. As time went on the royal license to build castles was more and more charily granted, except on the Marches, where even church towers were mostly crenellated and fortified; and the extent to which they were gathered in the royal hands may be judged from the fact that John dated public instruments from 131 royal castles in different parts of England. The nearest approximation to the total number of castles in England at the close of Henry II.'s reign, arrived at by Mr. Clark, is 657. Finally, as the country settled down more and more into habits of peaceful industry, the maintenance of so many castles was felt as a burden; the cost of repairing had long been levied on the counties, now they were gradually handed over entirely to the counties, and in many cases converted into gaols. This was and is the case with Lancaster Castle, one of the few which Mr. Clarke has omitted to notice. These, then, are some among the results which a scientific study of mediæval architecture is able to elicit, and we have sufficiently indicated the value of the work. It is a book which is the *résumé* of the labours of a life-time.

Under a rather misleading title, "*Lincolnshire and the Danes*," Mr. Streatfeild has written an essay amplifying Dr. Taylor's chapter on the Danes in "*Words and Places*." The book is divided into two parts—the essay and appendices containing a list of place-names, and personal names and a glossary. After a general view of the Danish place-names that are to be found all over the British Isles and France, the writer specially traces the records which the Norsemen have left in the place-names of Lincolnshire. Much labour has been devoted to this work. Cleasby and Vigfusson's, Skeat's, Stratmann's and other dictionaries have been well used for purposes of comparison; Domesday Book and the Hundred Rolls, &c., for the purpose of tracing back old forms. Many time-honoured errors have been rectified. For instance, a wapentake, corresponding to the hundred, was supposed to be a division based on the furnishing of a fixed number of weapons. It is explained in the laws of Edward the Confessor. "From these it appears that, when a new chief of such a division was appointed, he met, at the usual place of assembly, the principal persons of the district, who touched his spear with theirs, in token of fealty. To transfer the name of such a ceremony to the area which it affected, was a very natural use of language." The chapter on "*The Language of Lincolnshire*" is most interesting. From the mass of evidence of place-names collected in this book it is possible to map out with considerable detail the relative positions of Saxon and Dane, the Saxon generally taking refuge in the swampy islands which rose out of the fen, and leaving the better parts of the country to the rough invaders. Comparatively little is known of the Danish conquest. The late Mr. Green's book has not been out long, and Worsaae's "*Norsemen*" is little known in England. Before the history of the Danish Conquest is thoroughly written, much material like this will have to be collected together. In the meantime such contributions are interesting in themselves and will be received eagerly.

In his "*English Towns and Districts*," Mr. Freeman vouchsafed a few remarks on Cowdray House. The history of this remarkable specimen of domestic architecture, belonging to the reign of Henry VIII., and of the Browne family, Viscounts Montague, is followed out with completeness by Mrs. Roundell.* It is furnished with excellent full-page illustrations. Cowdray was of the same style as Hampton Court, but apparently unspoilt by later heterogeneous additions. It appears to have been built in all its completeness at the first and never to have suffered any kind of addition. It was burnt and entirely ruined and rendered uninhabitable in 1797, and part of the remaining ruins gives way every year. We may, therefore, feel indebted to the author for the pains she has been at in collecting information respecting the house and its family and placing them on permanent record.

* "*Lincolnshire and the Danes*." By G. S. Streatfeild. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1884.

* "*Cowdray*." By Mrs. Charles Roundell. London: Bickers & Son. 1884.

In current literature few things have a greater charm to busy men than any trustworthy record of successful enterprise, especially when the story bears upon yesterday or to-day. Mr. W. T. Jeans' "Creators of the Age of Steel,"⁷ is a work of this kind. Now, perhaps, more than ever, calm, well-directed effort and scientific insight, indomitable pluck and that ready resolution which knows when to seize the moment of fortune, are the grand characteristics which give power to win a prize in the arena of modern competition. To know something, therefore, of the men who have succeeded becomes of increasing interest to those in the thick of the fight at the present moment. The lucky hit or the lost chance, the far-seen enterprise, demanding years of quiet patient labour and stern endurance, are a kind of commercial history which carries its own lesson of elastic hope or sober caution to the eager men of to-day. In order to do justice to his subjects Mr. Jeans has chosen to give a description of the iron manufacture, as free from technicalities as possible, and to show in what the improvements of the inventors consist. There is nothing in his account of these processes which presupposes any technical knowledge, or which ordinary intelligence cannot grasp. And yet by means of the detail one is enabled to realize how these inventions were conceived, perfected, and put in operation, of which the Bessemer process alone has been of more value for mankind than all the gold of California. A good deal of space is lost in describing the obstacles which inventors have to deal with, chiefly amongst which of course are to be mentioned Government offices. Dickens has made us all familiar with this in Arthur Clennam's partner in "Little Dorrit." "Wearied and disgusted, I at last ceased to waste time in calling at the Stamp Office," exclaims Bessemer in 1833. In 1856 his cry is still the same. After submitting his steel to the authorities at Woolwich, the presiding official informed Mr. Bessemer that he had taken the advice of Mr. Armstrong and rejected it. Mr. Armstrong was Bessemer's rival! "I left, like many other men who had been at Woolwich, in great and deep disgust." And so on all through the careers of these men, they were constantly thwarted by what, as the evidence shows, can only be termed official stupidity. It is some slight satisfaction to reflect that since the introduction of the competitive system, *nous avons changé tout cela*—or, at least, are on the way to it. Another thing which the inventor has always to be on his guard against is, it is needless to say, the rascality of the human race. We are used to foreign countries committing piracies and thefts, particularly Prussia, who all through her history has shown a marvellous power of appropriating other people's possessions, whether Krupp and Bessemer inventions, or British subsidies, or French soil. But one is not prepared for the startling evidence of the rascally nature of the born Britisher. The inventor must beware of his neighbours, lest he come some wet night in the garb of a beggar and ask for shelter and

⁷ "Creators of the Age of Steel." By W. T. Jeans. London: Chapman & Hall. 1884.

pirate the invention—as happened to Huntsman—or he may find, as Bessemer did, a large number of honest gentlemen in the trade employing an expert to try to discover some technical flaw in his patent by which they might be enabled to use the patent without paying for it. So slight, as is well-known, is the protection afforded by a patent, that many inventors prefer secrecy. Inventions discovered thirty years remain secrets except to their discoverers, and some have been lost with their deaths. The loss of energy from all these causes is immense. For fear of the dishonourableness of one's rivals many inventions are thus discovered twice and many remain unimproved. Bessemer's first invention of gold paint has remained unimproved for forty years, and is a secret to this day. Thus, as Ruskin is never tired of telling us, does the eternal moral law avenge itself, and the rate of discovery is not a tithe of what it might be. We heartily recommend Mr. Jeans' book. The men selected are Bessemer, Siemens, Sir John Brown, S. G. Thomas, and G. I. Snelus. He has done justice to these men of metal.

In a collection of sketches by various authors, under the striking title of "*Fortunes made in Business*,"⁸ we naturally expect to find the names treated in Mr. Jeans' book. A comparison of the articles on Bessemer and Brown shows that one owes something to the other, or that both have been compiled from the same sources. Mr. Jeans' work is the more satisfactory. In "*Fortunes made in Business*," a slight tendency is manifested both in these and other articles to talk of "ships and shoes and sealing-wax," and other irrelevant topics. Here and there is betrayed a foolish snobbishness in the writers. Ribbons, stars and garters, titles, and the rest of the humbug of this world, go a very little way towards rousing the imagination of men devoted to the glories of science. In writing of mere makers of fortunes, it is well to be on one's guard against enthusiastic approval of endeavours directed solely to the acquisition of wealth. This encourages mammon-worship, to which human nature is ever prone. On the other hand, it is gratifying to see that, after all, in most cases love of wealth is not the prime incentive, but that sterling quality, love of work, which delights in a free and extended play of the facilities overcoming old obstacles, and winning new spheres for human action. "Admonitions to pursue science for the love of it," says Mr. Jeans, "have a celestial flavour about them: but in matters terrestrial perhaps Diogenes showed as much knowledge of human nature as caustic wit, when in reply to the question, 'How it was that the philosophers followed the rich instead of the rich following the philosophers,' he answered, 'Because the philosophers know what they want, and the rich do not.'" The reply contains its own refutation—wealth brings little satisfaction—and the practical comment on it is that the greatest fortunes have been made as an indirect consequence of pure love of work, as, for instance, those of Siemens or Bessemer. We are so accustomed to reading biographies of men whose

⁸ "*Fortunes made in Business*." Two vols. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1884.

struggle has been with the metaphysical, that it requires an effort to see the nobility of endeavours directed to a triumph over the more mechanical forces of Nature. It is well to remember that we are only shown one side of these men of fortune: it would be better to point out their delicate appreciation of the forces of Nature for our emulation rather than the gross and material results attending the successful application of it to practical life.

Students of literature have long felt the want of a faithful and trustworthy account of early Scottish literature. They were formerly compelled to be content with unsympathetic notices of a more or less incidental character. Dr. Nicol's excellent "Essay" supplied the want in a brief manner. But Dr. Ross, in his "Early Scottish Literature,"^{*} has attempted a more complete account. He is sympathetic without being at all one-sided. He acknowledges the almost total absence of any kind of literature in Scotland for the eight centuries succeeding the extinction of the Irish Celtic literature of Scotland in the sixth century, and emphatically draws attention to the fact that the new Anglic literature derived its inspiration from across the border. On the other hand he does justice to his countrymen, and a candid mind will admit that he convicts Professor Freeman of immoderate partisanship in his uncompromising condemnations of Bruce and Wallace—condemnations which are adopted with too little judgment from the wholesale abuse of Matthew Paris, who in this matter may be excused for not being impartial. The war of independence waged for two centuries by Scotland against England gave rise to a flourishing growth of both popular and artistic literature. The popular effusions which Blind Harry offers as a Life of Sir William Wallace, Dr. Ross does not hesitate to stigmatize as a "farrago of impossible fictions;" but for Barbour, the author of "The Bruce," he has the greatest admiration, and terms "the father of the Anglic literature of Scotland." Throughout Dr. Ross has shown sympathetic appreciation, combined with studied moderation. If there is one instance of partiality, it is in the case of Henryson's "Troilus and Cresseid," wherein he claims that the allegorical figures "may rank with the best allegorical figures in the 'Fairy Quene' or the 'Mirour for Magistrates.'" He properly closes his history with Lyndsay, who, until Burns appeared, was the poet of the Scottish people, and was appealed to as an infallible authority on the Scottish language. "Ye'll no fin' that in Davie Lyndsay" was a fatal objection to any new-coined phrase.

Messrs. Gardiner and Mullinger's "Introduction to the Study of History," published in 1881, has given rise to a series of Guides to History. It was followed by C. K. Adam's "Handbook of Historical Literature," mainly founded on the above, but with German and French authorities added. This was published in America. Another little guide-book from America, containing hints for students, is

^{*} "Early Scottish History and Literature." By J. M. Ross. Glasgow: Maclehose & Sons. 1884.

W. F. Allen's "History Topics,"¹⁰ a series of subjects for essays, followed by a list of authorities. This may be found of some use to schoolmasters for their higher classes. It has been so used by Mr. Allen for some time, and is printed from his notes for the benefit of teachers and lecturers.

Mr. Allen's little work mentioned above is also incorporated together with essays by Professors H. B. Adams, C. K. Adams, and others, in a volume which is to be the first of a series to be called a Pedagogical Library,¹¹ whereto more will be added if this succeeds. We think that the work was certainly worth undertaking, and to persons actively engaged in teaching, and much more to private students, many valuable hints will be derived. A compendium like this, showing what other people are doing in the same field of labour, giving the syllabuses of other centres and suggestions which have been practically carried out, cannot but be of value to all engaged in study or in directing study.

A reprint of a historical sketch of the University of Edinburgh,¹² written in 1840, by Dr. John Lee, for the Edinburgh "Academical Annual," has been judged opportune after the recent tercentenary celebration—and we can't think why. It is brief, but obscure, and certainly of little use forty-four years after date.

Dean Church's contribution to the "English Men of Letters" Series—Bacon,¹³ is quite equal to the high character maintained throughout this series. Dean Church has, of course, nothing absolutely new to offer. He has utilized the life-long labours of Mr. Spedding and Mr. Ellis, and is in some degree indebted to the rest of recent Bacon literature. But he in no way gives up his own independence of judgment. Bacon found in Mr. Spedding an enthusiastic admirer who was in some degree prepared to offer himself as his apologist. All that can be rightly alleged in extenuation of Bacon's conduct is to be found in the special circumstances under which life was led in those days when a practically absolute monarch sitting on the throne was the centre of life, the very sun of the lesser bodies which circled around her. It should be remembered that there was no public in those days, before whom merit might seek recognition: advancement and fortune lay solely in the favour of the prince. It should further be remembered that the very thing which is the highest and most praiseworthy ambition of lofty minds—influence for good upon the world—was in those days inseparably connected in a way that we independent moderns can scarcely realize—with the advancement and favour of the prince. It is doubtful if Shakespeare can be said to have obtained anything like in-

¹⁰ "History Topics for High Schools and Colleges." By W. F. Allen. London: Trübner & Co. 1883.

¹¹ "Methods of Teaching and Studying History." Edited by G. S. Hall. Ginn, Heath & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1883.

¹² "The University of Edinburgh." By the late Principal Lee. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1884.

¹³ "English Men of Letters—Bacon." By R. W. Church. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

fluence on his own generation, and as Dean Church puts it: "It was no use attacking in front, and by a direct trial of strength, people like Elizabeth or Cecil or James: Bacon might as well think of forcing some natural power in defiance of natural law." In both worlds, moral and physical, he felt himself encompassed by vast forces, irresistible by direct opposition. It was the same in Italy, where, indeed, the evils of life under absolute governments were more intensified, and where consequently arose the strange phenomenon Macchiavelli. It being impossible, except by rare accident, to obtain one's legitimate ends by direct means, it became necessary to arrive at them by indirect and circuitous processes. Hence that type of character which we are so familiar with in Iago—pliant but vigilant, patient and subtle, but double-dealing and self-seeking. Bacon came little short of an Iago's villany in the matter of Essex. Bacon had the making of a truly Macchiavellian politician in him. What saved him was this: "He wanted to be powerful, and still more to be rich; but he wanted to be so because without power and without money he could not follow what was to him the only thing worth following on earth—a real knowledge of the amazing and hitherto almost unknown world in which he had to live." He little reflected that he would be so firmly drawn into the wheels—*pris dans l'engrenage*—of worldliness and selfishness to be finally crushed and ruined. It was only after his ruin that he returned to his better self, and possibly confessed that his ambitions had been vain to influence his own generation, and that he must be content with the influence which he felt sure of having on posterity. "The desire to be a great benefactor, the spirit of sympathy and pity for mankind, reign through that portion of his work written at this time—pity for confidence so greatly abused by the teachers of man, pity for ignorance which might be dispelled, pity for pain and misery which might be relieved." There have been men of universal minds and comprehensive knowledge since Bacon, Leibnitz, Goethe, Humboldt, men whose thoughts were at home everywhere, where there was something to be known. But even for them the world of knowledge has grown too large. We shall never again see an Aristotle or a Bacon, because (through them) the conditions of knowledge have been altered. Readers of Dean Church's monograph may learn how this was effected. They will see that Bacon, like other men, did not achieve all he meant, and they will find a careful distinction drawn between what he *meant* and what he *did*.

A pamphlet¹⁴ on Canon (now Bishop) Stubb's "Historical Appendix" to the Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the constitution and working of the Ecclesiastical Courts, as created or modified under the Reformation Statutes of the 24 & 25 Henry VIII., and any subsequent statutes, May 16, 1881, is before us. A clear statement of his case at the beginning would have helped the reader to understand what Mr. Tomlinson was

¹⁴ "The 'Legal History' of Canon Stubbs." By J. T. Tomlinson. London: E. Stanford.

driving at. The new scheme of Ecclesiastical Courts is based upon Bishop Stubb's historical appendix, which contains the final conclusion that "the maintenance of the existing jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, as a final tribunal of appeal in matters of doctrine and ritual, is not to be regarded as an essential part or necessary historical consequence of the Reformation Settlement." Further, Bishop Stubbs is of opinion that the Crown is not the source of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but merely exercises, as from without, a visitatorial or corrective superintendence over an independent set of courts, the judicial authority of which "proceeds from and resides in" the bishops. "We seem to hear," exclaims the horror-stricken Mr. Tomlinson, "the coming footsteps of the successor of St. Thomas of Canterbury, who shall haughtily defy the 'lay' Court of Appeal which the Commissioners have rendered contemptible; and it may be that future historians, who chronicle the triumph of the 'Church' over secular laws and institutions, will trace the beginnings of the change to the 'Report of the Royal Commissioners on Ecclesiastical Courts, 1883!'" Surely we need say no more.

A collection of essays, formerly written for various magazines, appears under the elaborate title of "Studies in History, Legend and Literature."¹⁵ They are here reproduced "after due revision;" whence, then, come "vainteuse" for "vaniteuse," "comme on tà jouée" for "comme on t' a jouée," "la" for "là," and other losses of accents. But these are trifles. Why reproduce such ephemeral essays at all? They have had their day, and a glance in a magazine was all they deserved. The author writes with an incredible confusion of metaphor, and with an *emphasis* which is a poor imitation of Carlyle's. He has moreover the vice of forcing hackneyed quotations into his text. For instance, "The strivings of the spirit of evil, though *rough-hewn* to harm, are, nevertheless, ultimately *shaped* by God to good." The paper on Faust is a mere medley, and (to repeat one of Mr. Wilson's quotations) "more voluminous than luminous." "You might as well blame a weak man," says Mr. Wilson, "for not having been up the Matterhorn, as blame him for not understanding Goethe: it is not given to all to ascend such ideal altitudes." Why ideal, by the way? We confess that we do not see how this paper can help the feeblers brethren in this matter. Absurd confusions of metaphor swarm. "But the *crumpled rose-leaf* in the lot of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, was, perhaps (!), the *rankle of her mother's sneer* at 'Goody Palsgrave.'" Her husband Frederick, "to the great injury of the Protestant cause, plunged into those *troubled waters* in order to *encircle the round hat* of an Elector with a golden crown." What a fearful task has the historian! "The historian must see clearly both outside and inside the person that he would portray, and must combine into an art-whole (horrors!) the complete portraiture, *round and finished*, of the hero or heroine of history." Shakespeare seems to have had a hard time of it. "*Rapt up to the*

¹⁵ "Studies in History, Legend and Literature." By H. Schütz Wilson. London: Griffith & Farran. 1884.

heaven of imagination in a chariot of the fire of his own genius, he saw the character of history in larger relations, and he depicted them as abstract poetical conceptions." Mr. Wilson hath the tongues, and quotes in French, German, and Italian. Will he not stoop to translate another time, if he again "tries to snatch from a submerging oblivion" any subjects of history and "combine them into an art-whole?"

Mr. Archibald Forbes's "succinct record" of the life of "Chinese Gordon"¹⁸ is put forward with all due modesty. This little volume makes no pretence to be anything more than an abridgment. His sole aim has been brevity and lucidity. It is meant for those persons who have not time to devote to the two authoritative works on General Gordon's career—Dr. Andrew Wilson's "Ever-Victorious Army," and Mr. Birkbeck Hill's "Colonel Gordon in Central Africa." There are not wanting the well-known characteristics of Mr. Forbes's style, and they will be appreciated. Nevertheless, brevity is not always best attained by few words, and Mr. Forbes himself seems to feel acutely the vandalism of extracting the mere facts contained in Gordon's wonderfully fine letters. The merit of the book is that it is a connected narrative, and that the true causes of the movements in which Gordon laboured are indicated in broad clear lines. Gordon's tone of mind is rather phenomenal in these days; Mr. Forbes makes no attempt at an analysis of it. Perhaps "the many" who are to read it would not care for an analysis. They care rather for an account of the deeds than of the thoughts of this remarkable man. That Gordon is a Christian is perhaps not saying anything very definite: what a Christian is has yet to be defined. There are frequent traces in his utterances of pessimistic tendencies, which some hold to be inherent in the Christian religion. "If I meet with my death," he says, "I only exchange great weariness for perfect peace." If it is right to think life a weariness, what are the motives to existence? "Gordon has a firm trust in God," his biographer repeats; does that mean that he believes that

God is, and the soul is, and a certain after death shall be . . .

Good, done here, be there rewarded—evil, worked here, there amerced;

or that he is an object of special solicitude to the Deity. Without knowing the man thoroughly it is impossible to understand the paradoxes of his character. He "prays up" his boats of stores when they are over-due, he "prays" his mutinous officers into submission. He thrusts himself into the most dangerous positions, exposing his life sometimes gratuitously. Others have done this from different motives, knowing that nothing so much overawes men as boldness. But Gordon seems to have a sort of fatalistic belief that the angels of God have charge over him.

He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty. Surely He shall deliver thee from the snare of

¹⁸ "Chinese Gordon." By Archibald Forbes. London: Routledge & Sons. 1884.

the fowler, and from the noisome pestilence; thou shalt not be afraid of the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day, nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness, nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday. A thousand shall fall at thy side and ten thousand at thy right hand, but it shall not come nigh thee. Because thou hast made the Lord thy habitation there shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling. For He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways.

These words must have frequently been read by Gordon with much emotion, as it seems to describe so exactly his own experience, and yet it no less describes the experience of Sulla.

The "Life of General Gordon,"¹⁷ by the "Author of Our Queen" (whoever that may be), is a work of "vulgarization" for the benefit of young people who wish to improve their minds. The style is anecdotic and without cohesion; there is no natural sequence in the order of ideas—in a word, there are all the faults of the tract-writer. Nevertheless, paste and scissors have been so industriously employed that this book is almost better worth reading than Forbes's. Hake's, Allan's, Birkbeck Hill's "Lives" have been liberally laid under contribution; and Gordon's instructions, despatches and memoranda are frequently printed in full. The extracts quoted have not been selected without judgment. Thus where Forbes contents himself with referring to Gordon's note addressed to China concerning her fighting power as a model of style, the author of "our Queen" does better in printing the document in full. It is difficult to follow the sequence of events, or always to perceive in this account of Gordon any reasonable connection of cause and effect. In this country perhaps it may not be to the detriment of the book that the author appears to have a mind so constituted as to see the operation of divine or diabolical agency in the accidents of life and fortune. Such a mind sees no intervention of Providence in a good digestion after dinner, but it does see a very direct intervention when Gordon falls off a bridge and escapes drowning. Such a mind would repudiate the notion of the existence of magic wands, and yet sees nothing ridiculous in conceiving Gordon to possess a charmed life. Nor is piety without its reward. When Gordon went to the Soudan, "Colonel Brocklehurst opened the carriage-door for him, Lord Wolsley carried his portmanteau, and the Duke of Cambridge got his ticket." The book is full of many anecdotes which may serve to point the moral on many Salvation Army platforms, and possibly from some pulpits. But it seems a pity that the beliefs and motives of a noble character like Gordon should be traduced and vulgarized for the sake of popularization.

A Christian soldier is always an interesting study, his position being the resultant of two forces, which at first sight appear to act in opposite directions. There may not be perhaps anything inconsistent in a Christian engaging in warfare in defence of his country and what he holds dear, but that a follower of the Prince of Peace should study the science of homicide as a profession, and be ready to

¹⁷ "Life of General Gordon." By the "Author of Our Queen." Walter Scott. 1884.

exercise his calling at the bidding of others, does seem strange to those who are unfortunate enough not to have acquired by theological study the faculty of reconciling the incompatible. Among English officers there has always been more religion in the Indian than the Royal army. Why, there is no need to discuss here, but the names of Wheler, Havelock, and Colin Mackenzie¹⁸ will at once suggest themselves in connection with the East, while it would not be so easy to pair them with names of equal eminence among the heroes either of the Peninsula or of the Crimea. Mackenzie, though an earnest Christian, was not a fanatic. He objected to officers preaching, "with a Bible in one hand and a sword in the other, and at once there is a cry of persecution." The mutiny at Bolarum, in which he was nearly killed, was represented to be the result of his injudicious interference with the procession of the Muharram, but Mrs. Mackenzie, who was present at the time, and in the house when the Sepoys were seeking for her wounded husband to kill him, distinctly shows that all that he did was to enforce the customary order that no procession was to be allowed in any of the main roads near the officers' quarters. The authoress loyally defends her husband, but is a little too ready in throwing blame on others. Her strictures on Lord Canning for his discourtesy do not accord with the experience of others, who had equal opportunities of knowing.

Mackenzie was one of the prisoners at Cabul after the murder of the English envoy in December, 1841, and the extracts from his letters and journals are full of interest. They by no means increase our opinion of the wisdom of the British authorities. After General Elphinstone's death of dysentery, Mackenzie was sent as an ambassador by the Afghan chiefs to Pollock at Jellahabad. A dangerous mission, for he had to be disguised as an Afghan, and had more than one narrow escape of detection and death. On Pollock's refusal to treat, like Regulus he returned to captivity, a greater risk even than the journey; but his fidelity to his word filled the barbarous Afghans with respect and admiration, and they looked on him as a hero. The subsequent history of their release is well known.

The account of the general's pets is very amusing, especially his Arab charger "Rubea," of whose death he writes as others would of a child; a black Rampur greyhound, "a breed said never to have been tamed by a European;" and last and not least, two parakeets, Hira and Bibi, which lived for five-and-twenty years, and were supposed by the servants to have the power of speech. A Hindoo gentleman swore "that a servant having offended Bibi, he had heard the bird desire his master to discharge the man; that the Sahib had done so on the spot; that Bibi had then, after reflection, said, 'He is an old servant; I would not send him quite away; it will be sufficient to keep him in suspense a month or two.'"

The sword alone among weapons has everywhere had a mystical,

¹⁸ "Storms and Sunshine of a Soldier's Life. Lieutenant-General Colin Mackenzie, C.B." Two vols. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1884.

even religious, character.¹⁹ In Scythia blood was poured over an old iron scimitar, the only image of Ares, their best beloved-God. In the far north Regin fashioned the "wrath of Sigurd," with mysterious runes, and the blade itself cried out for blood. In Japan, before Western ideas had vulgarized the people and their art, the smith was clad in sacrificial vestments, and chanted religious hymns at certain stages of his work. In mediæval Europe the knight swore by his sword, to surrender it was submission, to break it was degradation, to kiss it the highest form of oath and homage. No wonder that it still possesses a fascination even for those who have never seen it used for its proper work ; and there are many " sons of peace " who will turn to Captain Burton's work with avidity, and look for his second volume with still more eagerness. For the whole of this volume, big as it is, is devoted to a disquisition on the origin of the sword, and its rudimentary shapes all over the world. Egypt, the mother of all knowledge, furnishes the earliest types, the khopsh or scimitar, derived from an axe or sickle, suited for throwing as well as for cutting ; the long, straight sword, apparently only used by foreign mercenaries, derived from the spear ; and the dagger or knife. These correspond to the *ξίφος*, the *κοπίς*, and the *φάσγανον*, of which specimens were found by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ. The almost invariable proportion between the length of the hilt-plate and the length of the blade, which has been observed by Dr. John Evans, points, Captain Burton thinks, to the appearance of the original *modulus* of the weapon in a certain racial centre, and its radiation thence in all directions. "Nor have we any difficulty in determining that this centre was the Nile valley." The persistence of shapes is remarkable. In the heart of Africa still occur copies of the swords exported by the knights of Malta to Benghazi, and of those given as presents by European travellers to Prester John. The corrugated blade, having an ogee section, which appears in Africa, is constantly found in the Caucasus, and spear-blades of Saxon and Frankish make in England and France have the same peculiarity. The rapier form, which is first seen in Egyptian bronze, occurs in Etruria, at Mycenæ, in the north of Europe, and in France and England. The khopsh, or *κοπίς*, reappears in the East as the Ghurka kukkri. All these forms are traced back by Captain Burton to Africa, with much more reason than Mr. Gerald Massey tries to perform the same office for word-forms. The illustrations are plentiful and fairly good.

Another book of personal reminiscences of Khedives and Pashas²⁰ will, in spite of its scrappy nature, be read with interest. Ismail, Tewfik, and Arabi, Riaz Nubar and Chérif Pashas, Sir Edward Malet, and Sir Evelyn Baring, are the subjects of these slight sketches. The author's position will not be considered unreasonable.

¹⁹ "The Book of the Sword." By R. F. Burton, Maître d'Armes (Breveté). London : Chatto & Windus. 1884.

²⁰ "Khedives and Pashas." By One who Knows them Well. London : Sampson Low & Co. 1884.

"It is possible," the editor observes, "on learning the real natural character of a prominent statesman, to judge of his fundamental political aims and intentions with a degree of precision which cannot otherwise be attained." And his illustration is to the point. "I live opposite," he continues, "to a butcher's shop, where a black dog lies all day ensconced near the door. He is at present fighting with a strange dog on the pavement, and the assembled crowd is inclined to blame the stranger dog as the aggressor. But I know better; for I am aware that he has fought stranger dogs (generally smaller than himself) six times a week for years past, and that he is invariably the attacking party." The difficulty is, however, that men's characters are neither so easy to observe nor so easy to diagnose as dogs. The condemnation of Arabi is too summary to convey conviction; the writer's animus is too pronounced, especially in the case of a man whom Gordon has declared will eventually return from his captivity in Ceylon to work changes in Egypt. The writer's descriptions of his subjects are chiefly as they appear socially, and it is only accidentally that any political hints are given. It is thus that he summarizes Arabi's work:—"After all, what did Arabi do? Being Minister of War, he got together 50,000 men, and induced them to make earthworks, and stay behind them, until English soldiers approached them, when they at once ran away." The sketch of Ismail is the best; the bantering of Sir Edward Malet, "strong in starch, but lacking in flavour," is severe. Having regard to what has been noticed above concerning Gordon, we cannot refrain from quoting two passages. "Ismail's ideal of a man," he used to say, "was Chinese Gordon. When that man comes into the room, I feel I am with my superior." In his concluding chapter, the writer says:—

To sketch Gordon is an impossibility; he is himself a sketch—the shadowy outline of an ideal conception. As a Turner requires distance to enable you to perceive its perfect beauty, to realize the soul of thought in what appears, at a near view, but a blurred mass of gorgeous colouring; so we must wait till time has placed a distance between us and him to enable us to see the poetic beauty and consistency of his character.

Thus on every hand are tributes paid to the greatness of this singular man.

A book on the Russian General, Scobelev,¹ comes recommended by the well-known name of the writer, Dantchenko. It is not a biography of Scobelev, but a series of reminiscences and fragments full of the most minute particulars. Dantchenko was war-correspondent to a Russian paper during the Russo-Turkish war, and enjoyed the society of MacGahan, Forbes, Grant, and other English correspondents. He afterwards published a history of the war in his "Year of War." He was also a friend of Scobelev's, and he was an eye-witness of the scenes he describes, many of which are taken

* * * "Personal Reminiscences of General Scobelev." By V. I. Nemirovitch-Dantchenko. Translated by E. A. B. Hodgetts. London: Allen & Co. 1884.

entirely from his diary. He was enthusiastic in his friendship for Scobelev, and says, "I greatly regret that the conditions under which Russian writers are forced to work do not permit me to render Scobelev's convictions in all their completeness; they would have the effect of considerably altering public opinion concerning him." What Scobelev's views were is pretty well known in England—at least in as far as they refer to subjects in which the relations of Russia and England are concerned. His frank utterances have been taken amongst us to be the outspoken confession of the secret designs of Russia.

Every nation [he proclaimed] has a right to extend itself to its natural boundaries. We Slavs must have the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles as a natural outlet into the sea; or else, notwithstanding our immense extent of territory, if we have not these important channels, we shall choke. In this matter we should for ever put an end to all sentimentality, and remember nothing but our own interests. First our own—and then we may think of others. Napoleon the Great understood this perfectly. He knew what he was about when he showed his cards to Alexander I. At Erfurt and Tilsit he proposed to rearrange the boundaries of Europe. . . . Oceans of blood have been shed, and will be shed, before we get settled. . . . It was owing to the Berlin Treaty that the Eastern question has remained undecided, which will yet require the shedding of much Russian blood. That is what we have gained by diplomatic sentimentality.

Scobelev's reputation amongst us is that of a fighting General; in the first instance he is, with us at least, a Haudegen. MacGahan's description of him after Plevna will not easily be forgotten:—

He was in a fearful state of excitement and fury. His uniform was covered with mud and filth, his sword broken, his Cross of St. George twisted round his shoulder, his face black with powder and smoke, his eyes haggard and bloodshot, and his voice quite gone. He spoke in a hoarse whisper. I never before saw such a picture of battle as he presented. I saw him again in his tent at night; he was quite calm and collected.

But it will be seen that he was a great strategist, a deep politician and thinker, and from the numberless anecdotes related in this book, that he was a gentleman of the nicest sense of honour. He was a man of the swiftest thought. "Profound turkey-cocks," exclaims Dantchenko, concerning Scobelev's jealous superior officers; "they felt all the pangs of delivery whenever they gave birth to the most attenuated idea, and could not understand his active mind, that ever-working laboratory of thoughts, plans, proposals." He never touched his pay of commander-of-an-army-corps, it all went in charities. His men came to him in all their difficulties; men came from other corps; even peasants from remote parts of Russia sought redress for wrongs at his hands, and he was frequently the means of them getting it. After Plevna some man appealed directly to the General:—

"What is the matter?" "I have come to your Excellency. Colonel wants to have me flogged." "Well?" "I have come to entreat your Excellency's mercy, and to beg to be allowed a court-martial." "What have you done?" The man confessed. "A court-martial would condemn you to death." "We are

all in God's hands. Every day of our lives we are under fire here. I don't mind being shot; but if I am to be disgraced, your Excellency, I shall commit suicide. May I have a court-martial?" "Those are the men for me!" said Scobelev. Of course the man was pardoned.

In these pages Scobelev appears before us as a thorough Russian. He has a Russian's impulsiveness and sensitiveness—it is nervous strength, not the nervousness of weakness. On the other hand, he is in many respects free from his countrymen's moral unscrupulousness. The author has written like an enthusiastic admirer, and with a fervour which is a little too unrestrained. The style is very highly coloured. In a peaceful scene he speaks of "the metallic twilight, its waves of perfume carried on the wind, with the gently rustling trees and amorously twinkling stars." In the storming of a redoubt at Plevna, his words and figures are rather strong:—

The storm of battle raged in a fog. It was as though evil spirits had torn themselves from the chains of hell, and were revelling in the depths of this fog, mixed with the smoke of gunpowder. An excited imagination might have imagined that the planets had dashed together, and in the general conflagration fallen into a thousand pieces, as the musketry and artillery mingled their deafening thunder with the crash and noise of steel.

It will be seen that this book is overcharged in style in some parts; but it is nevertheless fascinating. We await with eagerness a full biography of a man who first taught us to love a race regarded by so many as our enemy, and who was certainly a favourite amongst us English.

The first instalment of a series of essays, to be called "The Round Table Series,"²² is one on Emerson, written in what some persons may consider high-faluting style by a person of name unknown, whose only "desire is to give temperate and reasoned statements of his beliefs." The title of the series seems to suggest that the writers have met in solemn conclave and resolved to "put off the works of darkness, and put on the armour of light." In this first essay the author bears himself bravely, and doughtily does battle for his noble cause. Emerson was no "mere paragon of correctness. He must have been the habitation of a spiritual force, the focus of the heavenly illumination of his day, the diamond from which blazed back the celestial sunlight." His religion was one "built by the line and plummet of the human soul." His thinking is "rather organic than logical, it is the *projection of his personality on the plane of intellect*." No man's spiritual or mental vision is so *periscopic* as his. From his youth up "so well had he obeyed the divine helm that he seems to have required no acute spiritual crisis—to have 'come round to the wind' in a fine curve rather than by sharp tacking." These be fine things. It is a brave writer and writes celestial language. Nevertheless we like it; there is the ardour of youth in it, fresh from the study of the schools and all the circle of the sciences, whence similes and metaphors, as yet somewhat strange to

²² "The Round Table Series." By Ralph Waldo Emerson. Edinburgh: W. Brown. 1884.

literature, are borrowed. What is meant by prayer? "It is an effort to bring the soul's axis parallel to the axis of the spiritual universe." Emerson's moral perfection is so overpowering that we almost sympathize with the writer's bitter cry—"Oh, for an account of some childish tantrum, some boyish escapade, some adolescent indiscretion!" And yet this essay is *not* full of rodomontade, and *not* full of nonsense. We heartily recommend it, and indeed think that he has gone to the root of the matter. If an antidote is required by any one, we have seen nothing equal to an excellent essay which appeared in the *Athenæum* of April 8. The type is sumptuous.

Some further observations on Emerson are published by Dr. W. Hague.²³ in a pamphlet. But a careful perusal of the contents has not rewarded us with a glimpse of the author's meaning. Such floundering uncouth English surely cannot be American!

Another monograph on "Bolingbroke"²⁴ makes its appearance. The mass of Bolingbroke literature is already so great, that we were entitled to expect some short preface to a fresh contribution of 350 pages, unless the author wishes us to understand that he is perfectly conversant with all the existing literature on the subject. An excellent book by Herr Moritz Brosch, specially illustrated by information derived from the Venetian archives, was published last year, and in general treatment resembled Mr. Harrop's work, but we see no reference to it. Still, this is a solid contribution, and a deeply-thought out study. The Revolution had unsettled everything, and the complexity of forces which the politician had to deal with requires a skilful hand to describe without confusion. The feelings, for instance, with which Dr. Sacheverell's trial was regarded are particularly well described. Bolingbroke's character is well summarized in these words: "In his heart, he rejected all the dogmatic beliefs which the Church prescribed. In his life he treated with contempt the moral precepts she enjoined. Yet he was to the last one of her most loyal and devoted adherents." On the other hand, without doubting that in his "Letters on History" there was always present in the writer's mind the state of things existing in his own day, yet it was mainly a purely philosophical treatise, and we can scarcely agree with Mr. Harrop when he says:—

The whole work is an attempt to convert a sketch of constitutional history into an attack on the methods of parliamentary government, to twist particular epochs and incidents in the past into counterparts of others in the present, and to assail and insult the minister, and less directly the sovereign, in the person of predecessors more or less odious or incapable.

In "Horace Walpole and his World"²⁵ there is offered to the reader

²³ "R. W. Emerson." By Dr. W. Hague. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1884.

²⁴ "Bolingbroke. A Political Study and Criticism." By R. Harrop. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1884.

²⁵ "Horace Walpole and his World." By L. B. Seeley. London: Seeley, Jackson & Halliday. 1884.

some specimens of Walpole's correspondence. Students of history and literature are familiar with this great mine of facts and fancies, but it is too extensive to be fully explored by those who have not ample leisure and strong inclination for such employment. The collections of Walpole's letters fill some dozen or more large octavo volumes. It is to assist the reader by reducing them within reasonable limits and supplying explanatory and biographical notes that the present volume makes its appearance. The selection made is judicious and really representative. Eight autotypes after Reynolds adorn the volume, which are valuable in themselves.

Remembering, perhaps, that only a sympathetic soul can understand a character in its strength and in its weakness, Lord Lytton²⁸ left to his son the task of writing his biography. It has been written, "it is a wise father that knows his own child," and Lord Lytton certainly made a mistake in choosing his son for his biographer. The son, however, makes some excellent remarks upon criticism.

There is in all of us [he says] a happy tendency to be a little blind to the faults, and very kind to the virtues, of those we love, or for whom we entertain a feeling of personal regard. And, owing to this tendency, appreciative criticism is, more often than not, the result of a bias towards the author, either from personal knowledge of him, or from the report of friends, or from his previous reputation. These influences stimulate both the effort to understand, and the disposition to admire him. In the absence of such motives criticism has a natural tendency to disparagement—a tendency exclusive of envy.

With this we agree most heartily. Still the son has erred, if on the right side. He is more than a little blind to his father's faults, and more than reasonably biassed in his favour by personal regard. His disqualification for the task is not so much personal as *de race*. Certain watchwords and certain principles have been apparently handed down from father to son for generations in this family. Lord Lytton is in the grave, beyond reach of scorn or approval. The man is now nothing; but his principles are everything. Those early principles which guided his youth and much of his life, though not without their grain of good influence, were in their essence pernicious. Who, in reading Balzac's "Illusions perdues," does not see in the brilliant, vain, and egotistic, though gifted, Lucien the prototype of young Lytton. The same vain ambitions, the same poor motives, and the same disloyalty to what was highest in them, characterized them both. The present Lord Lytton shows no freedom from these pernicious principles. He passes by without a word of reprehension all that is most unlovely in Lytton's early life. There runs through the autobiography a tone which jars shockingly upon the modern mind, which says, "I am a superior person; the end of life is to become a superior person." Observe the words and figures used by Lytton of his father, Colonel Bulwer:—

²⁸ "Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton." By his Son. Two vols. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1883.

He had contracted a romantic (!) if illicit attachment to a young person (!) of great beauty, who eloped with him (! Anglica was seduced) from a boarding-school in which she was teacher; and though too haughty (!!) a man to marry beneath him, he had, at least, justice enough to say that while she lived he would never marry any one else.

Lytton's grandfather was a republican with a variety of crotchets ! "To harden the children of the rich into the physical endurance of the children of the poor, to cram them with a learning that would revolt from coarse companionship while fostering notions of equality with *gingham* and *frieze* !" Again Lytton observes :—

Now my father was one of those men who have a right [he was such a superior person] when a lady refuses them, to inquire respectfully "why?" The lady confided the reason to the haughty man. The colonel repaid this confidence by a manly letter, which showed more feeling than might be expected (!) from one who had always been accustomed to have his own way, and who was generally no less annoyed than indignant when any obstacle arose between his will and his triumph (!!).

O Barry Lyndon, you were a feeble creation in comparison with this colonel! This colonel greeted Lytton's arrival into the world with scowls. "The lands of Lytton, if ever they devolved on my mother, would be at her own disposal; and he must have known enough of my mother's family pride (O mortal man!) to suspect that she would have a strong desire to keep distinct the representative of her own line from that of the Bulwers." Colonel Bulwer in 1804 was appointed over a military district, which had its headquarters at Preston, in Lancashire, at this time the centre of an *irritable* manufacturing population. Ye gods! "Irritable" in 1801, when corn was at famine prices, wages at their lowest ebb, the "token" and "allowance" system in full swing, "Enclosure Acts" in full operation, the people unrepresented in parliament, unnecessary wars past, necessary wars ahead! Irritable forsooth! We are accustomed to this flippant tone in Lytton's novels; how many suspected that it was borrowed from real life? The present Lord Lytton seems scarcely aware that this tone, this morgue, this ineffable impertinence, has become hateful even to this British nation of shopkeepers and flunkeys. Throughout the son sees only his father. He shows no sense of distance. His father is too near and dear to him. With the egotism and conceit which appears in every generation of this family, he takes little notice of what made the man, and would prefer to think that his father evolved himself, rather than that he was the product of any influences. We agree with Goethe: "The main object of biography is to exhibit man in relation to the features of his time." But the son makes no attempt to do this. Even when Lytton is at the imitative period, the son cannot see it. What are plainly conscious imitations he would fain have us believe to be the products of unfettered genius. What the son takes to be original suggestions on Ireland, for instance, are mainly borrowed from James Mill. "Pelham" was written shortly after Disraeli's "Vivian Grey" and Lister's "Granby," and all these brilliantly stupid productions must be judged in relation to one another. But why

this mad desire that all the originality of the world might centre itself in one family? Why this puerile vanity which is so fain to see in every member of one's family a highly superior person? Surely we are all men and brothers! Fortunately, Lord Lytton left an autobiography, which, however, only goes as far as his twenty-second year. It is a genuine *Wahrheit und Dichtung*—truth and imagination combined—not, however, conscious like Goethe's, but unconscious. There is undoubtedly a good deal of imagination in it, but it matters little to us whether or not Lord Lytton was in his youth all that he paints himself, it is highly valuable. Shorn of phrases he was a mother's darling (his father dying while he was still an infant), and consequently a spoilt boy. His mother taught him poetry before she taught him pothooks. She also instilled into his young mind a becoming sense of his dignified birth, and taught him a solemn reverence for his departed ancestors, whom Lytton is never tired of tracing back by means of "genealogical tricks," as Elizabeth's Burleigh, with unconscious humour, called pedigrees. His account of these early lessons is delightfully written; and at the time of his writing it, Lytton had learnt that rank, honours, and riches are not the sole incentives to noble conduct in this vain world, and himself observes: "In going through the above details of private history, I am no doubt indulging my acknowledged infirmity of family pride, and, it may be, exposing myself to the contempt of the philosophical." Showing thereby, if the principle needed further illustration, that, just as a man may be made conscious of certain absurd tricks of body, so he may be aware of a certain warping of the judgment, and yet be unable to remedy his defects. The whole account of his ancestry is a caricature. To return: from a spoilt infant he developed into a rather precocious boy, left too much to his own devices. At the age of sixteen, he appears as the unamiable product of "private select academies" and "private tutors." His superior airs at one academy provoked a fight, in which he unfortunately came off victor. It is a pity that he was never sent to Eton, or some other public school, where he would have found other boys as clever as himself, who nevertheless did not give themselves airs, or, if they did, got soundly pummelled. At another academy, at the age of fifteen, he received a blow from the master, and we find the mature man of forty-seven commenting upon it thus: "A blow—at my age—to one of my ancient birth! My ancestry was invoked with the spirit of a Roman!" After his juvenile love-affair, his morbid vanity notes with satisfaction how "young eyes peered at me from the windows, and I passed up the front garden, pale, thin, and careworn, the ghost of what I had been a year before." Lytton shortly afterwards went to Cambridge. "But languid and objectless, indifferent to ambition, not dreaming of honours, shunning companionship, averse from noisy pleasures, I went into the animated, restless, world of the University." Health and common sense returned in a measure. But the radical vices of his mind betray themselves in the language employed by the mature man of forty-seven in recording the events of his youth. "Come, my good man, I will pay for the trouble.

Don't speak to me *as if I was a beggar.*" "He was obviously much my *inferior in rank*," and so on. When the father ceases to commit himself, the son continues in the same vein of painful brag and "fidget," which Swinburne so severely styles the two notes characteristic of inborn vulgarity.

The character of the girl first loved by my father was probably as uncommon as the love he gave her. . . . My father had as yet never known privation, never been pinched for money. Sensitively proud (by what right?) he would have suffered intolerably from any position in life which left him unable to hold his head high!

Goethe found in Spinoza a theory of the universe and man which satisfied his mind to the exclusion of every other philosophy. Schiller found the same in Kant; George Eliot seems to have found it in Comte. But my father's creations responded to the guidance of no single philosopher, and contain no artistic illustration of the maxims of any particular school or system of philosophy.

At twenty-four Lytton married, and "out of an income of £500 a year kept a large country-house near London, a carriage and two or three carriage-horses, and was entertaining constantly. And though he appears to have contracted some debts, his correspondence shows that they were not more than he was able to pay off in the third year of his marriage." Yes, but by what Grub Street drudgery! In "Money," Lytton makes one of his characters echo his own feelings of that time. "In marriages like this the wife cannot share the burden. It is his, the husband's, to provide, to scheme, to work, to endure, to grind out his strong heart at the miserable wheel. The wife, alas! cannot share the struggle, she can but witness the despair." And all this heroic sacrifice for what? For show, for family pride, for abject adoration of the idols of the "upper classes." And for the sake of keeping up the miserable appearances which he adored, he applied himself with such slavery to his drudgery that he could find no time for his wife, ceased to make a companion of her, ruined his health, overstrained his nerves, and allowed himself to fall into habits of fidgetiness and peevishness, which finally had what result?—the ultimate and irreparable estrangement of the wife for whom all the ignoble sacrifice was made! It is too painful, too poor a history to linger over. The future discourses on high themes is still serving his apprenticeship in life. The second volume leaves him at the age of twenty-six, full of vain ambitions, unemancipated from his life's idols, nothing achieved and little promise for the future. His contemporaries were severe upon him—no man was ever so virulently attacked, and Thackeray was among the number of his traducers. But nothing so bitter was said of him as his own admission concerning Pelham: "It was not my aim to paint drawing-rooms, but to paint the people in them—their characters and humours." The general public, however, only saw the drawing-room, and present readers only see the same. We await the coming volumes. Miseries, genuine miseries, are in store for young Lytton which purify the soul. Finally, we would recommend the author

to beware of making his family even more wonderful than that of Carlyle himself.

A singular contrast is the change from the "Life of Lytton" to the "Life of F. D. Maurice,"* also written by his son. From the strange spectacle of a family wherein "family pride" seems to supply more than two-thirds of the motives of life, and to cause most of the heartburning and dissension and estrangement, we are conveyed to a very different family, where "religion" almost fulfils the same functions. Maurice is most generally known only by his "Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy." This was the theme of his life. "Religion" was almost the only subject which he discussed, and he began it almost from his birth. He had no childhood. He was born and bred in an atmosphere of discussion. Unfortunately, the discussion always ended in dissent, the dissent led to dissension. It is impossible to conceive what can have been the terrible state of a household in which it was possible for the daughters to write to their father, being then in his house: "We do not think it consistent with the duty we owe to God to attend a Unitarian place of worship, and can no longer consent to take the communion with you." So painful had discussion on these trying subjects become that the family habitually wrote in preference to speaking. Dissensions in the family only increased with time. It finally came round to F. D. Maurice's turn to leave his father's Unitarian confession and join the Church of England. The ideas and beliefs which divided people of sixty years perhaps no longer exist, and consequently the greater part of these volumes have for the general public only a retrospective interest. There is a sweet humility in the words in which Maurice sums up, in 1836, the result of thirty years' incessant pondering on the terrible enigma of life. They are addressed to a would-be pupil:—

All the information I have which could serve in any degree for the guidance of another, has been derived from blunders oft repeated, from long periods of aimless search of melancholy listlessness, bringing after them shame and despondency, but resulting, I would humbly hope, through the mercy which makes all things work together for good, in some self-acquaintance, some abhorrence of self-will, and some desire to show my brethren how they may avoid quicksands in which I sank, and how they may attain a harbour which, if I may not say I have reached, I am at least sure that I desery.

The modern reader cannot but take up the attitude of Carlyle towards Maurice—the modern reader and Carlyle always anxious to avoid points of difference; Maurice never able to leave them alone. Maurice had the greatest reverence for Carlyle, but feared that it was not reciprocal; he feared, indeed, that Carlyle thought him a "sham." And assuredly Carlyle did so—in the Carlylean sense. He doubtless regarded Maurice as a chaser of phantoms and unrealities, the questioner of a motionless sphinx. Maurice wrote no love-letters; they are theological discussions. Even a parent's grief at the loss of a still-born child cannot still this hunger for inquiry:

* "The Life of F. D. Maurice." By his Son, F. Maurice. Two vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

"I do not know what the judgment of the Church is, but I could not look upon its marble face without believing that a spirit had been within it, and that it was gone home to its Father's house, and would one day come again with Christ and His saints." In a letter to a friend he is thus described: "He is a man of much prayer; his sisters told me that when he was with them they frequently found that he had not been in bed all night, having spent the whole night in prayer." Such was the man. The age is Carlylean—and endorses his opinion. Strange to us is the apparition of the dead.

The record of a life²² which is typical of the lives of so many young people nowadays may be read with interest. Ellen Watson was in no way a remarkable person, and she died in 1880 at the premature age of twenty-four. The first two-and-twenty years of her life were devoted to the acquisition of positive knowledge, chiefly in the fields of mathematics and physics. She was a Gilchrist scholar at Girton, and graduated at London. Twenty-two years of examinations, followed by two years of teaching in South Africa, suddenly cut short by pulmonary consumption! And this is life! We should like to know if there was any connection between the examination-system and the consumption—her editor gives no hint that the consumption was purely hereditary. But the acquisition of dry positive knowledge could not satisfy the yearnings of even so short a life as hers. As soon as she was released from the bondage of examinations and class-rooms, she directed her thoughts to those subjects which alone give hope of solace to the mind—art, poetry, and religion. Her mind awakened to the consciousness of higher wants. The death of her favourite Professor, the well-known "materialist," W. K. Clifford, probably had the effect of turning her thoughts chiefly to religion, and she died with the words of the Communion on her lips, submissively desiring to believe the most comfortable doctrines of our faith. But there was no fruition, and no spirit of keen joy in such a life as this. And yet it is a typical life, and an outcome of modern methods. Ellen Watson never got so far as some of us moderns—for ever lamenting that there should be no better bread than can be made with wheat; perpetually bewailing the shortness of human life, saying unkind things about death, and for ever pulling a long face at Pan, and begging him to leave his piping and answer riddles. But she never lived, she only prepared to live. She never advanced beyond the stage of tuition. No love ever intoxicated her mind with pleasure, and she never learned to have a sense of the soul of immortal gladness in all things. Her day was a night of doubt and sorrow, warmed at most by the moon's rays. And this is a life! The only justification for writing a record of it will *perhaps* be found in Dr. Johnson's words: "There has, perhaps, rarely passed a life of which a judicious and faithful narrative would not be useful." This, however, is not the praise we can accord to Miss Buckland. Her remarks are *jejune*. Miss Watson's letters and essays are the only things which invite perusal.

²² "Ellen Watson." By Anna Buckland. London: Chapman & Hall. 1884.
[Vol. CXXII. No. CCXLIII.]—NEW SERIES; Vol. LXVI. No. I. T

One of the most charming autobiographies it has been our good fortune to read is that of Mrs. Anna Eliza Bray,* born 1789, died 1883. This is no record of a life cut off prematurely. Mrs. Bray had already reached an age of intelligence before her grandmother died in her hundredth year. And we may understand the strength of the impression made upon a precocious child by the tales of the old lady, who could carry her memory back to the days of Queen Anne, when she lived among men who had witnessed the execution of King Charles I. ! Mrs. Bray was a gentlewoman of the old school. It is no wonder if the incidents and traditions of the last century gave a colour to her ideas and manner. Her novels and tales are perhaps not much read now ; but as her grand-nephew, Mr. Kempe, says—“She believed profoundly in herself and her works, and made no secret of it ; but there was a childlike openness and sweetness in her self-confidence which attracted instead of repelling.” Here for once indeed we meet with real dignity in a character marked by simplicity, repose and self-restraint. Let us quote a few words. After two years of happy marriage with Charles Stothard, the son of the great Stothard, she suffered a great blow by his sudden death through an accident. One month after his death, she had a child born to her. But four short months after that “it pleased the Almighty to deprive her of her dear child.”

The sorrow of that affliction no words can express. So bitterly and almost incessantly did I weep that suddenly my eyes became affected in the most serious manner. I could do nothing ; the slightest attempt to read or write was attended with such fearful effects, that I was soon literally helpless, all my efforts were paralyzed, and my heart given up to a grief of the most dangerous kind, a grief which, from the want of occupation, had leisure to indulge all the feelings of wretchedness till they became morbid. I was advised that I must call up a strong resolution to conquer my feelings, or the most serious consequences would be the result. The opinion thus firmly given, produced an effect on my mind the most remarkable. Hitherto I had sorrowed for the loss of others ; I now felt alarmed lest I should become lost to myself, for that would be the consequence of the loss of my sight. From that day all my efforts at self-command were renewed with tenfold vigour.

The portrait of her prefixed to the book is that of a singularly beautiful woman, full of animation, and with a “spirituality” in it which reminds one strongly of Mrs. Browning. Her autobiography displays a mind of genuine distinction. Here is refinement, tone, true-breeding—everything which is most dear and amiable in woman. And if there is also a certain reserve, we miss nothing essential, and it is an example which may well be set up to a generation like ours, which is so sadly given over to morbid curiosity. Of all men of her own generation she had the greatest reverence for Southey ; but she also lived in close contact with many of those most distinguished in art and literature. To us moderns she represents an ideal which is almost lost to us, and if, amongst the women who may read this book, some should take her as a model, it would be no calamity.

* “Autobiography of Anna Eliza Bray.” Edited by J. A. Kempe. London ; Chapman & Hall. 1884.

A book with a title intended to catch the eye—"A. Cursory History of Swearing"³⁰—will probably succeed in its intention and attract the attention of the idle. That any author should be capable of keeping up through 200 pages a flippant discourse on a few expletives does more credit to his industry than to his judgment. The sum of the matter is that an expletive is a form of words which the foolish and vulgar will always consider forcible, while the more cultured few will regard them as the sure signs of a weakness of mind and a poverty of expression. The author attempts to give the etymology and history of several words, and has some notices of legislation against swearing. But his remarks are so much wrapped up in flippant circumlocution that few will have the patience to follow him. He has been at the pains of collecting anecdotes and illustrations from a surprising variety of sources.

The "New Lucian"³¹ is cast in the form of dialogues of the dead, as its title suggests, well known to the student of literature. Fénelon in his "Dialogue des Morts," and of course particularly Landor in his "Imaginary Conversations," made themselves famous by the works they wrote under this device. It is plain that Landor was the author's model, and we cannot but admit that he has well imitated the cultured tone and caught the polished manner of his master. There is the same epigrammatic terseness, combined with a diction well suited to the characters supposed to be speaking, which gives to Landor's conversations so much of their charm, *vraisemblance*, and dramatic effect. The dialogue between "Plato and Landor" is the most delightful. The next is that between "Richardson and Fielding"—which is couched, as it should be, in altogether different language. Although these are dialogues of the dead, it is needless to say that their conversations at all points touch topics of purely modern interest. These lively shades are kept *au courant* concerning things above-ground by endless arrivals. Every one will find this book an intellectual feast, although perhaps every one will not be able to understand all the allusions. How many, for instance, will recognize this newly-arrived shade?

He was of about the middle height, but reduced below it by a stoop. The length of his hair might have proclaimed him a Spartan, were it not that one saw that he could have come of no race which follows the practice of exposing its sickly children. His visage was long even to prolixity; his mouth semi-hiant and unalterably sad. He had the eyes of a dolphin, and the legs of a Strymonian crane.

Plato. Apotropaian Apollo! Avert the omen! And you, my friend, refrain from unlucky words! What should this portent threaten?

We can only quote one other passage:—

Plato. Do you mean that these poets reject the supreme authority of reason as a guide and moderator in their compositions!

Landor. I mean that they not only reject but insult it. A poem by one

³⁰ "A Cursory History of Swearing." By Julian Sharmen. London: Nimmo & Baln. 1884.

³¹ "The New Lucian." By H. D. Traill. London: Chapman & Hall. 1884.

of these poets is either a riot of the imagination or a mutiny of the passions; and reason would present herself there with as much rashness as an unpopular magistrate at a tumult among the cobblers. They would pelt her from the scene with rotten adjectives.

Plato. You are indeed describing a lawless and licentious class of men.

Lander. In matters of art they profess to be, as they call it, a "law unto themselves;" a pretention than which none could be more alien from the orderly and reverent spirit of the Greek.

The "Life of Sir David Wedderburn,"²² by his sister, is the biography of a man who, without being, and without any claim to be, anything wonderful, was a credit to his nation, and who, in his many travels, behaved in a way to inspire respect for the British character. The present volume is mainly a record of his travels, and is chiefly composed of extracts from his diaries which he sedulously kept in every part of the world. His remarks are mainly directed to externals, and there is a good deal that is merely supplementary to Baedeker; but they are occasionally not without touches which show considerable insight into the political and social conditions of the countries he visited—of Greece and Turkey, India and Russia, &c. The descriptions are fresh and lively, and have the great advantage of not being reminiscences, but actually written on the spot. Sir D. Wedderburn's literary activity was restricted to articles contributed to a variety of journals, amongst which the *Girl's Own Paper* seems to have been a favourite.

Mr. Backhouse,²³ a member of the Society of Friends, well known in the north of England, who died a few years ago, left behind him the commencement of a work on Church History viewed from a Quaker standpoint. This has now been edited by some of his friends. There is no pretence of original research, but the main facts from the destruction of Jerusalem to the Council of Niceæ are put together in a very readable form. The writer speaks of his heretical point of view, but this does not save him from applying the phrase "poisonous leaven" to those heresies with which he disagrees. Verily the *odium theologicum* varies as the slightness of the difference between the parties. But it is hardly fair to speak of *odium theologicum* in connection with Mr. Backhouse, for though he disapproves strongly both of Gnosticism and Arianism, he says nothing evil of the members of those sects. To trace the growth of a society and the gradual development of its organization is both interesting and useful; but it is unreasonable to found an argument upon it, as the author attempts to do. When the Church was a small persecuted society, it may not have wanted special officers—a clergy as distinct from a laity—any more than our ancestors wanted professional soldiers when every man was trained to arms. But *tempora mutantur*, in the Church as in other things, and we can agree with Mr. Backhouse in thinking it

²² "Life of Sir David Wedderburn." By Mrs. E. H. Percival. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1884.

²³ "Early Church History to the Death of Constantine." Compiled by the late Edward Backhouse. Edited and enlarged by Charles Tylor. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1884.

not always for the better. The illustrations greatly enhance the value of the book. They consist of Christian antiquities, some from the author's own pencil and others reproduced from photographs.

We have received the first number of a new Italian quarterly, the *Rivista Storica Italiana*,³⁴ published by the well-known Bocca firm, and under the editorship of C. Rinando, A. Fabretti, Villari and De Leva. The general plan has clearly been suggested by that of the "Revue Historique" of Paris, but it does not aspire to fill the universal position of that paper, and restricts itself rather more to national history. Each number is arranged under four heads—original articles, reviews, summary of all that relates to Italian affairs in foreign reviews, and notices of societies and their proceedings. Although there are some fifty historical periodical publications in Italy alone, none attempts exactly the same task as this review. The amount of historical periodical literature—of mere writing about books—is appalling. In French, German, English, and Italian, there are between two and three hundred; add Portuguese, Dutch and South American, and the *raison d'être* of a general review like this will be understood. To collect and summarize all notices on Italian affairs from such a variety of sources means effecting a great economy of labour. The articles and reviews of this number are quite equal in merit to those of similar reviews in England, France, or Germany. If we have one suggestion to offer, it is to beware of (Italian) prolixity—the articles on Duruy's History and Villari's Macchiavelli are too long.

Mr. Ashton's edition of the life of Captain John Smith, the President of Virginia, is one of the best boys' books that has come out this season.³⁵ The selection and condensation is well done, and the book is illustrated by facsimilies of the original engravings of Smith's "Wonderful Adventures among the Turks in the East and the Indians in the West," some being taken from his work, and others from contemporary maps. The portrait of Pocahontas is well known, but not so the picture of her saving Smith's life, nor that of her father's court.

BELLES LETTERS.

MODERN verse when it rises above the ordinary level is often conspicuous for facility of expression. There is an increased supply of poetical ideas and harmonious phrases afloat and abroad in the air, and an imaginative writer possessed of some literary skill has more and more poetical stock to draw upon, as the crowd of poets gather with the passing years. The study of old ballads and the earlier poetry of nations has become general, the romance of the Renaissance is no longer the property of the few, and by help of

³⁴ "Rivista Storica Italiana." Rome: Bocca. 1884.

³⁵ "The Adventures and Discourses of Captain John Smith." Newly ordered by John Ashton. London: Cassell & Co. 1888.

translations, or a more or less faltering study of the original, all the poets of all the ages have become audible at once. But in spite of this enlarged vocabulary and store of varied phrases, the old difficulty of finding a new subject, or of treating the familiar themes from a new point of view, remains. Some therefore turn to art, and others question science if haply they may find the inspiration which they desire. But as yet neither word-painting nor poetical rendering of the marvels of science have made poetry a new creature. But in consequence of this uneasy quest of novelty there are frequent attempts at metrical description of new scenes and new phenomena. The august temple of the Muses has become a museum in the modern sense of the word—part class-room, part a repository of curios. "The Earth Voices, and other Poems,"¹ by Mr. William Sharp, with which we are favourably impressed, will afford us an instance of this tendency. With the exception of the legend of Sospitra and a dramatic idyll recording the romantic love-story of Gaspara Stampa—both of which are full of interest and beauty—the greater part of the volume consists of poetical fragments which are either disconnected from each other or only succeed each other in a formal and mechanical sequence. Of the "Transcripts from Nature," the author says himself that they are portions of a series forming a kind of private "Liber Studiorum," while the "Earth Voices" are divided into Song of the Streams, Song of the Waterfalls, Song of the Deserts, &c. The Song of the Stream is again subdivided into the Voice of the Nile, the Tiber, the Rhine, &c. Now granted facility of expression and a knowledge of the poetical phrases in vogue, all that is required for endless poetry of this kind is a geography, a rhyming dictionary, and *toujours de l'audace*. Again, we have moon-rise sketches, rainbow sketches, Australian sketches, until we are tempted to exclaim, "Where is the picture?" The scratches of a Michael Angelo or a Flaxman, nay, even the palette of a Reynolds, are worth preserving, but the secrets of a beginner are all his own. "A plague on your method! we go by the result." We will give an instance of one of Mr. Sharp's most striking transcripts.

AN "IMPRESSION."

A hundred arches left and right
Are mirror'd in the calm lagoon;
The stars pulse there, and the gold moon
Sails through a nether sphere of night:
A distant roar—a flame—a crash—
A whirling fiery bolt—a flash—
* * * *

The train is gone; the echo's o'er;
The arch'd lagoon is still once more.

Now if this were introduced into a long poem it would stand out well as a *purpureus pannus*, but printed as a separate poem, we maintain that though beautiful in itself, it is an impertinence. We regret that

¹ "Earth Voices, and other Poems." By William Sharp. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row. 1884.

our space will not allow us to dwell on the two longer poems, "Sospetra" and "Gaspara Stampa," but they prove that Mr. Sharp can conceive a dramatic situation and express the same in melodious verse.

Very few books of travel present a clearer picture of the aspect of Nature and the incidents of daily life in a foreign land than the "Indian Lyrics"² of Mr. Trego Webb. When a poet and a humourist takes up the tale of distant climes he not only enlarges knowledge, but he gives delight. We once had the privilege of listening to Charles Kingsley as hatless but not pipeless on a wild March morning, he described an evening scene in the West Indian forest, the monkeys going to bed, and the oldest monkey preaching a sermon to his younger brethren, and we need not say that the picture was fixed in our mind for ever. If Mr. Webb does not command the inspiration of genius, he certainly possesses the poet's eye and the sympathy of the humourist, without which there is neither seeing nor hearing of the procreative kind. The earlier part of the volume, belying the title, consists of a series of sonnets on native servants and European residents. They may be characterized as humorous-descriptive. They are, no doubt, accurate transcripts from well-known types, and to set against the tone of quiet contempt which bespeaks the Anglo-Indian, there is an undertone of tenderness for these "children of a larger growth" which excites the sympathy of the reader. Of the lyrics proper we return to read with the greatest interest the "Old Punkah Wallah." Headed by a quotation from Wordsworth, and recalling the style and treatment of the Lyrical Ballads, this poem, in our judgment, touches the highest level of any in the volume. We can only find space for the opening stanzas, and those which record the death of the Punkah Wallah at his post.

Our ways are full of sound and strife ;
Ambition clouds our years ;
We break the quiet calms of life
With restless hopes and fears.

Sometimes methinks we well might learn
From humble lives we shun
How uncomplaining toil may earn
The crown of duty done.

* * * *

But soon his resting-place was known,
Nor was he far astray ;
For in an outhouse all alone
Stone-dead the old man lay.

Still faithful he had borne his part
Down to his latest breath ;
Till Nature to that patient heart
Whispered that this was death.

² "Indian Lyrics." By W. Trego Webb. Bengal Education Service. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. London: W. Thacker & Co. 1884.

"The Ode to a Crow" ranks highest as a metrical composition and as a work of humour. "The Adjutant Bird," "The Nautch Girl," and "Punkah Beats" are more original if less striking. For rhymes of the P. and O. we care but little. And the inevitable triolets and rondeaux, like all new fashions which are not quite new, seem to us already out of date. In his last stanzas Mr. Webb again strikes the Wordsworthian lyre.

Our years amid these sultry plains,
The palm, the lotus' silver gleam,
Light subjects of my lighter strains,
May seem to some an idle theme.

Yet to men's minds great Nature's powers
A silent inspiration give;
The fields and sunlight, trees and flowers,
All help to mould the life we live.

In the various surroundings of Indian life Mr. Webb has discovered rather than invented an original subject, and if he now and again recalls great poets to our minds, it is less in the way of imitation than of dutiful reproduction. As a rule his style is his own, and serves his turn sufficiently well.

At the very beginning of "The English Madonna" * Mr. James Hinton prays that eternal Junes may be the portion of his lady-love.

— unmarred
E'en by one petal falling from one spray,
Or one heart broken sigh of sorrowing bard.

But he is by no means inclined to spare us, or to remember that our Junes are transitory and may as well be fairly cheerful. Now it is impossible for anything to be at once duller and more painful than to be constrained to listen, not to the conventional sighs of a love-sick poet, but to the apparently *bond fide* confidences of a literary gentleman touching what ought to be his own private affairs. We would remind Mr. Hinton that when the great poets of bygone days celebrated their mistresses in verse they idealized them, and so removed them from the profane gaze of the vulgar. But in "The English Madonna," as before in "Love's Offering," we are made to feel that we are being let into a secret about a real event, and we are made ashamed and uncomfortable by the pantings and spasms and sighs with which the unasked-for revelation is accompanied. We do not deny that Mr. Hinton has a great command of language, or that his power of impassioned apostrophe is purely mechanical. But we wish he would apply his gift of verse to a more becoming theme. The frontispiece to the volume consists of a large photograph of a young lady. We forbear to comment on the propriety or taste of such a novel insertion.

* "An English Madonna." By James Hinton, Author of "Love's Offering." London: Remington & Co., 134, New Bond Street. 1884.

The "Rhyme of the Lady of the Rock, and how it Grew,"* by Mrs. Pfeiffer, consists of the story of the composition of a Scottish ballad during a tour in the Isle of Mull, and the ballad itself. Against this unnatural union of poetry and prose we protest altogether. Even Mr. Hinton does not subjoin to his passionate effusions a prose narrative of how he felt when he began to write, or what he had for dinner the day before; nor does he present us with a model audience consisting of several admirers and only one dissentient critic. Mrs. Pfeiffer's narrative may, of course, be purely imaginary, but that is not the impression left upon our minds. The allusion to Professor Blackie; the literary lady who inspires the simple natives with such trembling adoration; the mention of "that one of us who takes for his share all the worst of the work of life;" the self-consciousness which is as conspicuous as the cleverness, all point to the prose narrative being for the most part an "over true tale." We recommend our readers to skip it, and to get on to the poetry. The "Lady of the Rock" is the story of a daughter of the House of Argyll wedded against her will to a chieftain of Mull; how she scorned his love, how he sought to revenge himself by exposing his wife to the fury of the waves, and how she is restored to life and true love at last. The subject is a right good one for ballad poetry, and Mrs. Pfeiffer's rendering is beautiful as well as spirited. There is an echo here and there of the great ballads of D. G. Rossetti, but the following is far from slavish. The scene in the turret chamber, in which the Lady Elizabeth defies the Red Maclean on her bridal night, and refuses to be other than his wife in name, is finely conceived and beautifully told. But Mrs. Pfeiffer should not have deprecated criticism, or explained that it is sometimes proper to write poetry on doubtful themes. "Name it and you break it" is true of silence and other essences besides.

"Poems and Swedish Translations,"† by Frederick Peterson, M.D., possesses the merit of brevity and simplicity. The style is even, and if rarely melodious, it is well adapted to the thin German sentiment of the original lyrics. Many of the pieces bear a faint resemblance to the songs of Heine. There is more substance in the following lines than in most of the shorter poems:—

THE ZOROASTRIAN.

As once perhaps in olden days
Beneath the far-off Persian skies,
Some reverent one of patient ways
Did hours before the sun arise.
To hasten in the starlit moon
Up some high hill when winds were cold,
To wait the moment day is boon,
To kneel before the disk of gold;

* "The Rhyme of the Lady of the Rock, and how it Grew." By Emily Pfeiffer. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1, Paternoster Square. 1884.

† "Poems and Swedish Translations." By Frederick Peterson, M.D. Buffalo, N.Y.: Peter Paul & Brothers, Publishers, 368, Main Street. London: Trübner & Co. 1888.

And when the long rays were descried,
Which leaped forth from the golden rim
Of that great star he deified,
To pour out orisons to him—
As may have done this devotee,
I wake, I wait, I kneel to thee.

Most of Mr. Sibree's verses⁶ were written long ago, and under the modest titles of Rhymes reviewed a while since. Fortified by some not unfriendly notices, the author again presents these rhymes, together with some others, to the public, and inscribes them under the name of Poems to the aforesaid complaisant reviewers. After this it will be unbecoming on our part to presume to criticize, but perhaps we may be permitted to address the author in his own words—

We may preach, preach, preach,
But we never can preach like thee.

An anonymous romance, "Onnalinda" by name, of American authorship, and concerning the invasion of the Genesee valley by Denonville, sustains its interest from first to last. Strange to say, the tale is the pleasanter to read for being in metre, and the reader is beguiled past many pitfalls in the shape of "asides" by the author by the silvery ring of the verse. The story turns upon the courtship of Onnalinda, an Indian princess, the granddaughter of an English earl (note the breathless interest in the points of the coronet), by Captain Eben Stark, who at first is fighting with and then against the French commander Denonville. There is also a bye-story concerning Ronald Kent, the faithful squire of Stark, his origin and his constancy to the love of his childhood. Everything ends happily. Captain Eben Stark and Onnalinda are united; Oonak, the traitor, is punished; Ronald Kent and his Glinting Star come together at last. It is a tale of the forest, of savage chivalry, of mirthful, happy love-making. The Ballad of the Burning Ship, of which Stark is the hero, is well adapted for public recitation. Only the author's asides are tedious, both when he is "arch" and when he is learned and witty all at once.

Three volumes of the poems of the Dean of Wells, which are severally entitled "Master and Scholar,"⁷ "Lazarus, and other Poems,"⁸ "Things New and Old,"⁹ are for the most part reprints of former editions. In "Things New and Old," Dr. Plumtre collects for the first time some pleasing *in memoriam* sonnets and verses to

⁶ "Poems." By John Sibree, M.A. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1884.

⁷ "Onnalinda." A Romance. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 27 & 29, West 23rd Street. London: 25, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden. 1884.

⁸ "Master and Scholar," &c. By E. H. Plumtre, D.D., Dean of Wells. Second edition, with Notes. London: Griffith & Farran, St. Paul's Churchyard. 1884.

⁹ "Lazarus, and other Poems." By E. H. Plumtre, D.D., Dean of Wells. Fourth edition. London: Griffith & Farran, St. Paul's Churchyard. 1884.

¹⁰ "Things New and Old." By E. H. Plumtre, D.D., Dean of Wells. London: Griffith & Farran, St. Paul's Churchyard. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

well-known friends who have recently passed away. We prefer the sonnet to the memory of Mrs. Tait to any of the rest. The verses, to the metre of *Hiawatha*, in memory of Prince Leopold, are graceful. These poems as a whole are addressed to those prepared to receive them. They are smoothly written, scholarly in expression, and entirely free from folly and affectation. But Charles Lamb's delightful translation of the motto *Sermoni propri ora*, which Coleridge prefixed to his "Religious Musings," applies with peculiar force to almost all the Dean's poems. "They are proper for a sermon." No doubt they were written with a religious purpose, but even to those to whom the sentiments are welcome the undisguised improving of the occasion must be a little tedious. We remember to have seen a specimen of a proposed translation of Dante by Dr. Plumptre which reached a higher level than these amiable but "shovel-hatted" elegies.

Poetry like that of the Dean of Wells, the work of a scholar and a man of letters, brings with it its own reward; for it attains the end which the author proposes to himself, and he knows what it is worth and how far it is poetry at all. But what are we to say to the poetical works of John Brent, F.S.A.?¹¹ They betoken a gentle and pleasant imagination, they are composed with great care, neither metre nor expression is at fault, and they contain nothing base. But it is possible to read them through, and then be unable to say which of them have left a distinct impression on the mind, if indeed any have left an impression at all. There is a long Tennysonian idyll named "Winnie;" "Justine, an Early Christian Romance," and endless lesser poems with such titles as "The Moon," "Prayer," "The Days of Eld," "The Storm." They are all pretty, all sensible, all what they should be; and there are two volumes of them exquisitely printed on thick paper with gold edges, and bound in white and gold cloth. A sort of compassion and a sort of shame at feeling compassion comes over the mind when we consider the "pity of it." But no doubt Mr. Brent's poems have given, and will continue to give, pleasure to numerous lovers of graceful and harmless sentiment.

We have less compunction in speaking our mind on the first volume of a threatened series of eighteen brethren by Mrs. Horace Dobell. We are told in a prefatory note that the title of "In the Watches of the Night"¹² was given to these poems because they were written between the hours of ten and two o'clock in the night. How did Mrs. Dobell manage to keep awake? Or is it that, suffering from sleeplessness herself, she was benevolent enough to invent a certain sedative? The verses themselves are melodious, and expressed with superabundant facility. They do not contain any distinct ideas or describe any events. They testify to the existence of a vague un-

¹¹ "The Poetical Works of the late John Brent, F.S.A." Revised edition, in two volumes. London: W. Kent & Co., Paternoster Row. 1894.

¹² "In the Watches of the Night." Poems in eighteen volumes. By Mrs. Horace Dobell. Vol. I. "Too Late." London: Remington & Co., 18, Henrietta Street. 1894.

comfortable emotion such as the leaves of the sundew may be supposed to feel when presented with minute morsels of beefsteak, and this the authoress celebrates under the name of Love.

In "Prairie Pictures," Mr. John Cameron Grant paints a minute picture of the land of the far North-West. He describes the flowers of the prairie, and names them one by one. The following lines are among the more beautiful :—

They stretch away before,
The limitless billowing grasses blue and green;
Pale topaz, some with stalks of amethyst,
Bowed to the breeze that passes gently o'er
The leagues of wild oats lying wide between
The marshy tracts and higher lands and dry,
With spots of lighter soil caressed and kissed
By blue-bell buds of lapis lazuli.

He also describes the Bush with almost scientific accuracy. We admit the cleverness of these descriptions, and their occasional beauty; but it is imagination and not observation which makes the poet. Lilith, that impossible she who is the haunting spirit of each man's innermost fancy, is not without merit. There are some longer poems—"Vicisti" and "In Italy"—for which we care less. Suppressed indignation which looks down with scorn on the questions which interest and divide the rest of mankind, whilst it swells with the importance of its own *unum porro necessarium*, is much in vogue, and begins to grow tedious.

We cannot pretend to have waded through all the two hundred and seventy-five pages of "A Tale of Two Fair Women," a portentous drama of which the opening scene is laid at Trinity College, Dublin, and the fourth scene of the seventh canto at Lake Chinchona. Perhaps we may assume that the author was born, as Mr. Micawber might have said, "on an adjacent isle"—is, in short, an Irishman. The style is of that allusive and metaphorical kind which is supposed to be *de rigueur* in dramatic works, and much skill and ingenuity is displayed in the turn of expression. But the plot is rambling and wanting in continuity. The source of inspiration is the "Aurora Leigh" of Mrs. Barrett Browning, which, *pace* Mr. Ruskin and his advice to discard Coleridge and Shelley in its favour, is a dangerous model for beginners.

When the Laureate wrote that "a sorrow's crown of sorrow was the remembering happier things," he must have forgotten the praise of the foolish. "Primroses," the Beaconsfield elegy, tend to make ridiculous the memory of a great man who least of all men of his day incurred ridicule. Here is the first stanza—

¹³ "Prairie Pictures, Lilith, and other Poems. By John Cameron Grant. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1884.

¹⁴ "A Tale of Two Fair Women." Dublin: George Herbert, 117, Grafton Street. London: Hatchards, Piccadilly. 1882.

¹⁵ "Primroses." An Elegy, in four cantos, in Memory of the late Lord Beaconsfield, K.G. London: Griffith & Farran, St. Paul's Churchyard. 1884.

A nation mourns a nation's loss,
An empire mourns from zone to zone,
A people grieved, bereaved has grown
To gauge the sorrow of the cross,
Which three grave years have failed to gloss.

One is tempted to ask what would "he whom they call Dizzy" have thought about it himself?

The translation of Dante's "Inferno,"¹⁶ by Mr. James Romanes Sibbald, is a work of great literary merit. The introductory note contains a clear and interesting account of the state of parties in Florence at the end of the thirteenth century, of Dante's connection with the rival and interchanging Guelphs and Ghibelines, and of his relations to his wife Gemma. The frontispiece is a rendering of Giotto's portrait of Dante, based upon a photograph of Mr. Kirkup's sketch in Lord Vernon's edition of the "Inferno" (1865). In a separate note Mr. Romanes Sibbald gives reasons for believing that this portrait was painted after Dante's death in 1326. The translation is at once pleasant to read and a faithful reproduction of the metre and style of the original. The emphasis on the last syllable of the word "harassed," and the statement that if Dante took advantage of the amnesty and returned to Florence, "like a malefactor he would require to walk," betray the author's nationality.

Messrs. Nimmo and Bain issue a four-volume edition of the collected works of Edgar Allan Poe.¹⁷ The issue is limited to a thousand copies. There is a brief introductory biography by Mr. John H. Ingram, which sums up the scanty information which exists concerning that ill-starred child of genius whom England and America, now that it is too late, delight to honour. The work is illustrated by fourteen etchings, three photographs, and an excellent etched portrait. The etchings are more striking in execution than original in design. Only Phiz or Cruikshank could have done justice to the ghastly imagery and weird incidents in which Poe delighted to revel. At the end of the fourth volume comes the poems by which, when all is said, the author's fame was won, and by which it will perish "nevermore." Messrs. Nimmo and Bain may take credit to themselves for the white vellum binding, the best of its kind that we have come across.

Messrs. Macmillan include in their classical series the fourth book of Thucydides,¹⁸ with notes by C. E. Graves. In the preface Mr. Graves acknowledges his obligations to the late Mr. Shilleto *præclarum nomen*. The notes, which are admirable of their kind, are fitted to assist and instruct the very intelligent, but to place them in the hands of the dense and stumbling would be as useless

¹⁶ "The Inferno." A Translation, with Notes and an Introductory Essay. By James Romanes Sibbald. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1884.

¹⁷ "The Tales and Poems of Edgar Allan Poe." With Biographical Essay by John H. Ingram. In four volumes. London: John O. Nimmo, 14, King William Street, Strand. 1884.

¹⁸ "The Fourth Book of Thucydides." Edited with Notes by C. E. Graves, M.A., Lecturer at Jesus College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

as to present a beggar with a cheque-book, or a blind man with a microscope.

We have also to notice the third book of Horace,¹⁹ with notes by T. E. Page. The entire work bids fair to be of very great service.

The fresh issue of the elementary series consist of (I.) Thucydides' "Rise and Fall of the Athenian Empire,"²⁰ by F. H. Colson, M.A. This volume contains the text of Thucydides, Book I., chapters 1 to 41; notes, and some useful appendices. There is also a vocabulary. (II.) Homer's "Iliad," I.,²¹ by J. Bond, M.A., and A. S. Walpole, M.A., with notes and vocabulary. The introduction contains two illustrations of the Homeric Ship and the Homeric Palace, a praiseworthy innovation. (III.) The "Select Fables of Phædrus,"²² by A. S. Walpole, M.A., with notes, exercises, Latin-English and English-Latin, vocabularies, and Latin index. Messrs. Macmillan and the several editors of this series deserve the thanks of all who are concerned in the spread of education.

"A Real Queen"²³ is the most wild phantasmagoric production that we have seen for many a day. Whatever interest it has is in the plot, and yet all it has by way of plot is one incident, which occupies only a part of the first volume, and which may be condensed into half a dozen lines. An escaped convict—a gentleman, and, as it turns out, unjustly condemned—secretes himself in the house of a magistrate who lives near the prison, induces one of the young ladies of the family—a girl of fifteen—to conceal him, and finally makes his escape in a boat, compelling her to accompany him in his flight. They are picked up by a Portuguese schooner bound for the South Seas, wrecked near the end of their voyage; the convict and his victim are separated, and she is cast ashore on an "unknown island," where the natives—of Arcadian innocence, in obedience to a prophecy—make her "a real queen." This is really the only well-marked incident in the book. Throughout the second and third volumes the *dramatis personæ* struggle and writhe in all conceivable combinations of cross-purposes. It is as though one had thrown a handful of puppets into a bowl and violently stirred them up with a stick. However far they may have been flung apart, they all meet again perpetually, but, for the exigencies of the story, they never recognize each other, nor, unless by chance, does a single being in the book (after the convict episode) carry out any purpose he may

¹⁹ "Q. Horatii Flacci Carnicuum, Liber III." Edited, with Notes, by T. E. Page, M.A., late Fellow of S. John's College, Cambridge, Assistant Master at Charterhouse. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

²⁰ "The Rise of the Athenian Empire, from Thucydides." Book I. By F. H. Colson, M.A., Senior Classical Master of Bradford School. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

²¹ Homer's "Iliad." Book I. By Rev. John Bond, M.A., and A. S. Walpole, M.A. With Notes and Vocabulary. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

²² "Select Fables of Phædrus." By A. S. Walpole, M.A., Master in the King's School, Warwick. With Notes and Vocabularies. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

²³ "A Real Queen." A Romance. By R. E. Francillon. Three vols. London: Chatto & Windus, Piccadilly. 1894.

have formed. The tale is like a nightmare, and the language in which it is conveyed is entirely appropriate. The author seems to have gone upon the principle that one word is as good as another; or, as Lord Dundreary said about young ladies, "better, I daresay." The result is very curious; sometimes we have sentences with no termination; sometimes a tail is tacked on to a sentence which has no connection, logical or grammatical, with its head. Then we have substitutions of words, such as "became" for "because;" "was" for "has;" "these" for "there;" "to" for "too;" "off" for "of," &c., so frequently recurring as to induce the belief that no attempt has been made to correct the proofs. The only excuse for the book is that it is to a certain degree amusing, the first volume especially. The second and third fall off in this as in all else. The only well-drawn character is Rosamond, "the real queen;" all the rest are little more than arbitrary instances of eccentricity.

"Charles Dayrell: a Modern Bacchanal"²⁴ is a religious novel. The particular form of religion which it inculcates is a curious blend, having for its basis what used to be known as "muscular Christianity," to which are added Humanitarianism, with a slight dash of Socialism, active sympathy with all "down-trodden nationalities," especially of Greeks and other Christians oppressed by "the infidel Turk," and last, but not least, a Christianized and Bowdlerized Bacchanalianism with orgies toned down for the use of Sunday-schools. As a didactic work it has much to recommend it; the author's intentions are unmistakably excellent, and many of his characters not only express (at great length) the most unimpeachable sentiments, but live a life of superhuman virtue; but as a novel we cannot but think that "Charles Dayrell" is a failure, for it fails to interest or to amuse.

Another religious novel, but of an entirely different type, is Miss Edna Lyall's "We Two."²⁵ It is fairly well written, and displays ability of many kinds, its weakest point being that wherein its author has apparently put her whole strength, religious controversy. This is, in our opinion, a subject incapable of being adequately treated in a novel, which cannot but suffer, as a work of art, from the constant recurrence of religious discussions better suited to essays, or other more solid works, where the arguments on both sides can be seriously and exhaustively stated. In putting herself forward as a religious controversial writer, Miss Lyall seems to have mistaken her vocation, for nothing can be weaker or more futile than her arguments against Christianity, except, perhaps, those she adduces in its favour. But if leaving the ungrateful and barren field of religious disputation, she would turn her attention to the realities of human life, we do not doubt that she would produce something better than "We Two," for she has many of the qualities which go to form a successful novelist.

"Good wine needs no bush," is a very old adage, and may often

²⁴ "Charles Dayrell: A Modern Bacchanal." By Henry Solly. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

²⁵ "We Two." A Novel. Three vols. By Edna Lyall. London: Hurst & Blackett, Great Marlborough Street. 1884.

be usefully applied. We borrow it in the present instance after toiling through "The Valley of Sorek,"²⁶ a novel by Miss Gertrude M. George, introduced with a great flourish of trumpets by Mr. Richard Horne Shepherd. Now a good work needs no introduction—in our opinion is much better depending on its own merits—but an introduction such as this, which is in fact a register of all the celebrated lady novelists of the present century, can but damage the very small efforts of a writer like Miss George. We are told in the preface that it is a maiden work, therefore adverse criticism is ungracious; but when Mr. Shepherd asserts that he has found in these pages an aroma of originality, and that after drawing up the curtain he waits patiently for the plaudits at the close, we cannot help saying that we fear he will have to wait a very long time.

"Fancy Free"²⁷ is the name given by Mr. C. Gibbons to three volumes of stories, not one of them containing anything which explains or in any way accounts for the title. Still it would be idle to quarrel with a good book on account of an inappropriate name, and if "Fancy Free" were at all up to the mark of Mr. Gibbons' former efforts, we should welcome it under whatever name it appeared. "The Golden Shaft," which we reviewed a year and a half ago, was a highly sympathetic book, and full of promise. Then came "Of High Degree," which was less good. And now "Fancy Free" is another downward step. The second and third stories are, we admit, better than the first; but we know that Mr. Gibbon can do better still.

The stories contained in Mr. F. Boyle's new volume, entitled "The Borderland"²⁸ are, we learn from the preface, "mostly idealized from events that have fallen within his sight or knowledge." He adds, "I have seldom tried to invent; the exertion, I suspect, is disagreeable to most men, and for myself it is quite unnecessary." The book then claims to occupy "the Borderland" between fact and fiction, to consist of fact adorned by art, and indeed the sketches, many of which are too slight to be called stories, have all the air of being the narrative of actual occurrences—reminiscences rather than inventions. The style is vivid and striking, or what describes it more exactly, *saisissant*. The scene is almost always laid in the East; but sometimes in South Africa, among the diamond diggers. Mr. Boyle frequently insists on the necessity of "getting a background" for his stories: in this he has succeeded so well that some of them seem to be all "background," and, in all, the *couleur locale*, skilfully laid on as it is, has undue prominence.

²⁶ "The Valley of Sorek." A Novel. By Gertrude M. George. With an Introduction by Richard Horne Shepherd. Two vols. London: George Redway, York Street, Covent Garden. 1884.

²⁷ "Fancy Free, and other Stories." By Charles Gibbon. Three vols. London: Chatto & Windus, Piccadilly. 1884.

²⁸ "On the Borderland, betwixt the Realms of Fact and Fancy." By Frederick Boyle. One vol. London: Chapman & Hall, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden. 1884.

"The Heir of Aylmer's Court"²⁹ gives promise in its opening chapters of mystery and "sensation," but almost on the threshold of the story the mystery is revealed. The hero, the supposed "heir of Aylmer's Court," is a woman masquerading in men's attire, bred up by an elder sister, who cherishes a spite against the rightful heir, and seeks to deprive him of his inheritance by this dishonest and somewhat indecent personation. The girl reveals the fraud, and, of course, ends by marrying her cousin, the true heir. If the story had possessed any charm, we should not have done it the injustice of forestalling the leading incidents, or, to speak more exactly, its one solitary incident. For this silly personation is the *clou*, the one noteworthy point in the whole book. All the rest is the merest "padding," and padding of inferior quality. The attempts to depict artistic life in Italy is worst of all; it shows no knowledge of the real life of artists, nor any just appreciation of the classic scenes it so inadequately describes.

"An Old Man's Love"³⁰ is the last completed work of the late Mr. Anthony Trollope. The story may be briefly described as a new version of "Auld Robin Grey." The same drama with a different *dénouement*. Here it is the old lover who sacrifices himself, and after a bitter struggle, decides that the happiness of the woman he loves is more necessary to him than his own. The situation is well worked up, inasmuch as the renunciation is in no way the result of outward pressure, but the deliberate act of a conscientious nature stimulated into heroism by strong affection. We cannot say that the story is altogether a pleasant one; it affords too much scope for the minute chronicling of each phase of hesitating purpose which was always a besetting tendency in Mr. Trollope's writing; but it has a power of fixing the attention and absorbing the interest of the reader, which stamps it as the work of a master of the craft.

"Old Boston,"³¹ is a romance of a century ago. The historical parts, which treat of the long siege sustained by Boston in 1773, and the birth of the American nation under the dawning power of Washington, are drawn from authentic sources. The fiction wrought in amongst these stirring events is well and ably handled. It has evidently been a labour of love with the author and is worthy to rank with works of the same kind from the facile pen of Miss Yonge, many of whose delightful creations, though "unknown to history," yet interwoven with it, occur to our mind while reading "Old Boston."

"The Leavenworth Case"³² belongs to that class of fiction—always popular when well done—wherein the interest lies in the solution of a problem. In "The Leavenworth Case" the problem to be solved is,

²⁹ "The Heir of Aylmer's Court." By M. E. James. Three vols. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row. 1884.

³⁰ "An Old Man's Love." By Anthony Trollope. Two vols. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. 1884.

³¹ "Old Boston." A Romance. By A. De Grasse Stevens. Three vols. London: Sampson Low & Co., Crown Buildings, Fleet Street. 1884.

³² "The Leavenworth Case." A Lawyer's Story. By A. C. Green. London: Alexander Strahan, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden. 1884.

"Who murdered Mr. Leavenworth?" It must be one of four or five people, for no one else had access to him at the time of the murder; yet, so skilfully is the plot conducted that the reader's suspicions are directed towards each of these persons in turn, though in varying degrees, and, from the first chapter, the mystery grows more and more impenetrable and bewildering till, in the very last chapter, it is suddenly solved. The one thing wanting in this cleverly contrived story is that indescribable air of ordinary every-day life, which gives such *vraisemblance* to the detective stories of Gaboriau.

We have an unusually readable and pleasant two volumes from the pen of Mrs. E. Churchill—"From Convent to Altar."³³ The name would imply a much more thrilling and dramatic composition than it really is; but though devoid of the tragic element—or indeed of anything that is stirring and sensational—it is brimming over with quaint and lively humour, most agreeably and naturally conveyed. The story and characters are of the simplest, and yet the reader accompanies them throughout with much amusement and pleasure.

"Meadow Sweet,"³⁴ by Mr. Edwin Whelpton, is a clever novel. The materials are ordinary and commonplace, but they are transmuted by the author's skilful treatment. The scene is laid in Lincolnshire, and all the characters speak the dialect, which is extremely well given. They are plain, unlettered country folk, with nothing exceptional about them, and they never act or speak out of character; yet the story of their simple lives is followed through three volumes with unflagging interest. The secret lies in the entire naturalness of the incidents, and of the actors. "Meadow Sweet" is, in the best sense, a realistic story.

"The Gold-Seekers,"³⁵ by Louis Bousсенard, is a sequel to "The Crusoes of Guiana," which has been already noticed in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW; like it, it is a translation from the French, and bears very evident marks of the process. It is emphatically a boys' book, abounding in thrilling adventures, startling situations, and noble sentiments, which can only be thoroughly enjoyed and appreciated by ingenuously uncritical readers. The illustrations are, perhaps, not in the highest style of art, but they are telling in a rough way, and are a fitting accompaniment to the text.

The nameless author of "Richer than Wealth"³⁶ has done his best to vindicate unequal marriages, but he has hardly succeeded in proving that the "great gulf fixed" between classes is ever quite bridged over. Nor has he approached the subject quite fairly, for his heroine is a *rara avis*, gifted with perfect beauty, and every sort of talent and accomplishment. A being like Dorcas Finch, the

³³ "From Convent to Altar." By Mrs. E. Churchill. Two vols. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Paternoster Square. 1884.

³⁴ "Meadow Sweet; or the Wooing of Iphis: A Pastoral." By Edwin Whelpton. Three vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co., Waterloo Place. 1884.

³⁵ "The Gold-Seekers." A Sequel to "The Crusoes of Guiana." By Louis Bousсенard. London: Sampson Low & Co., Fleet Street. 1884.

³⁶ "Richer than Wealth." A Novel. Three vols. London: Sampson Low & Co., Fleet Street. 1884.

yeoman's daughter, might well take her place among the highest, but such an exception does not prove the rule, nor does it relieve the tedium of these three dull volumes.

Unhappily it is no new thing to be obliged to notice a book which warrants no word of commendation, but it is both new and puzzling to receive such a mawkish affair as "*Deutsche Liebe* (German Love)"⁷⁷ from the hands of such a man as Max Müller. We have read it with care, if not with patience; have pondered over it and considered it wonderingly, and we can discover in it no one merit except that it is short. It is a *fatras* of the most insipid and sickly sentimentality expressed in hyperbolic terms, and with "a nice derangement of epitaphs" worthy of Mrs. Malaprop herself. Witness the following passage:—"Alas! poor human heart, even in spring time thy leaves are blighted and the feathers torn from thy wings!" Never before did we read of a bird that bore leaves, or of a plant that put forth feathers. We must not omit to state that Mr. Max Müller, as we learn from the preface, is only responsible for "*Deutsche Liebe*" as collector and editor—not as author.

"*The Bread-winners*"⁷⁸ is a spirited story with a good deal of novelty in its incidents and in the curious social conditions in which alone such incidents could arise. The scene is laid in one of those vast western cities of America which, in a single generation, have attained a population which must be numbered by hundreds of thousands. The social texture of these rapidly and artificially formed communities seems to differ from that of older cities much as a railway embankment differs from a naturally formed hill. There is no stratification in an embankment; the materials have been shot in at random; and one finds masses of rock, rich soil, gravel and sand, in confused and unmeaning juxtaposition. Generally speaking, however, the rubbish, or "ballast," is at the top. So in the city described in "*The Bread-winners*" there is the same strange jostling of heterogeneous elements. Poverty, ignorance and squalor, cheek by jowl with whatever wealth, cultivation and refinement the town contains; the wealthiest proprietors are absolutely without power or influence in municipal affairs, but the toiling multitude are none the freer on that account; they have but changed masters; all the power, patronage and contingent profits being monopolized by a few intriguing and unscrupulous barkeepers, butchers, and other petty tradesmen. Such is the picture of society in Buffland, drawn by the anonymous author of "*The Bread-winners*;" who has the air of being anything but an enthusiastic democrat. The book, which takes its title from a sort of socialistic club, some of whose members play an important part in the action, derives its chief interest from the stirring events which it narrates, but it also vividly depicts a social condition quite unfamiliar to us on this side of the Atlantic

⁷⁷ "*Deutsche Liebe* (German Love)." Collected by F. Max Müller. Translated from the German, by G. A. M. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Paternoster Square. 1884.

⁷⁸ "*The Bread-winners*." London: Frederick Warne & Co., Bedford Street, Strand. 1883.

and though the study of individual character is not among its more prominent merits, still several unusual types of character occur and are well treated.

Miss Grace Denis Litchfield is gifted undoubtedly with the bright, conversational powers which so eminently distinguish most of her countrymen, and her descriptions of society at Joppa have an agreeable vein of humour running through them. "Only an Incident" is otherwise as slight as it is short, and unnecessarily sad besides.

Mr. David Douglas, who makes a speciality of bringing out English editions of American authors, has published a reprint of Thoreau's "Walden."³⁰ Hitherto Thoreau's works have not been much known in this country, but when once introduced to the English reader, they can hardly fail to secure the same appreciation which they have long enjoyed in America. Thoreau has two distinct claims upon our interest—on the one hand, he is a social philosopher and reformer, and, on the other, an ardent lover of Nature and a minute and accurate observer of all natural phenomena. His descriptions of the sights and sounds of sylvan life are charming—at once realistic and poetic. Indeed, it is in them that he seems to us most worthy of admiration; for his social teaching, though containing much that is true and valuable, is what mankind has often heard, but never marked. It may be summed up in the words of the Hebrew Psalmist: "Man walketh in a vain shadow, and disquieteth himself in vain."

Mr. David Douglas has added to his "pocket editions" of favourite American authors three more volumes by Mr. John Burroughs. "Wake-Robin" may not, at the first glance, seem so attractive to the general reader as some other works of the same author, for it is exclusively devoted to one subject—birds; and is avowedly intended as an introduction to a more formal study of ornithology. But as one reads on, the charm of Mr. Burroughs's style and manner of treatment asserts itself, and the reader begins to think that perhaps, after all, the book could hardly have had a more attractive subject than birds, their haunts, their songs, and their nests.

"Pepacton"³¹ is more varied in its contents. "The summer voyage" with which it opens is in Mr. Burroughs's most attractive manner. The seventy or eighty pages, headed "Notes by the way," are among the pleasantest in the volume. They turn almost entirely on natural history, and the author's personal observations on the habits of wood chucks, musk rats, squirrels, foxes, and owls, and of nocturnal insects such as the katydid and the tree cricket, are charmingly narrated. The last note is on "Shakspeare's natural history," and it gives proof that Mr. Burroughs brings to the study of the greatest of poets the same keen and delicate insight which he so

³⁰ "Only an Incident." By Grace Denis Litchfield. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1883.

³¹ "Walden." By Henry D. Thoreau. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1884.

³² "Wake-Robin." By John Burroughs. 1884.

³³ "Pepacton." By John Burroughs.

successfully employs in penetrating the secrets of the birds and bees. He quotes Bottom's song—

The ousel cock, so black of hue,
With orange tawny bill, &c.,

but fails to notice the wonderful aptness of the epithet applied in the second stanza to the Cuckoo—"The *plain song* cuckoo grey." To any one who has been in the habit of hearing the plain song, with its monotony broken only by the falling *third*, it is something more than a mere suitable epithet, it is a formula giving the phonetic equivalent of the song of the Cuckoo.

In the volume entitled "Birds and Poets,"⁴³ notes of outdoor sights and sounds are mingled with themes more purely literary: birds, and the poets ancient and modern, English and American, who have sung of them, occupy but the first sixty pages; then, under the head of "Touches of Nature" we have many shrewd remarks on the habits both of birds and men. With the tone of thought and feeling which pervades the little essay headed "Before Genius," we cordially agree. We, too, have often found the *fine fleur* of contemporary American literature, artificial, over-refined and, as it were, thin-voiced. It is "the *unliterary* element," Mr. Burroughs opines, which is wanting in modern American and, in a less degree, in modern English writers. "No great poet," he says, "ever appeared except from a race of good eaters, good sleepers, good breeders. Literature dies with the decay of *unliterary* element." "Think," he adds, a page or two further on, "of the real men of science, the great geologists and astronomers, one opening up time, the other space! Shall mere intellectual acumen be accredited with these immense results? What noble pride, self-reliance and continuity of character underlie Newton's deductions!" It is strange that he should have passed over in silence one who, in our own time, has made discoveries not less vast and far-reaching than Newton's. In the late Charles Darwin we find perhaps the most signal instance on record of the influence of moral qualities on intellectual achievement. His indefatigable perseverance, his humility and sweet teachableness, were as necessary to the accomplishment of his stupendous work as were his transcendent genius and his unequalled knowledge. With all his admiration for Emerson, Mr. Burroughs finds in him the same lack of that flesh and blood element which he places before genius. "How Emerson," he says, "hates the roysterers, and all the rank, turbulent human passions, and is chilled by the thought that perhaps, after all, Shakespeare led a vulgar life!" *Les extrêmes se touchent*, and, to our mind, this thought in its over-refinement is thoroughly vulgar. But this, and much else in the writings of Emerson is accounted for when we learn that he "comes of a long line of clergymen; that the blood in his veins has been teaching, and preaching, and thinking, and growing austere these many generations." It is not till we reach the last essay, "The Flight of the Eagle," that we come to the real core

⁴³ "Birds and Poets." By John Burroughs. Edinburgh: David Douglas.

of the book ; all that has gone before is but the pedestal whereon Mr. Burroughs would place his "orbic bard," Walt Whitman. *De gustibus non est disputandum*. If Mr. Burroughs admires "Leaves of Grass," we have no desire to quarrel with him on that score ; for ourselves the perusal of "Specimen Days and Collect" has inspired us with a hearty liking and respect for the personal character of Walt Whitman, but we cannot, on that account, regard him as a great poet, or even as a poet at all, as the word has been used hitherto. As a very considerable and wholesome thinker, we do regard him, and have already so spoken of him in THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW. Mr. Burroughs shows less than his usual insight and sense of proportion when he labels Shakespeare as "The Poet of Feudality" in contradistinction to Walt Whitman, who is enthroned as the bard of "Democracy." Shakspeare is too big for the niche assigned him. "Our little systems have their day. They have their day and cease to be," sings Tennyson : the springs from which Shakspeare drew his inspiration are deeper down, more inseparable from humanity, than is any form of government, whether it be feudal or democratic.

The English Dialect Society have added to their series of "Original Glossaries," "A Glossary of Hampshire Words and Phrases,"⁴⁴ by the Rev. Sir William Cope, Bart., a valuable contribution to this interesting branch of philological science, inasmuch as Sir W. Cope seems to have had special opportunities for becoming acquainted with the dialect of North Hampshire, now, like so many others, fast falling into disuse. And to their series of reprinted glossaries "English Dialect Words of the Eighteenth Century,"⁴⁵ as shown in the "Universal Etymological Dictionary of Nathaniel Bailey." The purport and use of this reprint is thus set forth by the editor, Mr. William G. A. Axon, in his able and entertaining introductory notice. The present volume aims at giving in a compact and handy form all that there is of value to the student of dialects in the English Dictionary of Nathaniel Bailey. Of all our lexicographers who preceded Dr. Johnson he was the most popular, and though his work was eventually beaten out of the field, it did not yield without a struggle. There were several editions after the year 1755, the memorable year in which the result of Johnson's labours first appeared, and even as recently as 1802 there was an edition issued at Glasgow. As Bailey's work first appeared in 1721, it had nearly a century of popularity and usefulness.

Another work, nearly akin in its topics to the last-named, is the handsome volume from "The Gentleman's Magazine Library,"⁴⁶

⁴⁴ "A Glossary of Hampshire Words and Phrases." Compiled and edited by the Rev. Sir William H. Cope, Bart.

⁴⁵ "English Dialect Words of the Eighteenth Century." Edited, with an Introduction, by William G. A. Axon, F.R.S.L. Published for the English Dialect Society. London : Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1883.

⁴⁶ "The Gentleman's Magazine Library." Being a classified Collection of the chief Contents of the "Gentleman's Magazine" from 1731 to 1868. Edited by George Laurence Gomme, F.S.A. Dialects, Proverbs and Word-Lore. London : Elliot Stock, Paternoster Row. 1884. "

devoted to dialects, proverbs, and word-lore. It is edited, with a preface and explanatory notes, by Mr. G. L. Gomme. There is also a copious index.

In the preface to his "Academy Lectures,"^a Mr. J. E. Hodgson, after reminding his readers that "the Royal Academy of Arts is primarily an educational institution," goes on to say that ever since the days of Sir Joshua Reynolds, the lectures delivered to their pupils by the professors of painting, architecture and sculpture, have as Academy lectures, "struggled into that partial vitality which is supplied by type and printer's ink," and that, "doubtless, those who are curious in such matters might succeed in collecting their *disjecta membra* amongst the bookstalls of London." From this exordium it cannot be said that Mr. Hodgson commences his task with any overweening confidence of brilliant success or widespread popularity. We wish it were in our power to affirm with a clear conscience that his work deserves to be an exception from those of his predecessors; we would gladly speak highly of his lectures if we could, for they are written in a kindly, cheerful spirit, as free from dilettanti cant as from rancour or party spirit: but alas! they are neither deep nor brilliant, well-meaning always, and sometimes, when he is strictly on his own ground, treating of purely artistic questions, he speaks words of wisdom, as for instance, when he sets forth (pp. 167 *et seq.*) that the difference between realism and idealism in art is much less than is generally supposed.

The first duty of art is to represent Nature. To be of any value it must produce illusion; it must impress you with its truth, but it is capable of appealing to the imagination as well as to the perceptive faculties, of suggesting ideas of beauty, or sublimity; and we may say, broadly speaking, that we value it in proportion as it accomplishes this. Now let us suppose that the idealist starts, as I said before, with a conception of some unattained perfection. The nature of his art compels him to give it life and vitality; he must produce illusion, and impress us with ideas of truth. To do this he must work downwards towards the domain of the realist. The realist, on his part, begins with observation of Nature, of facts as they appear to him; but he also is compelled, by the nature of his art, to appeal to the imagination; to suggest ideas of beauty for instance; and to do this he must work upwards towards the domain of the idealist. And when both are completely successful, they meet halfway, and there is no distance between them. It is this central point, where there is perfect synthesis between the opposite tendencies of idealism and realism, a point which has seldom been attained, which is the true goal of art, and the object of the artist's endeavours.

We have quoted this passage in extenso not only because it is beyond question the best thing in the book—the *dessus du panier*, but also because it seems to us to embody the truth on the vexed question in literature, no less than art of idealism *versus* realism. But generally speaking, Mr. Hodgson's talk is by no means up to the level of this sample; he is too fond of going back to first principles, and enunciating as general truths what are often no more

^a "Academy Lectures." By J. E. Hodgson, R.A., Librarian and Professor of Painting to the Royal Academy. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1884.

than time-honoured fallacies. His scientific and historical *aperçus* are too often "shaky," and he absolutely runs riot in his application of the "providential" theory: he is even "tempted to think that Herculaneum and Pompeii" were providentially buried for the enlightenment of future ages! But, after all, it is less as a contribution to *belles lettres* than as a vehicle for instruction to students that these lectures ought to be judged, and under this aspect they may claim a more favourable verdict. On his own ground Mr. Hodgson is sensible, temperate, and occasionally, as we have already had occasion to remark, shows considerable insight and wisdom. The one fault which strikes us is that he sometimes lays down rules, which are misleading, because they are not limited with sufficient care. Thus when (p. 146, 147) he warns his hearers against "scientific accuracy," the expression is misleading, for under "scientific accuracy" many valuable and even indispensable things must surely be classed, such as correct anatomical drawing in figure painting, and accurate modelling of hillsides, or other broken ground, in landscapes. To disregard scientific accuracy in landscape is to confound the scenery of one geological formation with that of another—to paint sandstone cliffs like clay slate rocks, and so on. If Mr. Hodgson, leaving "scientific accuracy" alone, had said simply that *historical accuracy* in costume and other accessories is often given undue importance at the expense of qualities of more real value, we should have hastened to agree with him: and the context shows that this is really all he means in denouncing scientific accuracy.

We have not much admiration for the class of pamphlets to which "The Socialist Revolution of 1888"⁴⁸ belongs; they are, in our opinion, idle and foolish *jeux d'esprit*, when they are nothing worse. But "The Socialist Revolution" is a somewhat favourable specimen of the genus. It has some occasional sparks of humour to redeem it, and has, besides, the merit of being a *reductio ad absurdum* of the socialistic millennium. The picture of Miss Helen Taylor heading the crowd, mounted "on a pale horse, like the figure in Revelations," is rather funny; so is the proposal made to the Socialist Cabinet by the Emperor of China and the Mahdi, for the internationalization of property, the effect of which would be to reduce the income of Englishmen from a uniform £30 per head to 30 shillings. In less than six months the whole affair collapses, mainly through the discontent of the working class, and we return with enthusiasm to the *régime* of "Individualism."

"The Letters of Cowper,"⁴⁹ edited by the Rev. W. Benham, form a delightful little volume. Mr. Benham's introduction is admirable; has much of the "naturalness and sincerity" in which, as he justly observes, lies, first of all, the charm of the letters. They are, he tells us, "the simple statement of whatever he has in his mind; written

⁴⁸ "The Socialist Revolution of 1888." By an Eye Witness. London: Harrison & Sons, Pall Mall. 1884.

⁴⁹ "Letters of William Cowper." Edited, with Introduction, by the Rev. W. Benham, B.D., F.S.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

in pure and beautiful English ; full of the information and refined taste of a well-read man, overflowing now with humour, now with deep religious feeling, for both were natural to him." They could not be more exactly described. We may add that their style is so free from mannerism that they bear hardly a trace of age. Often, were it not for the events and customs alluded to, they might seem to have been written in our own day. We think few readers will dissent from the opinion of Southey and Alexander Smith—that "Cowper was the best of English letter writers." Mr. Benham next proceeds to a rapid but sufficient outline of the life of Cowper, and concludes with a brief presentation to the reader of the various persons to whom the letters are addressed. The letters are arranged by date, and grouped under the names of the places from whence they are dated, as "Letters from Olney," "Letters from Western Underwood," and so on. No arrangement could be better. The only point on which we venture to question Mr. Benham's editorial discretion is the publication of the few "Letters from Norfolk," which close the collection. The morbid religious despondency which they breathe is so evidently the effect of a disordered brain that, it seems to us, in the interest both of the reader and of the writer, they had better have been suppressed.

"The Life and Adventures of Peter Wilkins"⁵⁰ are worthy of the choice and tasteful edition in which they are presented to the public, and of the graceful and pleasantly discursive pages with which Mr. Bullen has prefaced them. We cannot go so far as to think with Southey that Paltock's "winged people" are the most beautiful creatures of imagination that ever were devised," nor with Leigh Hunt that "a sweeter creature than Youwarkee is not to be found in books." To our fancy her "graundee," or membranous flying apparatus, is too suggestive of the "leathern wings" of bats to be thought of without a shudder. But still, she is a wonderful creation, and the whole book is a *tour de force* of circumstantial invention. We agree with the contemporary critic of *The Monthly Review* in placing it far below such masterpieces as "Robinson Crusoe," or "Gulliver's Travels," yet it is pleasant, fanciful reading, and if its religious discussions (of much the same calibre as those of Robinson Crusoe with his man Friday) are sometimes a little tedious, the more mundane thoughts and reflexions often display much shrewdness and knowledge of human nature.

"The Folk-lore of Modern Greece,"⁵¹ selected and translated by the Rev. E. M. Geldart, is an amusing volume of fairy tales. Many of the tales are "old friends with new faces," indeed, as Mr. Geldart truly remarks, "The main interest for the student attaching

⁵⁰ "The Life and Adventures of Peter Wilkins." By Robert Paltock, of Clement's Inn. With a Preface by A. H. Bullen. Two vols. London: Reeves & Turner. 1884.

⁵¹ "Folk-Lore of Modern Greece: The Tales of the People." Edited by the Rev. E. M. Geldart, M.A. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Paternoster Square. 1884.

to these tales centres round the problem of the migration of myths." On the whole there is more general resemblance in the Greek myths to the stories of "The Arabian Nights" than to western fairy stories. The translator has, with considerable success, endeavoured to preserve the rude vigour and vividness of *vivâ voce* narration, but perhaps he has gone rather far in vernacular rendering by introducing such expressions as "making tracks," "here's a start," and a few more that might be quoted.

"The Trojan War,"²² translated from the German of Professor C. Witt, by Francis Younghusband, is a worthy successor of "The Myths of Hellas," by the same authors. The story is admirably told; so simply as to suit the comprehension of a child, yet without undue familiarity or slip-slop. Of the educational value of this little work, no higher testimony could be desired than that which the Rev. W. G. Rutherford has given in his preface.

"Un Fou,"²³ by M. Guyot, is the story of a sane man incarcerated in a *maison de santé* for giving expression to a conviction which, though true, he has no means of proving. That conviction is that his last born and only surviving child is in fact *not his*, but his doctor's. Two children previously born, whose paternity was not doubtful, had both died within a year of their birth, victims to epileptic convulsions inherited through their father, from his mother and grandmother, one of whom had died mad, the other epileptic. The story opens with the death of the second child, when, in her grief, Madame Labat (wife of the "Fou") seeks counsel from her medical man, Dr. Ragot. The doctor is a powerful vigorous man in the prime of life, an enthusiast on the subject of heredity. Madame Labat is a beautiful woman, far too fine a specimen of humanity to waste her life and break her heart in giving birth to children foredoomed to perish in infancy or grow up to a worse fate. Her next child is perfectly healthy, but bears an embarrassing resemblance to Ragot. The husband's suspicions are roused and soon grow to conviction. He becomes violent, not altogether without reason, and threatens his wife, and more especially her child, "le petit Ragot," as he calls it. Dr. Ragot, hitherto a man of honour and probity, now, fearing for his child, whom he adores, turns villain. He, by means of a certificate cleverly obtained from a *confrère*, throws the unhappy Labat into an asylum, Madame Labat being induced to sign the application. A great part of the book is devoted to the system of treatment in the *maison de santé*, the intimidation, the frightful punishments by hot baths, douches, &c., and the secret tyranny of the attendants. After a year of unspeakable misery and degradation, the hapless victim, no longer daring to assert his sanity, feigns to be cured of a madness which had never existed, and is released, brutalized and deteriorated in mind and body.

²² "The Trojan War." By Professor C. Witt. Translated from the German by Francis Younghusband, with a Preface by the Rev. W. G. Rutherford, Head Master of Westminster School. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1884.

²³ "Un Fou." Par Yves Guyot. Paris: Marpon et E. Flammarion.

His passion for his wife has grown morbid, and on her refusal to restore him to conjugal rights, he murders her child and takes flight across country with the dripping knife in his hand, a raging lunatic. He is captured by some peasants, and after some hideously cruel tortures by electricity to make him confess he had *never been mad*—tortures devised and conducted by the same men who had before declared him mad—he is once more delivered over to the care of Dr. Borda-Blancard, in whose establishment his sufferings are terminated by his being scalded to death in a hot bath, through the carelessness of an attendant. To judge it fairly, the book must be regarded less as a novel than as an apologue, setting forth in action the evils resulting from (1) marriages contracted without reference to the transmission of disease (especially insanity and epilepsy) by inheritance, (2) the law of 1838 which permits sequestration in a *maison de santé* on the strength of one doctor's certificate, and (3) the treatment of the insane in asylums, public and private, in France. As to the first point, we think M. Guyot states the case without exaggeration, and that the evil he inveighs against is as grievous and as widespread as he represents it. But it must be remembered that heredity itself is, comparatively speaking, a new idea, and that the ethics of heredity have still to be evolved. In the meantime, every effort to impress on the popular mind that intelligent selection of parents is not less needful for men than for dogs and horses, is of value and should be welcomed. With regard to the second point, we concur with M. Guyot in condemning a law which, theoretically at least, places each man's liberty at the mercy of his physician. It is to the honour of the profession that such vast and apparently irresponsible power has not been oftener and more fatally abused. Of M. Guyot's third subject of animadversion—the manner of dealing with the insane in French asylums—we cannot, of course, express a decided opinion. We should be loth to see in "Montjoyeux," or even the establishment of "Borda-Blancard," an uncoloured and representative specimen of French asylums, and yet there is a terrible reality about many of the details, and several instances cited of the abuse of power by keepers too closely resemble cases of the sort that were discovered but a few years ago in one of our great English asylums. To turn for a moment to the more purely literary side of M. Guyot's work, it seems to us that he might do great things as a novelist: he gives proof of fineness of observation in motive and character, together with great power of working up situations and producing in his readers the exact impression he intends.

The reviewer of "La Légende de l'Alsace" ought to be at once a Frenchman and an Alsacien. We can only approach the subject as "outsiders;" still, at a humble distance, we can admire M. Schuré's work as that of a true poet, and what is better still, a true patriot. Its final cause is shadowed forth in the last stanza of the highly poetic dedication:—

"La Légende de l'Alsace." Edouard Schuré. Paris: G. Charpentier et C^{ie}, 13, Rue de Grenelle. 1884.

Livre sois hirondelle,
Niche sous plus d'un toit;
Alsace, sois fidèle,
O France souviens-toi.

M. Schure regards legend as the elder sister of history, and says that while the one recounts the acts of a people the other reveals its soul. Thus, though the inexorable facts of history have forcibly severed Alsace from France, each one of the legends is a link in a chain, the more indissoluble that it is immaterial and intangible, binding the two countries together by community of origin, by memories of the past, and, above all, by sympathy of aims and aspirations. M. Schure has little in common with the school who make beauty of versification the be all and end all. With him,

. . . la forme est un symbole;
Mais l'A me est immortelle."

Every line is inspired with a well-defined and serious meaning, yet *la forme* is in no degree sacrificed. His verse is stately and sonorous; his narrative, clothed in language both simple and elevated, is as rapid, flowing and explicit as though it were unfettered by rhyme and metre. Of metre, indeed, he shows a remarkable mastery, making frequent changes and alternations of measure, and often by that means adding a new charm to his words, or redoubling their force.

The "Poésies de Frédéric Marth"⁵⁵ is a volume of "fugitive pieces" chiefly composed of elegies—songs to the moon, the birds, the flowers, and also several imitations of Schiller and other poets. Taking full advantage of the grace and beauty of the French language, M. Marth has arrived at considerable perfection of form; but the *fond*, the pervading spirit, of his "Poésies," is too lugubrious to permit them to be altogether agreeable reading. We would, however, mention "Le Colimaçon" as an especially elegant and quaint conceit, its sprightliness standing out in pleasant contrast to the surrounding gloom.

We have received two school-books of quite unusual merit, "Modern French Readings"⁵⁶ and "Modern Spanish Readings,"⁵⁷ edited by W. J. Knapp, Professor in Yale College. In both the selections are admirable. In the Spanish Readings we have examples of the best style of newspaper articles, two being by J. M. de Lara, better known under the *nom de plume* of "Figaro"; stories—one by "Fernan Caballero"; verses; historical pieces; and specimens of parliamentary oratory. Throughout, the language is that actually in use at the present day, and abounds in modern idioms and phrases, which, so far as we know, are not to be found in any textbooks

⁵⁵ "Poésies de Frédéric Marth." Paris: Libraire des Bibliophiles, Rue Saint Honoré. 1884.

⁵⁶ "Modern French Readings." Edited by William J. Knapp.

⁵⁷ "Modern Spanish Readings." With Text, Notes and Vocabulary. By William J. Knapp, Professor in Yale College. Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co. 1883.

accessible to English or American students. Copious explanatory notes follow, and to render the little volume still more useful, there is a complete glossary of every word employed in the text. The French Readings comprise extracts from Berquin, Alphonse Daudet, Dumas, Théophile Gautier, F. Guizot, and Victor Hugo, all of sufficient length to do justice to the writer and to interest the reader; indeed, we would not desire a pleasanter companion for a railway journey than Mr. Knapp's French Readings. It is not, however, for amusement, but for instruction in the French language, that the *recueil* has been so carefully and skilfully compiled, and to that end it is admirably adapted, from the progressive difficulty of the contents—beginning with a story from "L'Ami des Enfants," and ending with "Ruy Blas" *in extenso*—the variety of styles introduced, and the excellent choice both of authors and extracts.

From the "Clarendon Press Series" we have Beaumarchais' "Barbier de Séville,"⁸⁵ edited with introduction and notes by Mr. Austin Dobson, and the "Précieuses Ridicules,"⁸⁶ of Molière, with introduction and notes by Mr. Andrew Lang. Among the Prolegomena of both volumes appears an admirable essay by Mr. George Saintsbury on "The Progress of French Comedy." Mr. Lang's "Life and Writings of Molière" is a reprint slightly abridged of his "Life of Molière" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. When we have said that Mr. Dobson's "Life and Writings of Beaumarchais" loses nothing by comparison with such brilliant contributions as the above, some idea may be formed of the quality of the Prolegomena by which, in this excellent series, the study of the great French classics is facilitated and enlivened.

We have also from "Macmillan's Foreign School Classics"⁸⁷ Molière's "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme," with introduction, notes, and indices by Mr. Louis M. Moriarty. Mr. Moriarty's Life of Molière is a very perfunctory sketch, occupying less than a page, and not offering any points of comparison with those which we have just noticed. But it is not as literature, but as a class-book for students that Mr. Moriarty's work ought to be judged, and from this point of view it cannot but be judged favourably. The notes and other explanatory remarks seem to us to be just what they should be—short, clear, and to the point. The whole series of "Foreign School Classics"⁸⁸ is edited by Mr. G. Eugene Fasnacht, author of "Progressive French Course" (Macmillan), the second part of which (entitled Second Year) we have also to acknowledge.

⁸⁵ Beaumarchais' "Le Barbier de Séville." Edited, with Introduction and Notes by Austin Dobson.

⁸⁶ Molière's "Les Précieuses Ridicules." Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Andrew Lang, M.A. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 1844.

⁸⁷ Macmillan's Foreign School Classics. Molière, "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme." By Louis M. Moriarty. Macmillan and Co. 1884.

⁸⁸ "Macmillan's Progressive French Course, II." Second year. By G. Eugene Fasnacht, Assistant Master in Westminster School. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

We have also received a Portuguese Dictionary⁶² by Alfred Elwes.

Also "Notes on Shakspeare's Versification,"⁶³ by George H. Browne, A.M. We should be sorry to be so discourteous as to agree with Mr. Browne in regarding the blank leaves with which his little pamphlet is interspersed as "the most useful portion;" still, he knows best.

We have received, too, Part I. of the long looked-for "New English Dictionary on Historical Principles,"⁶⁴ by James A. H. Murray, LL.D., President of the Philological Society. But want of space compels us to postpone our remarks to our next issue, as a slight or hasty notice would be worse than inadequate in the case of so important a work.

We have also to acknowledge two more numbers of the Rev. J. Stormonth's most useful and excellent English Dictionary,⁶⁵ of which we spoke at some length in our last issue.

⁶² "A Dictionary of the Portuguese Language." By Alfred Elwes. London: Crosby Lockwood & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1884.

⁶³ "Notes on Shakspeare's Versification." By George H. Browne, A.M. Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co. 1884.

⁶⁴ "A New English Dictionary." Edited by James A. H. Murray, LL.D. Part I. A—ANT. Oxford—London: Clarendon Press. 1884.

⁶⁵ "A Dictionary of the English Language." By the Rev. James Stormonth. Parts VII. and VIII. London & Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons.

OUR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

THE CANADIAN DOMINION.—In recently proroguing the second session of the sixth Parliament of Canada, the Marquis of Lansdowne had occasion to congratulate the House on the adjustment of matters of difference between the Dominion and *British Columbia* by the legislation of the session, although an order in Council had been promulgated disallowing the Act passed by the Legislature of that province against Chinese immigration.

As an instance of the smoothness with which the Federal system of government works, it is interesting to observe that of the 6,293 Acts that have been passed by the various provincial legislatures since 1867, when the Confederation was accomplished, no more than thirty-one have been vetoed by the Federal authorities.

The disaffection in *Manitoba* has subsided, arrangements having been made by the Federal Government for taking a census of the province every two and a half years, and for increasing the Federal subsidy in accordance with the result of each census. Further concessions also have been made by transferring to the Provincial Government all the odd-numbered land sections remaining still unsold within the bounds of *Manitoba*, and by granting a land subsidy of 12,000 acres per mile in aid of the construction of a railway from Winnipeg to Hudson's Bay.

The latest reports from Montreal state that the volume of business is gradually expanding, and remittances exhibit a marked improvement. The winter wheat crop has presented a remarkably fine show compared with that of last year. There is also on foot a project for forming a company of capitalists to export Canadian beef prepared in a special manner to ensure its being kept perfectly fresh in any climate. Should a shipment recently made to England on consignment by a Montreal butcher meet with success, it is intended to start the company at once and commence shipping on a large scale, not only to Great Britain, but to all distant stations on the Canadian Pacific Railway, the company having been promised large orders for the supply of the gangs of men (amounting to nearly 10,000) engaged in the work of construction.

The select committee of the Dominion House of Canada appointed to inquire into the agricultural resources of Canada have submitted their report, and recommend the establishment of a Bureau of Agriculture for the whole of the Dominion, and of an experimental farm in connection therewith. The Bureau, being under the supervision of the present Department of Agriculture, would be charged with the conduct of experiments in the introduction and culture of new varieties of seeds, plants, trees, &c.; the reporting on the best means of improving the various breeds of cattle; and in all other ways would

tend to aid in the advancement of Canadian agriculture. Evidently the committee learnt their lesson from the example afforded by the Ontario College of Agriculture. This energetic institution has just acquired (through the liberality and sagacity of the Government of Ontario), a splendid collection of very choice and highly bred cattle and sheep, selected by Professor Brown from leading British herds and flocks. The collection includes specimens of seventeen breeds—eight of cattle and nine of sheep—and numbers thirty-three cattle and about sixty sheep. The total cost is estimated at about £10,000, but as the animals are intended not only to enable Professor Brown to familiarize his pupils with the most approved types of the chief varieties, but also to provide material for the improvement of the general farm stock throughout Canada, the Ontario College may well be congratulated on having acquired one of the best and most comprehensive collections of its kind that has ever left Great Britain. But the cattle trade of the Dominion has ceased to be regarded as experimental. It has become one of the greatest trade investments in the world. The grazing lands are ample and rich, fodder is comparatively cheap, labour is reasonable, and the means of transport are unsurpassed. For the last two years the annual value of the exports of live stock has been not less than \$3,500,000, having increased in value one hundredfold during the last six years. Moreover, there are good prospects of *Manitoba* speedily becoming a stock-raising country. Farmers in the Canadian North-West have found by experience that they can raise cattle both cheaply and profitably. The cattle virtually look after themselves during the summer, and in the winter require very little care beyond good stabling, which can be provided without much outlay. Considering the strides taken by India as a wheat-producing country, it is only wise that Canadians should not rely solely upon growing wheat for export. Mixed farming, therefore, is being widely adopted, and the production of butter and cheese, which already figures as one of the staple industries of the Dominion, will shortly be largely increased.

Meanwhile the emigration season of 1884 has commenced most favourably for Canada. The early opening of the St. Lawrence (a week earlier than last year) has encouraged the movement of emigrants to the *North-West Territories*. During three days in May no fewer than 1,500 emigrants passed through Winnipeg to the west, among them being many Germans, who are found to make very valuable settlers. It is noted, moreover, that while the influx of settlers into Canada promises this year to be larger even than last year, the emigration into the United States is decreasing. While on the subject of emigration, we may mention that the total number who entered Canada in 1883 was the largest ever recorded, being 206,893 against 193,150 in 1882, and 85,850 in 1880. The number of emigrant settlers was 133,303 as against 112,458 in the previous year. This includes 34,987 who entered from the United States to settle in the Dominion, and also 1,798 American citizens who emigrated into Canada. The large number of Germans (14,640) is a

distinct feature of the year. A colony of Jews is also about to be formed in the *North-West*, in the neighbourhood of Moosomin, on the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Over thirty families, in the first instance, will be assisted by the Mansion House Relief Committee, and each family will be supplied with cattle and agricultural implements. To show the astonishing progress of the *North-West*, the Department of the Interior report that the revenue from grazing, mineral, and timber lands has risen from \$325 in 1879 to \$61,553 in 1882; \$113,824 in 1883; and \$116,880 in the half-year just closed!

With the recent completion of the Ontario and Quebec Railway, which forms the connecting link between the eastern and western sections of the Canadian Pacific system, a through connection has been established between the seaports of Eastern Canada and the Rocky Mountains. Passenger traffic is expected to commence in the present month. The construction of the line between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific is being rapidly proceeded with. It is announced that the entire line will be located by the end of this year, and everything points to the "through all-rail connection" between the Atlantic and the Pacific shores of the Dominion being open for traffic by the summer of 1886.

Should the Australians need a proof of the benefits resulting from confederation, they will do well to study the statement lately presented to the Canadian Parliament, dealing with the working of the Federal system in the Dominion. The chief feature is the generous manner in which the two central provinces have dealt with the younger and more remote.

THE WEST INDIES.—In the April number of this REVIEW we noticed at some length the first part of the Report of the Royal Commissioners upon the condition of the West Indies. Parts II., III., and IV. have since been published, and we purpose completing our notice of the Report relating to *Jamaica*, and briefly to recapitulate the chief recommendations of the Commissioners contained in the remaining parts relating to the Islands of Grenada, St. Vincent, Tobago, and St. Lucia, and the Leeward Islands.

In dealing with *Jamaica*, the Commissioners were so impressed with the need of a great accession of coolie labour that they recommend an immigration of a thousand coolies a year for the next twenty years. At present the recruiting establishment in India is much complained of. Planters cannot rely upon getting the number of coolies they apply for, and often those they get are in wretched health, or are not agricultural labourers. It would be a distinct advantage to all concerned that the various agencies in India for supplying recruits to the English colonies should be amalgamated and placed under one head. A special steamer service and a regular medical staff should be established, and by concentrating the present disjointed attempts, which fail to harmonize supply and demand, both colonies and coolies would be benefited, and better results generally would be obtained at less cost. With reference to the charges made against

the Government of extravagance and mal-administration, the Commissioners have no trouble in showing how largely they need to be qualified by taking into account the fact that since 1875 the Government has taken over the Jamaica Railway, and has incurred additional expenditure for subsidies for Ocean Telegraph and for Steam Communications, for Island Telegraphs, Postal Union, Registrar-General's Office, and Jamaica Institute, and has further taken over the coolie hospitals and largely increased the expenditure under the heads of Medical, Judicial, and Prison Departments. In dealing with the question of the revenue and the mode of raising it, it is incidentally stated that in *Jamaica* the revenue raised is at the rate of 20s. 9d. per head of population, while in *Trinidad* the rate is 60s. 9d.; in *Mauritius*, 36s. 8d.; in *British Guiana*, 32s.; and in *Guadeloupe*, 38s. 3d. In face of these figures it cannot be said that Jamaicans are abnormally taxed. The Commissioners clearly give it as their opinion that the diminution that has taken place in the produce of taxation is not due to any increasing inability on the part of the people to pay, for the great increase in the fruit trade, the increasing number of small holdings, and the steady increase in the yield of the taxes on property, show that the wealth of the people has become greater; but they consider that the fluctuation of revenue depends chiefly upon the agricultural prosperity of the colony, and this is influenced by the nature of the seasons, the average for the last five years having been specially affected by the severe seasons of 1879-80.

Not only in *Jamaica*, but in the other islands visited by the Commissioners, they found widely prevalent a tendency on the part of the negro, however well off he may be, to speak of himself as the "poor black man." On this plea he does his best to evade all taxes, and lends a willing ear to agitators who tell him that his money is being paid "to keep in idleness an army of officials," or for some purpose equally false and absurd. The most effectual means of forcing him to contribute his share is by indirect taxation.

The existing tariff is very complicated and results in an unnecessary increase of official work. For instance, at one of the outports some bulky correspondence was found dealing with the two too trivial questions whether a tombstone was embellished or not, and whether a particular codfish came under the head of "drysalted" or "pickled." There can be no doubt that low Customs duties would especially conduce to the commercial prosperity of *Jamaica*. Its central geographical position, between the two Americas, and in the direct course of the trade which must in a short time flow through the Panama Canal, as well as its many excellent harbours, especially that of Kingston (one of the few harbours in the West Indies capable of holding any number of steamers of any size), mark it out as a place which with low duties and a simple tariff might become a prosperous *entrepôt* of trade. We are glad to observe, then, that in the revised tariff submitted by the Commissioners the chief material changes proposed are considerable reductions in the duties on foods; lowering

the general *ad valorem* rate from 12½ to 10 per cent.; confining the list of exemptions to goods imported for the Government service, and placing a nominal duty of 2 per cent. *ad valorem* on all remaining imports.

Considering the large amount of nett income made in *Jamaica*, and annually transmitted to England to absentee owners of estates, who can only be reached by the stamp duty on powers of attorney authorizing agents to manage estates for absentee owners, the Commissioners suggest an increase in the duty from £4 to £20. They also recommend that land in *Jamaica* should be taxed without any direct reference to the use to which it is put, and that in lieu of the present quit-rent and property tax a land-tax be levied on the following scale, chargeable on all acres of land adjoining one another, and forming part of one and the same property. On every acre or fractional part of an acre up to one hundred acres, one shilling per acre; for every acre beyond the first hundred up to five hundred, sixpence per acre; for every acre beyond five hundred, three-halfpence per acre. From this source a revenue of £43,750 is expected instead of £13,500, which has hitherto been the average yield of taxes on land. Finally, the Commissioners record their opinion that the resources of *Jamaica*, even in their present condition of imperfect development, are well able to meet the demands made upon them, while the financial condition of the future is distinctly hopeful. But the Commissioners point out emphatically that industrial progress and prosperity are seriously checked by the shyness of capitalists to invest in *Jamaica*, which is largely due to the action of those connected with the island who, by their prophecies of certain ruin, their constant decrying of the merits of the island, and their inveterate attacks upon any form of government, have spread abroad most effectually a disbelief in the future prosperity of the colony, and driven possible investors to invest elsewhere. We hope that this plain-speaking will make itself felt in the proper quarters, and that the acrimony and recrimination which have been so long the political curse of the island may now be buried, and that all parties may unite in giving effect to the recommendations of the Commissioners, and so encourage the better development of the many resources of this fertile island, and secure for it a new era of increasing prosperity.

In Part II. of their Report the Commissioners deal with the four islands of *St. Lucia*, *St. Vincent*, *Grenada*, and *Tobago*, which form with *Barbados* the colony of the *Windward Islands*. With *Barbados*, which has a legislative council and an elective legislative assembly, and separate constitution of its own, they were not concerned in their inquiry. Under the present system of government each of the islands has an Administrator or Lieutenant-Governor, an Attorney-General, and a Treasurer, and in the case of *Grenada* a Colonial Secretary. The Commissioners suggest that the four islands should unite themselves under one administration and so secure a considerable reduction in the cost of government, whilst allowing for the better payment of the civil service. It is recommended also that *Dominica*, which at

present belongs to the *Leeward* group, should be joined with the four islands, the five being geographically in position near enough to form one colony. Each of the islands possesses, in addition to small tracts of cultivated soil, large areas of accessible and fertile, but as yet uncultivated, land. In each, roads are urgently required to open up the various districts; in short there is as yet but little cultivation or population in proportion to area. Ample opportunity and room remain for future growth, which however can only be secured by the reduction of the cost of government and the increase of expenditure in public works suggested in the Report.

The *Leeward Islands* are dealt with in Part III. of the Report. In their case also the Commissioners recommend that the present imperfect federation should give place to the union of the various islands (with the exception of *Dominica*, which should be united to the *Windward Islands*) under one administration, that shall give them a really efficient government and actually cost less. A simpler and more uniform mode of raising the necessary revenue will press less on industries, commerce, and general freedom of action; and as a united body the islands will be able to do more for one another and for the common good.

In Part IV. the Commissioners make certain "supplementary remarks" which will well repay the study of all who are in any way interested in the future of the "tropical farms of the English nation." It is pointed out that the *West India Islands* are all peopled by agricultural communities producing similar articles for export, and are all capable of growing sufficient food for local consumption. The character of the populations is practically the same in all, there being from 2 to 9 per cent. white, from 15 to 30 coloured, and from 61 to 83 negro and Indian coolie residents. The various islands are, it is true, in different stages of development, but this is a distinction affecting their domestic but not their common policies. One important point to be borne in mind in dealing with West Indian revenues is, that there is no large class of well-to-do, still less of wealthy, residents; and therefore it is not possible to obtain any large amount of revenue from the taxation of luxuries, as high rates at once check the limited existing consumption. Perhaps one of the most active causes in preventing the ready introduction of capital is the uncertainty of being able to obtain at all times a reliable supply of labour. Coolie immigration would of course remove this stumbling-block. To combine economy with success, it is evident that common action must be taken by the West Indian colonies, and that they must unite to establish one central department for recruiting in the East Indies, the contributions to the common expenditure being regulated by the numbers of coolies introduced into each colony.

Doubtless the Imperial authorities may accomplish much in the direction of securing uniformity and identity in dealing with the several matters of common interest throughout the *West Indies*. But the suggestion of the Commissioners, that a preliminary conference of

representatives of the various West Indian colonies should be held in the first instance, is full of wisdom, and will probably be accepted by the Home Government. Such a conference would at all events accustom the inhabitants of the colonies in question to the idea of co-operation, and could determine on the list of subjects to be dealt with, and the general principles on which common action should be based. We specially commend to the thoughtful consideration of West Indians the closing remarks of the Commissioners:—

In regard to the West Indian colonies in general, and to those in particular to which our Commission referred, we think it well to point out that, situated as they are within the tropics, among their inhabitants there can never exist anything approaching to a preponderating number of Europeans; at the same time their great fertility and power to export tropical produce will steadily attract to them English capital and enterprise, and considerable numbers of English residents will always be found in them for the purpose of administering and managing industrial undertakings. For instance, the considerable annual excess in the values of exports over imports is a sure indication that the produce exported belongs, together with the ensuing profits, to those residing elsewhere. But as the employers and employed will be, generally speaking, of different races, the Imperial Government will continue to have an ultimate responsibility in the administration of these islands, and must consequently retain an adequate proportion of direct power in the administration. Although we are convinced that the residents in these islands may well be entrusted with more voice and responsibility in the administration of their local affairs, the foregoing considerations must nevertheless hold a prominent place in the determination of all questions of policy or government in the West Indian colonies.

SOUTH AFRICA.—The principal event of the past three months in *Cape Colony* is the defeat of Mr. Scanlen's Ministry. The Government had issued a proclamation removing the restrictions upon the importation of plants and bulbs, and the Cape farmers and agriculturists at once took alarm lest the phylloxera should be introduced into the country. Protests were ineffectual to secure a repeal of the proclamation, and the result was a division in the House of Assembly, and the defeat of Mr. Scanlen by forty-seven to ten votes. Mr. Upington, Q.C., has formed a new Ministry, in which Mr. Sprigg is Treasurer, and Mr. Hofmeyer holds a subordinate position.

The trade of the colony will probably receive an impetus from the recent formation of a section, to represent merchants and others interested in trade with South Africa, upon the London Chamber of Commerce. There is also a reported awakening in favour of agriculture amongst Cape colonists generally; and could the Government see their way to establish an experimental farm and agricultural college (similar to those existing in *South Australia* and *Ontario*), they would furnish the necessary fillip to the agricultural interest to reëstablish the country in the front rank of prosperous colonies. *Natal* is reported still to be suffering from falling imports. The drought in the *Free State* and the collapse of *Kimberley* business have doubtless had much to do in depressing the trade of *Durban*. But the chief cause is to be found in the events taking place in the *Transvaal* during the last few

years, and the disgraceful state in which *Zululand* is still permitted to continue. A firm government ruling over the divided Zulu kinglets could with ease have preserved order, and by this time should have induced the natives to make considerable progress in the path of civilization; but money would have been needed, and who was willing to furnish it? What has happened has been a shameful internecine warfare, carried on chiefly between the followers of Cetewayo and those of Oham and Usibepu. But events of the past two months have brought home to Great Britain that she *cannot* wash her hands of *Zululand*. Without consulting the Imperial Government, certain Boers took upon themselves to crown Dinizulu, one of Cetewayo's sons, king of *Zululand*. The same Boers have since united with the Usutus (followers of Cetewayo) in attacking Usibepu, whose territory lies most remote from the Reserve and between the *Transvaal* and the country of the Usutus. After making a gallant and prolonged resistance, the people of Usibepu have been utterly routed, their kraals burned, their cattle captured, and their king is now a refugee in the Reserve. The victorious Usutus are the tribes that actually attacked the camp of Mr. Osborn, the British Resident, and only retreated after losing a hundred of their number. The employment of British troops is urgently necessary if the Reserve is to be held. The action of the Boers has introduced a new element in the Zulu question, and entirely revolutionizes it. The ruin of Usibepu has destroyed the balance of power, encouraged the Usutu party, and intimidated the natives of the Reserve, who, being doubtful of our action, think only of how to save themselves. Unless British troops, in sufficient number to ensure success, are immediately employed to restore order, it needs little foresight to foresee a disaster in the Reserve that will probably result in serious bloodshed within the borders of *Natal* itself.

AUSTRALASIA.—In the first quarter of the current year, the Government revenues were as follows, contrasted with those of the same period in 1883:—

	1884.	1883.	Increase.	Decrease.
Victoria	£1,640,485	£1,475,083	£165,402	...
New South Wales . . .	1,498,265	1,512,861	...	£14,596
Queensland	590,257	555,808	34,449	...
South Australia. . . .	547,856	579,535		31,679

The decreases in the instances of *New South Wales* and *South Australia* are both fully explained in the item of land revenues, the falling off under that head being in the case of *New South Wales* £168,651, and in that of *South Australia* £35,000. In these colonies, at any rate, the railway receipts are still expanding, even *New South Wales*, in the face of the recent drought, showing a growth on the quarter of £80,153. It must be remembered, however, that the opening out of new mileage has proceeded rapidly.

All accounts agree in representing the late protracted drought in the interior of *New South Wales*, *Southern Queensland*, and central *South Australia*, as entailing very serious loss. Pasture has been

dried up, dams and reservoirs have been exhausted, or contain only putrid water, sheep are said to have died off by millions, and cattle by hundreds of thousands. The Darling, the great highway of western *New South Wales*, has become quite unnavigable, and provisions at some of the settlements have risen to famine prices. But, out of evil good results, and the water famine has brought prominently to the fore the question of the advantages of wells as compared with tanks. We read of one squatter paying a neighbour £100 a week for the use of his well; and the striking of water is chronicled as an event of the highest import. But the most important discovery of water in depth has been made by the *South Australian* Government, who after three years of persistent efforts have within the last two months struck water at a depth of 1,220 feet, at a place some sixty miles to the north of Farina. Three years ago it was determined to bore for fresh water below the salt water already known to exist to the north of Lake Torrens, the Government geologist having reported favourably upon the prospect of finding water below the chalk in that locality. The result justified the geologist, and rewarded the persevering efforts of the Government. The water is reported to be good, and upon being struck rose well above the surface. In such a locality, the finding of artesian water may be regarded as amply repaying the Government the cost of conducting the deepest bore in the colonies. Indeed, the water question is of the greatest importance to the future prosperity of central *Australia*.

The question of federation has somewhat dropped from the front rank of discussion, but the determination to deal with the question of the *récidivistes* on their own responsibility, should the French Government persevere with their ill-advised scheme, gains ground throughout the whole of the *Australasian* colonies.



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ART. I.—MR. CHILDERS' NEW HALF-SOVEREIGNS.

1. *Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest, and Raising the Value of Money. In a Letter sent to a Member of Parliament, 1691.* By JOHN LOCKE.
2. *Further Considerations concerning Raising the Value of Money. Wherein Mr. Lowndes's Arguments for it, in his late Report containing "An Essay for the Amendment of the Silver Coins" are particularly examined.* By JOHN LOCKE.

NEAR the conclusion of the first of these two memorable essays the following paragraph is to be found :—

This business of money and coinage is by some men, and amongst them some very ingenious persons, thought a great mystery, and very hard to be understood. Not that truly in itself it is so, but because interested people, that treat of it, wrap up the secret, they make advantage of, in a mystical, obscure, and unintelligible way of talking; which men, from a preconceived opinion of the difficulty of the subject, taking for sense, in a matter not easy to be penetrated, but by the men of art, let pass for current, without examination. Whereas, would they look into those discourses, and inquire what meaning their words have, they would find, for the most part, either their positions to be false, their deductions to be wrong, or (which often happens) their words to have no distinct meaning at all. Where none of these

[Vol. CXXII. No. CCXLIV.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. LXVI. No. II. Y

be, there their plain, true, honest sense, would prove very easy and intelligible, if expressed in ordinary and direct language.

Now it will scarcely be maintained that at the present day there are any interested people who purposely treat of "this business of money and coinage in a mystical, obscure, and unintelligible way." The late Professor Jevons' work on "Money, and the Mechanism of Exchange," and Mr. W. Bagehot's "Lombard Street," are models of what introductions to monetary science should be; they are clear, unpretentious, and interesting, even to one who is not by profession a banker, nor an intending candidate at some examination in political economy. Nevertheless, it is perfectly true now, as in the days of Locke, that finance and currency are too frequently regarded as obscure, abstruse and technical matters, which concern only the Institute of Bankers and the Deputy-Master of the Mint, to be avoided by all ordinary minds as utterly unpalatable and dry. If in the treatises which deal with such subjects care had always been taken to use "ordinary and direct language," it is probable that a more vivid interest would have been universally felt. It is not indeed to be expected that the general public will be greatly fascinated by any offer of instruction as to the causes of variation in the rates of discount, or the undying controversy concerning bi-metallism; but as regards the theory and actual condition of our present metallic and paper currency it is surprising if some who daily handle shillings and sixpences, and fold up bank-notes, should not now and then at least desire to obtain some information, if only that information could be obtained without weeks of toilsome study, and many a headache, in the pursuit of knowledge. And when, as at the present moment, there is brought before the consideration of the country by the Chancellor of the Exchequer a very important proposal in reference to a species of coin with which we are all familiar, there is surely greater need than ever of the plainest and simplest explanation of the points at issue, in order that all suspicion of fraud, jugglery, and wilful mystery on the part of those who administer the finances of this realm may be laid aside, and that an impartial judgment may be given by the nation through its representatives in the House of Commons. If in this article we recur to the most elementary truths as regards our metallic currency, it is because we have tried to take to heart the words we have quoted from John Locke, and because we believe no one can understand the real bearing of Mr. Childers' proposals, and of the objections which have been made to them, unless he is familiar with the theory of our modern monetary system, and is enabled to contrast the new state of things as shadowed forth in the recent Budget speech with that which has been for so long customary with us.

The coins which are passed every day from hand to hand in the British Isles, in the acts of buying and selling, are of two descriptions—viz., standard coins and token coins. The standard coins, such as our sovereign and half-sovereign, have their metallic value generally equal to their nominal value; in other words, their value in exchange depends in ordinary times solely upon the value of the metal contained in them. But our token coins (not to be confounded with tradesmen's tokens), under which category stand all our silver and bronze issues, do not have their metallic value equal at any time to their nominal value; five and a half shillings weigh one ounce of standard silver, of which the metallic value is only four shillings and three-pence; in every shilling there is rather less than ninepence half-pennyworth of silver; and in every bronze penny there is but one-seventh of a pennyworth of bronze. Thus the Government makes a clear gain of four shillings and sixpence upon each score of new shilling-pieces it puts into circulation, a gain of more than three-farthings on every penny, and a corresponding profit on all the other tokens now in use. We may judge how large is the revenue arising from the coinage of tokens when we read in the Mint returns that in the year 1872 silver coins were issued to the amount of £1,243,836, and bronze to the amount of £47,413. Professor Jevons calculated that the profit on the coinage of bronze amounted, up to the end of 1871, to about £270,000. But from these large receipts must be deducted the cost of minting, the cost of the wear and tear of all the worn silver and bronze coins which have to be perpetually recalled and re-minted, as well as the loss to the nation whenever coins are withdrawn from circulation, as by shipwreck or other causes. A large balance of profit still remains; but this would be totally insufficient to meet the dead loss of interest upon the vast capital which is shut up in silver and bronze money; for it is evident that when wealth is put into coins the very opposite of a lucrative investment is made; not only does no interest accrue, but through wear and tear that wealth is continually diminishing. Now it is calculated that if all the wealth now shut up in English coins in circulation (gold, silver, and bronze) were lent out at $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., there would be an annual return of something like £4,000,000; but we should be utterly unable to carry on our buying and selling with ease and expedition if we had not these coins in use; in fact, the nation prefers to lose £4,000,000 a year than be subjected to the inconvenience of barter. The loss of interest on the token coins alone at the same rate would be more than half a million a year; but omitting this rather considerable item from the balance-sheet, it is certain that Government derives no small income from the issue of token coins. It must be

remembered, however, that when the Government puts into its own coffers the difference between the metallic and the nominal values of its tokens, it does not do so merely for the sake of gain, or for the benefit of the taxpayer. There is another object kept in view—viz., to prevent the uncoining of the nation's money, to make it unprofitable for any one to put it into the melting-pot, and so diminish the stock in circulation; for if our shillings and half-crowns and pence were standard coins, millions of them would be withdrawn by private firms for the manufacture of silver salvers and bronze images, the moment the price of the metal exceeded even by a small fraction the nominal value of the coins. But how then is it that the country is not flooded with illicit tokens? Why do not clever coiners in Paris, Brussels, or Berlin seek to deprive our Government of part of its expected profits by covertly introducing into our circulation tokens of equal fineness and finish? The temptation to do so is no doubt very great, but so is the risk which would be incurred; for the Bank of England, which alone can legally regulate both the issue of such coins and their recall when superabundant, would speedily discover both the fact and the source of any considerable extraneous addition; and further, it is possible, by means of private mintage-marks, as well as by the still more perfect finish of the coins when issued, to render the counterfeits easy of detection. So it appears then that the State derives a large profit from its issue of token coins, whilst there is at the present day a minimum of chance that their number will be either reduced by the melting-pot of the bullion dealer, or increased by the illicit coiner.

Now as regards our gold currency, how do matters stand? Experience shows that the price of gold in the bullion market is more stable than that of silver or of bronze, and taking into consideration the slight oscillations of value, one might say that the amount of gold in each sovereign is that which on the average in ordinary times is worth twenty standard shillings (supposing that standard shillings were coined), and that the amount of gold in each half-sovereign is that which on the average in ordinary times is worth ten standard shillings. But of course it is impossible to try to fix the value of one coin by determining for how many coins of another metal of less stable value it shall be exchangeable. The gold sovereign therefore, if it is to be maintained as the standard unit of value of our metallic monetary system, the one strong and solid foundation upon which all else must rest, must be fixed arbitrarily. It is prescribed by law that the sovereign shall weigh 123·27447 grains of standard gold (*i.e.*, having eleven parts of pure gold and one of alloy, chiefly copper). Care is taken at the Mint to issue new sovereigns of this exact weight and fineness, and the annual trial of the Pyx shows with

what remarkable accuracy the issue is achieved ; but some small allowance, technically called the Remedy, is made for imperfection of workmanship, since it is not always possible to hit the exact proper fraction of a grain in the processes of coining. The Remedy for a sovereign as regards weight is two-tenths of a grain ; and as regards fineness of metal, two parts in 1,000. But there is also a least current weight below which a sovereign cannot legally remain in circulation—*i.e.*, 122.50 grains. The legal weight, remedy, &c., for the half-sovereign are exactly half those of the sovereign.

It must be readily confessed that one consequence of the issue of these two standard coins is unfortunate. They are extremely liable to the very evils from which tokens are exempt. A smart demand for gold watches and chains may send up the price of gold in the bullion market, and the moment that it becomes profitable to do so, thousands, perhaps even hundreds of thousands, of new and heavy sovereigns are melted down and the nation is deprived of their use as current coin, besides losing the value of the cost of minting. Nay, even when the price of bullion gold is low, and there is obtainable no direct profit on the melting of sovereigns, the jewellers and watch-chain makers of Birmingham and other towns will make use of the mine of sound reliable gold which is within the reach of all. It is easier to rob the currency and so obtain the exact amount required, than to negotiate with bullion dealers for bar gold, the fineness of which may be open to question. But ought this withdrawing process to be called robbery, and to be included within the category of crimes? It appears that in the reigns of Edward III., Richard II., and Charles II., statutes were passed prohibiting the melting down of current silver coin (then the standard currency), and the application of the same to less dignified uses. But these prohibitions were set aside by 59 George III., c. 49, s. 11, wherein both melting and exporting are expressly permitted. Consequently we must be content to shake our heads at the Birmingham jeweller, and say sharp words behind his back ; but we cannot send the policeman to his laboratory, nor compel his banker to give him only the oldest and lightest sovereigns when he asks for a supply of cash rather larger than is necessary for ordinary household purposes. Certainly we must not speak of robbery in his presence, though we are sure we have a grievance. We must simply "grin and bear it."

But can Government then do nothing to stop this constant process of pulling down what it builds up? Would it not be both easy and effectual simply to turn our gold standards into gold tokens? Why not put only eighteen shillings' worth of gold into the sovereign, or, better still, only fifteen shillings'

worth, or even twelve shillings' worth, and thus at one stroke not only render it quite unprofitable to uncoin, but make a large profit into the bargain, perhaps even abolish the income-tax, or at any rate relieve taxation in one way or another to the joy of the nation at large? Would not the sovereign continue to be exchangeable for the same amount of goods as now? would not the Government stamp or denomination be quite sufficient to prevent depreciation? Such are the questions naturally suggested, and the reply must be remembered by all who would understand the points now at issue. In a sound monetary system you must have at least one standard coin to form its mainstay, to act as the peg from which everything is to hang; for you cannot keep up the value of the tokens unless it is enacted by law that they shall exchange with standard coins. A half-crown would not purchase the amount of commodities which it can now purchase, were it not prescribed by law that eight of such coins shall be always exchangeable with a standard gold sovereign. A shilling would buy only 9½d. worth of goods, if it had not been ordered that twenty shillings shall always exchange for a sovereign. And in just the same way, if the sovereign were to contain only fifteen shillings' worth of gold (*i.e.*, if it be turned into a token), only fifteen shillings' worth of goods would be purchasable with it; the denomination, superscription, or Government injunction would avail nothing. So it is clear that a sound monetary system could not be maintained for a day unless the standard coins were preserved intact. This great truth has not always been recognized. In the year 1695 our English current coin was almost entirely of silver; it was supposed to be standard money, but was so much depreciated through cutting, clipping, sweating, and all kinds of shameful usage, that in every shop and market the buyers and sellers spent whole hours in debating the question whether three or four light, notched, ill-used sixpences should be considered as equal to one shilling. The currency had at length become so scanty and so bad that the officers of State were reluctantly compelled to consider the ways and means of calling it in and of re-issuing standard coins of full weight. Mr. Lowndes, the Secretary to the Treasury, was asked his opinion on this important matter, and he wrote a pamphlet declaring that a re-issue of the coinage was certainly of grave necessity, and could be accomplished without any cost to the nation; the Government had only to put one-fifth less silver into all the coins and pocket the difference. If the former dimensions be retained, a higher denomination must be stamped upon the faces; and accordingly he advocated calling the old crown-piece, six shillings and three-pence, and compelling it to pass as such in every market; the value of all other species of

coins to be correspondingly raised. This was in the teeth of the sound advice which had already been given to the world by John Locke in the first of the two essays whose titles stand at the head of this article. Locke had said :—

Men in their bargains contract not for denominations, or sounds, but for the intrinsick value; which is the quantity of silver, by publick authority warranted to be in pieces of such denominations. And it is by having a greater quantity of silver, that men thrive and grow richer, and not by having a greater number of denominations; which when they come to have need of their money, will prove but empty sounds, if they do not carry with them the real quantity of silver expected.

From our modern point of view Locke was not a sound thinker on all economic questions. He was still under the influence of the mercantile theory, as the passage just quoted shows; he was behind Sir William Petty and Sir Dudley North as regards the principles of free trade; he was an advocate of the maintenance of a fixed legal rate of interest, or at all events he would look with something like composure on such a regulation; but on this question of "raising the value of money" he was perfectly right, and his arguments in answer to Lowndes have as much force now as when he wrote. He pointed out with the utmost clearness that as silver was the standard money, a half-crown would not avail in the market for more than its own metallic value. Parliament, King, and Council might decree that it should and must buy 3s. worth of goods, but it never would. For standard coins are really commodities of certified quality which every one is ready to accept; the only difference being that whereas some kinds of commodities, like loaves of bread and pounds of butter, we accept and consume, the coins we accept and do not consume, but pass on. The general prices of marketable goods are governed by the see-saw action of supply and demand, and Government could not affect these prices except by the most unjust and arbitrary restrictions which would be constantly and secretly evaded. It was fortunate for the country that the advice of Locke prevailed, and in 1696 a Bill passed the House of Commons for the re-issue of silver coins of full standard quality and weight. The loss to the Exchequer, estimated at £1,200,000, was met by the imposition of a house duty and window tax, the former of which continues to this day.

We have learnt from Locke, then, the necessity of keeping up our standard coinage even at the risk of sustaining constant diminution of the aggregate at the hands of gold-leaf beaters, watchmakers, gilders, &c.; and in the composite legal tender

system which has been adopted in England since the days of Lord Liverpool, this necessity is duly recognized. The gold money must be kept up to its full value, and then our tokens will readily exchange in the market for more than they are metallically worth, because they are legally exchangeable for gold money which is worth what its name tells us it is. Our crowns, shillings, &c., are to be viewed in no other light than as convenient fractions of the gold standard sovereign. Everything would go wrong if we allowed the sovereign to be depreciated and so become a token; if, *e.g.*, it came to be publicly recognized as containing 19s. worth of metal instead of 20s.

And this is exactly what has taken place, and is taking place in an increasing degree every day. Mr. Childers has read his Locke; and being thoroughly convinced of the truth of Locke's arguments, he has pressed upon the attention of Parliament and of the country the great need of a reform before the mischief has gone any further. Already our good neighbours on the Continent have begun to examine rather closely the gold cash which we put into their hands; and the intending tourist in some parts of Austria and Italy is reminded by previous inconvenience that he had better ask his banker to select only newly minted money to put into the pockets of his travelling suit. Yet, through the operation of Gresham's law, as the economists call it, the worst money never goes abroad. We Englishmen alone can watch the effigies of George III. and George IV. growing fainter and fainter, and the harps and the lions being gradually rubbed out. Our national credit in the matter of coinage is at stake, and it is only our indolence which has blinded our eyes to the actual condition of things. Mr. Childers was by no means the first to point out that an increasing proportion of our gold coins are worn below the least current weight. The late Professor Jevons in 1869 ascertained, as he tells us, by a careful and extensive inquiry, that 31½ per cent. of the sovereigns and nearly one half of the ten-shilling pieces were then light, consequently no longer legal tender, and liable to be seized and broken up when offered in payment. Since that date the Chancellors of the Exchequer have been well aware that something must be done, but how to do it with a minimum of cost and trouble was an extremely hard problem to solve. And so it was easier to shrug the shoulders and let the matter drift until John Bull should haply find himself without a little war to pay for, and might be willing to lend an ear to the details of domestic economy.

Who is to pay the cost of a re-issue of standard gold after more than forty years of complacent negligence? Half the gold coinage being light, what means are available for meeting the

charge of £710,000 which the Chancellor of the Exchequer regards as the lowest estimate of the necessary expense to be immediately incurred without providing for future needs? The answers that have been made to this question are numerous, but not entirely satisfactory. The more important suggestions, however, including some to which Mr. Childers made reference in his Budget speech, are worth reviewing. We may dismiss without further comment the advice to let matters drift, and to raise no funds to meet the deficiency through depreciation; as well as the proposal of Lord Sherbrooke, who evidently had not read his Locke, to diminish the weight of the sovereign, or, in other words, to "raise the value" of the standard coin. But of those who take for granted that somebody must pay for the rehabilitation of the gold coinage, perhaps most will be content to allow the last holder to meet the cost whenever it can be saddled upon him. It was enacted by the Act of 1870 that the last holder should bear the loss. If I tender a light sovereign in payment for an article which I have purchased, the tradesman with whom I am dealing, after taking the coin into his hand, is bound by law to weigh it, to break it up, and to charge me with the value of the deficiency. He will be guilty in the eyes of the law if he fails to make me bear the loss; I shall be guilty before the same tribunal if by a subterfuge I seek to escape that loss. In strict accordance with this enactment it is the usual practice of the Bank of England, its branches, and a few Government offices, to weigh all gold money that may be brought to their counters, and if the coins be light, to make the person who tenders them suffer the loss. This is a curious example of a legal provision which is clearly at variance with the national sense of justice. Nobody will readily agree that it is right that one individual only out of the tens of thousands through whose hands in forty years a coin has passed shall be made to bear the expense of its wear and tear during the whole period. If a railway company determined to raise funds for the acquisition of new rolling stock by doubling the prices of tickets on a certain day, or by levying a kind of black-mail on all persons travelling in the old and narrow carriages between certain populous centres, there would be an outburst of fierce resentment at the suicidal policy of the board of directors. And yet the injustice which now and then arises from the provisions of the Coinage Act of 1870 in consequence of the existing depreciated currency is not less gross.

I have heard [says Professor Jevons*] of one case in which an inexperienced person, after receiving several hundred pounds in gold from a bullion dealer in the City of London, took them straight to the Bank

of England for deposit. Most of the sovereigns were there found to be light, and a prodigious charge was made upon the unfortunate depositor. The dealer in bullion had evidently paid him the residuum of a mass of coins from which he had picked the heavy ones. In a still worse case, lately reported to me, a man presented a post-office order at St. Martin's-le-Grand, and carried the sovereigns received to the Stamp Office at Somerset House, where the coins were weighed, and some of them found to be deficient. Here a man was, so to say, defrauded between two Government offices.

It has been urged by some that those who earn their living by operations with money, and especially the bankers of the United Kingdom, are the proper persons to be taxed. All banks ought to stop light money, and so prevent its further circulation; they have not done their duty in this respect, because their interests would suffer, for their clients would resent what they would consider an injustice. But the bankers might no doubt reply that their sins of omission are not peculiar to themselves, but are common with the whole mercantile and shopkeeping classes of the community, and therefore it would be unjust to fine them, and allow their companions in guilt to go scot-free; and further, that with the present keen competition between rival banking companies, it is highly undesirable to place any more burdens upon them than they now bear. A mintage charge has been proposed as a solution of the difficulty. At present, under the Coinage Act, any one may take gold to the Mint and have it coined gratuitously, it being intended thus publicly and unmistakably to mark equality of value between gold as bullion and gold as standard coin. The Bank of England seems to be the only body or institution which is in the habit of availing itself of this privilege, and it has been calculated by the best authorities that a mintage-charge adequate to cover the expenses of recoinage would have to be a very high one, so high as to seriously impede in several ways the operations of the Bank of England. It stands to reason also that anything which adds to the reluctance to coin, anything which would tend to check the adequate supply of money when much needed in times of increasing commercial prosperity, would be injurious. And if a piece of gold when stamped with the Government denomination is worth more than when it was unstamped, because a mintage charge has been paid upon it, there is the greatest danger of reinstating the very error which Lowndes committed, and which Locke so thoroughly exposed.

If then neither the last holders, nor the bankers, nor the coiners are to pay, who shall? The State—*i.e.*, the taxpayer? It must be confessed that at first sight there appears to be only

one straightforward course to adopt—viz., to tax everybody, since all have contributed to the wear and tear. Dives writes to the *Times*, and confesses his utmost willingness to pay another penny of income-tax to make Mr. Childers happy; or he asks that the expenditure, now proved to be necessary, shall be met openly and honestly by a specific tax, and that there shall be no shabby subterfuge, no party dodge, to raise the money by other methods. Let us show all men how gladly we will empty our purses, says the wealthy Briton, in order that we may strengthen the influence and prestige of the British sovereign over the whole of the civilized world. Yes; but does he remember the millions of persons with very limited means on whom that additional penny in the pound will press with cruel severity? And would it not be a crime on the part of the Government to cause that pressure when, as Mr. Childers shows, it may be entirely avoided? Are we prepared to advocate the compulsory sacrifice of a part of the material comforts of innumerable homes, simply in order that aristocratic sentiment may be gratified, and the taxpaying capacity of the British public be more fully proved?

Mr. Childers deserves the best thanks of all Englishmen, and especially of all income-tax payers of limited means, for the admirable way in which he has cut the Gordian knot. If his suggestions are accepted by Parliament, and become embodied in our laws, no one will be one farthing the poorer, and yet, by the carefully regulated issue of token half-sovereigns, he will raise a fund sufficient not only to rehabilitate the sovereign within the next few years, but also to provide for its perpetual maintenance through all coming time at the point of standard weight and fineness. Nine shillings' worth of gold will receive the Government denomination, and be called a ten-shilling piece, the State putting the difference into its own coffers. Mr. Childers' new half-sovereign tokens will buy as much goods in the market as the half-sovereign standards do now, because, as now, two half-sovereigns will be always exchangeable for one standard sovereign, and because, as now, they will be viewed in no other light than as convenient divisions of the standard sovereign. And so, as by the touch of an enchanter's wand, this great Hill of Difficulty has been removed, and Mr. Childers can go straight forward where previous Chancellors had been forced to halt. If he did not originate the scheme—and we hear that it was an anonymous writer in the *Times*, in December 1879, to whom the credit of the suggestion really belongs—he has at least had the necessary skill and patience to examine its pretensions, to recognize its merits, and after an exhaustive investigation to recommend it heartily to the nation. By this

triumph in finance he has not only increased his reputation, but has certainly given a great impetus to economic inquiry; for he has set us all searching for ways and means by which pressing public needs may be met in a thoroughly satisfactory manner, and in accordance with the suggestions of a sound economy, without the incubus of additional taxation. What may not be achieved in all branches of the public service, in all departments of municipal administration, simply by a deeper scrutiny of difficult problems, and a clever adjustment of claims which hitherto have been generally conflicting? Social questions have of late been demanding more and more earnest attention on the part of the thoughtful men and women in all sections of the community; and who can tell but that the Royal Commission now sitting for the investigation of matters concerning the housing of the poor may be similarly inspired in some lucky moment to suggest an expedient for the amelioration of the wretchedness which caused the utterance of the Bitter Cry—an expedient thorough, safe, and economical, good for the present, good for the future, and necessitating neither compulsory charity from the rich nor additional taxation from the poor?

Mr. Childers' scheme has since last April been before the world, and stands duly formulated in a new Coinage Bill, and by the time that it is discussed by the House of Commons the prevailing opinion will be largely in its favour. As soon as its simple provisions shall be understood by the nation at large, every one will wonder how it was that nobody had ever started or publicly advocated the proposal before. "Exactly the very thing; where have all our wits been straying?" will be the universal exclamation. It is just the same with the inventions which seem to come so easily and naturally in answer to our felt wants, and yet it is a flash of genius which in the first place reveals the one effectual method by which those wants can be entirely satisfied. But of course it could not be expected that the Chancellor's proposal should go unchallenged. Objections have been urged against it, some foolish, some trifling, and some apparently well-founded. The bitterest antagonist, and by far the most unscrupulous, has been Lord Randolph Churchill, who, in a letter to the *Times* of April 28, exposed the dreadful consequences of this audacious measure. The issue of token half-sovereigns would lead, he asserted, to the certain depreciation of all Bank of England notes both at home and abroad; to the reduction of the rate of interest given to depositors in the Post-office Savings Banks; to a reduction of 10 per cent. of all weekly wages under five pounds; and to an increase of cost of all retail articles.

Two half-sovereigns at the present moment [he writes] are worth

one whole sovereign ; if you debase the part you debase the whole ; neither is there any longer a guarantee that having debased the half-sovereign for purposes of party finance one year, the British Government will not in the next year proceed to adopt Mr. Lowe's proposal for debasing the sovereign itself.

It is clear that Lord Randolph has not read his Locke, and cannot understand why the measure in question may not and will not lead to the result he indicates. The doleful consequences which he so rashly prophesied without due investigation of the subject are entirely fanciful ; indeed, he seems to have forgotten that all our silver and bronze coins are but tokens, and yet society exists and prospers. We can but hope that, as candour is one of his lordship's good qualities, he will not be ashamed to do once more what he has already done—viz., publicly to recant his expressed opinions as soon as he finds that he can no longer honestly retain them, and thus to show all men that he means to live and learn. But the sentiment of Lord Randolph's letter is more difficult to combat than his arguments, and there is still throughout the country considerable reluctance to permit the debasing of even the most insignificant part of our gold coinage. We never have had gold tokens, says another writer in the *Times*, and it will be against all our best feelings to accept them now. If revenue must be raised by an issue of new tokens, then let us discontinue altogether the gold ten-shilling piece, and let us have large silver double-crowns, and so save the reputation of the country. Do not let Mr. Gladstone's ministers do that which even Charles II., of profligate memory, refrained from doing in his most imppecunious days. But in just the same way is every innovation resented at the outset as running dead against the susceptibilities of many. The monkish copyist in the scriptorium of his convent must have felt that to handle type and work a printer's press was a profanation of a sacred toil ; and when railways were commenced they were in opposition to the traditional sentiment of a large part of the community whose affections centred in horse-flesh rather than in strange and ugly combinations of wheels, boilers and funnels. Indeed, some who have expostulated with the Chancellor of the Exchequer have spoken as though he were the apostle of debasement, instead of being, what he really is, an advocate of the perpetual maintenance of our chief gold coin at the level of standard weight and fineness. His aim is not to cause depreciation, but to prevent it ; if he destroys, it is only that he may build up the more strongly and securely elsewhere ; the half-sovereign is to be sacrificed for no other purpose than to maintain the sovereign for ever in the best possible condition. It is difficult to pacify any wounded feeling by ever so cogent an argument ; but surely the sentiments of those who are pained at

the idea of the proposed change in the coinage will not find consolation in the acceptance of heavy silver double-crowns in the place of our gold half-sovereigns. The inconvenience to which the public would be subjected would soon be recognized as a greater evil than any disregard to traditional usage in the matter of our standard coinage.

But Mr. Childers' proposal is viewed by some people with mistrust, because they can readily conceive a condition of things in which the new tokens would suffer depreciation, and would be most reluctantly accepted when tendered as payment of debt. Suppose that in order to increase the revenues of the country after a course of extravagant expenditure, an unscrupulous Government were to issue an unlimited number of the tokens, or a number out of all due proportion to the quantity of standard sovereigns. The consequence would be certainly disastrous. If the sovereigns became scarce, it is clear that two new gold tokens could not be readily exchangeable in every shop and market with a sovereign, and no longer would there exist the sole condition by which they would maintain their appointed position in our monetary system. Hence would ensue a speedy fall in value, a fall which would be stopped only at the limit of the metallic value. And if we might pay our debts to any amount in these gold tokens, the discredit and suspicion in which they would be held would greatly accelerate the depreciation. But those who are haunted by the fear of such disasters may rest assured that Mr. Childers has foreseen and fully provided for such contingencies. No modern British Government is likely to be unscrupulous as to the manner in which it raises revenue, and if it were, it could not attain its selfish ends by excessive issues of tokens without openly inviting Parliament to repeal the cautious regulations which Mr. Childers now proposes to enforce by law—viz., that the new half-sovereigns shall be legal tender only to the amount of £5; and the number to be issued shall be strictly limited, some definite ratio being always preserved with the number of standard sovereigns. We do not know that any more safe and certain safeguards could be adopted than these two provisions.

There is another plausible objection, that by diminishing the stock of standard gold coins Mr. Childers will reduce the amount of gold available for international payments; henceforth the foreign nations whose goods we purchase will accept sovereigns only, and when large accounts have to be settled, the demand for sovereigns to be exported will be so great as to place a premium upon them, consequently to depreciate the half-sovereign, and thus to cause a dislocation of our monetary system. But it may be replied that, generally speaking, we do not pay foreign

nations in hard cash, but with our goods and manufactures; gold is used only to settle the final balances, and surely with the enormous number of sovereigns in circulation at home and abroad enough could always be found for such a purpose. And even now, as Mr. Childers has told us, the half-sovereign, though a standard coin, is a domestic institution; it stays at home. "I have made careful inquiries within the last few months," he said, "and I can find no instance of half-sovereigns being sent from this country in any considerable quantities as remittances or for exchange purposes." Nay, if there should arise a sudden large demand for gold to be sent abroad, what is there to prevent the uncoining of a million or two of gold tokens at the Mint, the withdrawal of the additional alloy, and the exportation of the bullion to the extent required?

Again, it is asserted that all circulating media should have the power of self-adjustment, and be variable in quantity by the natural action of trade. If gold coin be supplied by Government just as required in a certain state of trade and population, and the supply should eventually prove to be redundant, the superfluous quantity will flow easily away to foreign countries through the channels of commerce, and a fall in the value of the currency will be prevented. Things will right themselves when everybody is willing to take our gold. Now, to diminish the amount of standard gold and to add to the number of our tokens is to endanger the free exportation of our superfluous coin, to weaken the natural elasticity of the currency, and to tend to the depreciation of all that remains at home. If the half-sovereign has been a domestic coin hitherto, we are now going to take measures by which in the future it shall never have the chance to go abroad. We are going to stop emigration just when the evils of over-multiplication are too evident. All this is true, but cannot be regarded as an insuperable obstacle. Undoubtedly it would be better if all our currency possessed this most desirable attribute of natural elasticity; but what Nature will not do for us, we can sometimes accomplish for ourselves by the aid of science—not so well perhaps, but still well enough for our purpose. And just as in the past provision has been made by Government for the recall of notes and silver tokens when proved to be redundant in the country, so Mr. Childers has not failed on the present occasion to provide for the possible danger which has been indicated. "Arrangements have been made with the Bank of England for the receipt of any quantity of redundant ten-shilling pieces, just as redundant silver is now received."

But it is not enough to map out a theoretically perfect monetary system, if we do not consider the crooked ways of crime,

and the impetus which the unwary statesman may give to crime. The sweaters and illicit coiners have in past times been some of the worst pests of society; and they will always give trouble to those whose duty it is to discover and to thwart their schemes. If the proposed change should encourage their evil practices, and afford a permanent opportunity for easy theft, no elaborate proof of its general beneficial effect in the commercial world will save it from condemnation. And at the first glance it would seem that Mr. Childers' scheme will prove a very godsend to those who gain their living by shamefully misusing or unlawfully imitating the current coin. For he is going to put into the hands of the sweater nothing but sovereigns of full weight and fineness, and he will lure the illicit coiner by the prospect of gaining one shilling on every half-sovereign that he can put in circulation. The sweater has been chary about touching our old sovereigns, which are already wasted and light through age, but he will consider the new ones as his peculiar prey, and will speedily endeavour to reduce their weight until they have the worn appearance with which we are now familiar. But Professor Jevons, when advocating some years ago the withdrawal of light gold and the issue of new, forestalled and answered the objections which have recently found able expression in the newspapers. The new state of things to be inaugurated by the Chancellor will not, after all, bring the expected halycon days for the sweater's art. That art is now rendered possible and practicable by the fact that we are all familiar with the look and touch of worn light coins, which are passed from hand to hand without remark. But if a system be perfected by which all sovereigns are recalled the instant they fall beneath the least current-weight, if our eyes and fingers are familiarized with nothing but coins of full weight and perfect finish, it will be more difficult for the sweater to pass the coins which he has maltreated, for they will be immediately noticed and traced back to his possession. Whilst the change is taking place he may find the opportunity to pursue his nefarious calling; but as soon as the new régime has been established, he will find it far more dangerous than now to rob the public Exchequer. And as for the illicit coiner who will endeavour to put into circulation ten-shilling pieces which cost him only nine shillings each to produce, we scarcely think that the gain so to be obtained will prove large enough to cover the risk. We have already shown that this kind of temptation arises whenever and wherever a token coinage is adopted, and have given some reasons why nevertheless illicit coining is not carried on with any remarkable success. If the difference between the nominal and metallic values of tokens were very great,—if, for instance, the value of the silver in a shilling were but twopence, and that

of the silver in a half-crown only fivepence—there would be presented a very strong temptation to introduce illicit coins, a temptation which would be in exact proportion to this difference. But for this very reason the Government never aims at making a very large gain when it issues tokens: it simply desires to obtain a fund which shall cover all the expenses of coinage, to make the currency self-supporting, and, if possible, to provide for future emergencies. And so with the new gold token; if the metallic value were lower, the inducement to unlawful imitation might be very serious; but with so much as nine shillings' worth of metal remaining in each piece, the limit of safety will not probably be passed, and no greater dangers will have to be met than those which all the other tokens have to encounter.

A few minor objections still remain. Suppose that when the new gold tokens come fully into use, and there no longer exists any inducement for bankers to hoard the half-sovereigns because they are light and cannot be returned to the Bank of England without loss, it be found that a smaller quantity of them are required for circulation than Mr. Childers estimates; in such a case the scheme will not pay, and must be dropped. But will it be denied that the sum of £50,000, which is to be put aside for such contingencies, is a sufficient margin? The scheme may not be absolutely perfect in all its details; Mr. Childers' figures may be shown by subsequent experience to be not entirely accurate; but when he purposely makes a large allowance for miscalculations, he surely disarms the adverse criticism which seeks to prove that the statistical basis of his proposal is somewhat open to question. And we think there is no reason to expect a diminished demand for half-sovereigns so soon as the new provisions shall have come into play. The wealth of the country is increasing at a rapid rate, and though that wealth may not be so equally distributed as we could wish, still it is probable that more and more persons who now receive or spend nine shillings in a day will by-and-by receive or spend ten shillings, and will use a convenient and well-coined gold token in preference to four half-crowns or five florins. In various ways the practical working of the scheme may entail trouble and annoyance both at the Mint and at the Bank of England. At the latter place it may complicate the accounts, and perhaps throw into confusion for a time the books of the Banking and of the Issue Departments after every transfer of half-sovereigns from the one to the other. It may cause some alterations in the wording of the Bank Act, and necessitate a revision of the regulations concerning the gold reserves on which bank-notes are now issued. But all these difficulties can be smoothed away by a

careful readjustment, and cannot for a moment be placed in the category of serious objections.

The paramount object held in view by Mr. Childers is the rehabilitation of the sovereign, and its permanent maintenance in the best possible condition. But very able men have argued that we have reached the day when this should no longer be the chief aim of the regulators of our currency. Instead of sacrificing the half-sovereign to make good the sovereign, they would prefer to see the latter replaced by a one-pound note, and a part of the revenue so obtainable applied to the maintenance of the half-sovereign, which then would be the only standard coin, and, we presume, the standard unit of value. By such a course, it is asserted, a vast amount of interest would be saved to the nation, the cost of recoinage would be obviated, and the convenience of the public much advanced. Here we are standing on the brink of a limitless sea of controversy, into which we do not now care to plunge ; but it appears to us that the currency of this country rests really upon bullion, and if we were to withdraw or suffer to be drained away a vast quantity of the sovereigns now in circulation, we should diminish the gold of the country to an extent that would be detrimental to a safe and sound financial policy. We have gone as far as we safely can go in the issue of paper money, and the public security demands cautious restriction. It is because Mr. Childers is able to combine due caution with true science, and a regard for the experience of the past with the promise of happy fruits to come, that we believe the Budget speech of 1884 will be long and gratefully remembered in this country. With reference to the policy which he set forth in that speech, he might with truth repeat the words of Locke, whose main direction he has followed :—

The principles I there went on, I see no reason to alter ; they have, if I mistake not, their foundation in Nature, and will stand ; they have their foundation in Nature, and are clear ; and will be so, in all the train of their consequences, throughout this whole (as it is thought) mysterious business of money, to all those who will but be at the easy trouble of stripping this subject of hard, obscure, and doubtful words, wherewith men are often misled, and mislead others. And now the disorder is come to extremity, and can no longer be played with, I wish it may find a sudden and effectual cure, not a remedy in sound and appearance, which may flatter us on to ruin.*

* Letter to Sir John Sommers, Knt., presenting his " Further Considerations."

ART. II.—MR. HOWELLS' NOVELS.

SO much has been made in the mother-country of the challenge to America to produce a distinctively American poet, that it is rather puzzling to find almost no record of a similar demand for a fictionist. The explanation which first offers itself is that for a generation back the unique genius of Hawthorne has forestalled any such requirement; but the method of Hawthorne, rare and exquisite as it is, and concerned as it is in large part with American subjects, does not at all obviously realize what British critics might be conceived to expect from an American; and if it did, there would still be the question why so much stress was laid on the demand for a poet if it were admitted that America had produced a great and national novelist. Did not the existence of the novelist prove all that the desiderated poet was to attest? Or could it be that the challenge about the poet was so essentially puerile that it might have been met by the appearance of one whose grade in the company of singers should be no higher than that of Fenimore Cooper among writers of fiction, provided he had an equal endowment of nationalism? The problem fosters uneasy speculation as to whether the critical British patriot has of recent years felt forced to silence by the product of Joaquin Miller rather than by that of Walt Whitman. However that may be, it is certain that no English journalist will in these days seek to humble Americans by discussing the novelists of the States. Whatever *genre* be conceived by Whitmanites or the *Times* as the ideally American, it must be allowed that two such writers as Mr. Henry James and Mr. W. D. Howells have an art, a method, and a material of their own. Mr. James, while not following British models—unless he be held to have imitated “Daniel Deronda” in his “Portrait of a Lady”—has perhaps a somewhat undue tendency to take his characters to Europe; and there is a certain suggestiveness in this style of announcing one of his recent magazine stories:—“It belongs to the ‘International’ series, the scene shifting from London to New York, and back to London. Lady Barberina is the daughter of an English nobleman, who engages the affections of a young American physician, who is the heir to millions.” Mr. James has indeed a way of devoting himself to the society of aliens who neither toil nor spin. But there is no such reproach against Mr. Howells. That writer, though he has made use of his acquaintance with Venice in several stories, is not only above the weakness of adorning his books with the English aristocracy,

but is at pains to indicate his distinctively American attitude by his treatment of the English personages in his narratives. If Mr. Howells wants to introduce a particularly vulgar figure, or to set off the refinement and intelligence of his leading characters, he does so by bringing forward one or more members of the English nation, or, at a pinch, a Canadian, who shall be adequately ill-bred or good-naturedly stupid; and when that plan is not altogether convenient, he is likely to succeed in his purpose by conveying the idea that a particular sample of American manners is a copy from the English. Englishmen will hardly think of charging such an artist with deficiency in nationalness.

Mr. Howells, however, is too likeable an author to be classified on the strength merely of such a small peculiarity as that. It is probable that a feeling of personal attraction to the writer is about as common a result of reading his books here as it appears to be in the States. If the sincerest compliment we can pay an author is that of reading his books in quick succession, there can be little doubt that Mr. Howells has had as friendly a reception from the British public within the past two or three years as he could well wish; the attractions of Mr. Douglas's pocket edition combining with those of the novelist's style, humour, and piquant narrative to lead even temperate novel-readers into prolonged dissipation. An English reader, in whatever school his taste may have been formed, unless it shall have been the sensational, is likely to find something refreshing and stimulating in Mr. Howells' stories, and even the amateur of deep-laid plots may learn from them to relish better things. Here there are no mysterious crimes; no studies in circumstantial evidence; no staggering surprises; few rescues, and these quite ordinary. The novelist has gone beyond George Eliot in his abandonment of plot and intrigue, and challenges us to try how a dexterously-handled love-story will do on its own basis. And for a while it undoubtedly does very well indeed. These stories of light and lightly-treated incident, with their accidental meetings of young people which are the beginnings of loves that run, in most cases, with a ripple which to an old-fashioned romancer would represent the merest smoothness, but is to the ordinary reader a sufficiently palpitating series of anxieties; loves which come to nothing and loves which end in marriage; loves under peculiar and loves under ordinary circumstances, always with some environment of cleverly observed and deftly drawn characters, and generally an interesting pictorial background—in all respects they are readable and appetizing. It is only after the charm of the humour and the artist's self-possession has become quite familiar, after interest in the love-stories and satisfaction in the

minor character-drawing have passed into retrospection and suffusive musing, that a sense of anything being lacking supervenes. And the reader, even if his turn of mind be critical, will probably hesitate at first to decide that his vague impression of inadequacy can legitimately be formulated into an objection to the work he is thinking of. In two of Mr. Howells' stories the theme and the treatment are alike so simple—there is so little hint of the author's personality, so little suggestion that he conceives himself to have presented to us a finished artistic production—that it is impossible to arraign him on their basis. The narratives in question are "Their Wedding Journey" and "A Chance Acquaintance," two of Mr. Howells' earlier novels. In the first we have simply the experiences, observations, impressions, and conversations of a young couple in their honeymoon—which they devote to travelling from Boston to Canada and back—the whole not properly amounting to a story, as even the pre-matrimonial history of the pair is only hinted at; and here there is really nothing to be discontented about on a final critical consideration. The author has given us a daintily written sketch, in which the personal element agreeably relieves interesting description and historical talk; and we cannot say that he is in the least respect dissatisfying. We feel, not that the slightness of the sketch is a shortcoming, but that he can do more, and when a few clues in "Their Wedding Journey" are taken up and worked on in "A Chance Acquaintance," the feeling is strengthened; a conviction of the author's ability being left without any suspicion of inadequacy. Thus far Mr. Howells' performances are, as wholes as well as in detail, fresh and original, suggesting an independent method and even a high standpoint; just because they so fully realize all they seem to aim at. "A Chance Acquaintance," which remains one of his most felicitous productions, is a study of an abortive love affair between an aristocratic Bostonian and a bright, unconventional New England girl, who become acquainted on a holiday journey. It will at once recall "Pride and Prejudice" to the lovers of Jane Austen, an artist whose method has perhaps more points of affinity with that of Mr. Howells than has that of any other English writer; though he has of necessity passed under the influence of George Eliot. Of course George Eliot's achievement, and all else that has gone between Jane Austen's day and ours, produce a pervading difference between the stories of Darcy's *tendresse* for Elizabeth Bennet and Mr. Miles Arbuton's for Kitty Ellison. Above all, the quality of American humour marks off Mr. Howells' story as a perfectly independent study and work of art, though it should be noted that Jane Austen to some extent anticipates American humour as well as American

method in fiction. In "A Chance Acquaintance" the separating tendency of the wooer's social prejudices and the girl's strength of character has the effect of breaking off their unlikely looking and precipitately formed engagement; and in this and in a dozen other respects the story, with all its slightness, is a further evolved production than any of Jane Austen's. We have here the mark of the modern critical development—the implication that a good fictionist is not simply to concoct for us a story with an agreeable ending, but is to impress us with a sense of his faithfulness to an actual life which is full of broken threads and pathetic failures. Jane Austen, writing in girlhood and applying her exquisite powers with hardly any critical data before her, was content to smilingly finish off her stories in a way that would leave her tender-hearted readers contented. Since her day have appeared the Brontës, Thackeray, George Eliot, Balzac, and Tourguénief; and these have cast on the aspirant who follows them a burden of serious consideration of life which did not trouble the wonderful little woman who wrote her early stories so spontaneously in the quiet old parsonage of Steventon. "Pride and Prejudice" might or might not end "happily;" but "A Chance Acquaintance" is only a good story in virtue of the final breach between the ill-assorted lovers. Had Mr. Arbuton married Kitty, the story, one feels, would have been immeasurably less worth the telling; with its actual conclusion it represents a work of intelligent, sympathetic, subtle observation, and deliberate, finished art. The interludes of historical and descriptive detail make up with the curious little love episode an artistic whole—a story which is not exactly a novel, but is none the less a perfectly justifiable and satisfying literary product. Summing up, one pronounces it a sound and promising sample of realistic fiction, presenting as it does a quite agreeable set of phenomena, because the shifting scene is naturally one of amenity, but indicating no incapacity for handling grimmer details. We have the truthfulness of Tourguénief, with an inspiring humour and cheerfulness which Tourguénief lacks; and to a sanguine reader all things seem possible with such a writer and such a method. It is perhaps not too much to say, however, that "A Chance Acquaintance," taken as a whole, represents, if not Mr. Howells' high-water mark, at least an unfulfilled promise of achievement on his part.

This is apt to look like saying that the novelist has failed in that he has not continued to give us simply stories which end unfortunately—that a pessimistic treatment of human relations in fiction is alone sound; a principle which the most confirmed pessimist would hardly venture to lay down in matters of art. Of course, no such principle is here advanced; but in point of

fact the arrest of development asserted of Mr. Howells may to a large extent be indicated in terms of his later leaning to rose-colour. For purposes of exposition, it may be said that a love-story which ends unfortunately is potentially the testimony of a deeper thought, and consequently of a stronger artistic grasp, than are testified by a love-story which ends fortunately; that is to say, the presumption is against the latter being all through the more deeply thought and superior performance, though there is, of course, no certainty that the sad story will be such. The presumption is that the mere pleasant love-story is the device of a facile workman who produces what he knows the majority of readers enjoy, and is little concerned about giving any thoughtfully acquired conclusions of his own as to what life is like. Or, alternatively, we may say that it is presumably the work of one who does not think deeply, and has his natural habitat among the sunny shallows. This may seem a hard saying; but let any one fully compare for himself the work of a writer of pleasant love-stories—say Mr. Black—with that of a novelist of a more sombre turn—as George Eliot or Tourguénief, or even Thackeray—and say whether the former is not by a long way the less important kind of artist, precisely in respect of his fashion of making things nice. His function is the inferior one of titillating people's nerves agreeably by lightly bringing together under varying conditions persons of the two sexes, and exciting in the reader pleasurable sensations in sympathy with those of the heroes and heroines. His books are what Carlyle would call lollipops; and the feeling of his thoughtful readers is apt in time to become that of the sage over the "Idylls of the King," one of some "impatience at being treated so very like infants, though the lollipops were so superlative." It will perhaps be objected that Mr. Black has attempted work above the lollipop order. To answer that is impossible within the limits of the present paper; but it may in passing be suggested that it was perhaps a consciousness of having produced too many lollipops that inspired the attempts to produce something different. Now, the gist of the critical finding against Mr. Howells is, firstly, that after promising to give us sound realistic work, embodying both observation and meditation on life, he has descended to the function of producing lollipops; and, secondly, that when he has sought since to present the desirable realistic and conscientious work he has exhibited a lack of the necessary width and depth of thought—in short, deficient philosophic capacity.

Such a judgment is not to be passed on such an accomplished writer without a careful estimate of his excellences. Apart entirely from any question of his moral personality, Mr. Howells establishes on the very first acquaintance a peculiar

claim to his reader's goodwill in respect of his perfect mastery of the language he writes in. To read any one of his stories is to experience that acute pleasure expressed in Dickens's cry over one of the "Idylls of the King"—"What a blessed thing it is to read a man who really can write!" Felicity of style, constituting as it does the main element of immortality in any literary product, is one of the best gifts a fictionist can have; and it is so strongly suggestive of all-round capacity that probably every critical reader on a first contact with the work of Mr. Howells places him higher as a writer and thinker than fuller acquaintance will justify, while the chances are that many will never consent to forego their first estimate. There is no describing that sense of tingling yet soothing satisfaction in falling into the hands of a good stylist. The one sensation it can judiciously be compared to is that of a skater on ice that is at once strong and pure, when prolonged experiment has removed all apprehension of cracks, roughnesses, and snowdrifts; and when the only approximation felt to a shock is the recurrent thrill of the ice's smooth elastic strength. George Eliot taught us how full and how precious this enjoyment might be, and she added to the artistic gratification an impression of adequate mentality such as we do not seem likely to have from any one else for a while; but though Mr. Howells must have been influenced by that great model in his pursuit of his art, he is perfectly original in his success. A general facility in tolerable and even good writing is now by no means uncommon among fictionists, but perfectly assured and accomplished work is still so rare! The strained adjective, the *banal* or reiterated term, the overlaid description, the spasmodic effort at impressiveness, the meaningless metaphysicism, the bankrupt reflection—who has not stumbled over them all again and again in his conscientious examination of the more or less promising romancers of the day? Mr. Howells' stylistic success is that of the artist who delights in his work. In his short paper on Mr. Henry James, jun. (*Century Magazine*, November 1882), he has commented with a craftsman's satisfaction on that writer's fortunate use of language; and it is easy to see that he is a vigilant critic of his own work, which is the stylist's final credential. Reviewing the prose of the leading English novelists of the past hundred years, to whom the debt of English literature is so great, one can see how, one after another, they have perfected expression; the self-possessed irony of Fielding happily developing into the copiously but choicely phrased humour of Scott—seen best in his prefaces; the wit and refinement of Jane Austen introducing a subtler precision, to which Charlotte Brontë added colour and boldness; Dickens making his mark with his luxuriant whimsicality, and Thackeray

evolving a lighter and choicer sarcasm ; till George Eliot brought into the language a new and complex harmony, in which all elements of strength seemed combined. But it is apparent at a glance that Mr. Howells comes after all these in order of evolution. Scott's carelessness is at times nothing short of exasperating ; Jane Austen's marvellous precocity could not consist with true finish of style ; Charlotte Brontë could be as commonplace at one time as she was triumphantly successful at another ; and there are more small slips in George Eliot—the most accomplished of all these—than one cares to mention. Mr. Howells, granted that he works on a lower plane, is more nearly a faultless stylist than even the last. This scrupulous care is perceived by a negative process : his adroitness and accuracy of touch compel notice every little while, just often enough to keep up a special current of pleasurable sensation. If any set of samples can convey an idea of the charm of these skilled touches, it is likely that a few will go as far as a mass.

A sufficient number may be taken from one novel, "*A Modern Instance*." In chapter v. of that story there is a slight but noticeable sample of the author's deftness in a sentence on lawyer Gaylord : "A man is master in his own house, generally, through the exercise of a certain degree of brutality, but Squire Gaylord maintained his predominance by an enlightened absenteeism." A different kind of power is shown in this sentence on Mrs. Gaylord in chapter viii. : "It was not apathy that she showed when their children died one after another, but an obscure and formless exultation that Mr. Gaylord should suffer enough for both." Here the impression produced is partly due to the striking character of the idea ; but Mr. Howells constantly attains the true triumph of style, that of making an ordinary phenomenon freshly appreciable. Take his account of Kinney the cook, "starting as a gaunt and awkward boy from the Maine woods, and keeping until he came back to them the same gross and ridiculous optimism," all the while carrying or finding adversity, "but with a heart fed on the metaphysics of Horace Greeley, and buoyed up by a few wildly interpreted maxims of Emerson." For the eclectic reader there is no need to italicise the piquant features in these quotations, and for others the service would perhaps be unblest. But everybody must catch the adroit touch in the following account of a mortified scamp's soliloquy : "It was not that he cared for Kinney ; that fool's sulking was only the climax of a long series of injuries of which he was the victim at the hands of a hypercritical omnipotence." A new collocation of terms, as in Charlotte Brontë's "*colossal hum*," descriptive of the note of St. Paul's clock, is the sign of the gift of writing, and one has it

in Mr. Howells in all kinds of manifestations. He is apt, indeed, to presume on it. Thus he describes the possessor of a stylographic pen, "striking the fist that held it upon his other fist, in the fashion of the amateurs of that reluctant instrument." The situation under description has both a serious and a romantic interest, and only the effect of that adjective "reluctant," can at all excuse the detailed allusion to the pen, which one perceives to be introduced chiefly to fire off the *mot*. But at times, on the other hand, he conveys a telling humorous touch with the happiest concision, as in the reference to the old sea-farers of Corbitant, who "had now all retired from the sea, and having survived its manifold perils, were patiently waiting to be drowned in sail-boats on the bay." Sometimes Mr. Howells' wit is as weighty as it is poignant, as in this reference to Mrs. Atherton, *née* Kingsbury, who in her younger days had thought she had "great interests," but has become an ordinary happy woman: "In her moments of question as to the shape which her life had taken since, she tried to think whether the happiness which seemed so little dependent on these things was not beneath the demands of a spirit which was probably immortal, and was certainly cultivated." The spirit of the artist in words, too, comes out in such a description as that of an "accipitral profile," in which we have a better vocable than the canonical "accipitrine," and a more telling term than *aquiline*; and, again, somewhat questionably, in a reference to negro melodists as lifting their "black voices." But questionable effects are rare in Mr. Howells' work; so rare that the following could hardly be paired from his books: "the old man had to endure talk of Bartley, to which all her former praises were as refreshing shudders of defamation." That is, perhaps, the worst phrase Mr. Howells has produced, and it is only bad enough to prove that he is mortal.

Such a degree of artistic conscientiousness commands respect. Such a writer has to be reckoned with as a thinker to the extent at least of his calculation of expression; and Mr. Howells has besides given us a very distinct declaration of artistic principles in regard to choice and treatment of theme. In chapter xvi. of "A Modern Instance" (i. 257) is this remark on Bartley Hubbard's compilation, for newspaper purposes, of an account of the prices and aspects of Boston lodgings: "He had the true newspaper instinct, and went to work with an intention which was as different as possible from the literary intention. He wrote for the effect which he was to make, and not from any artistic pleasure in the treatment." Then he has a remark elsewhere to the effect that Anthony Trollope's novels are tiresome; but the most notable details he gives us as to his

critical attitude are to be found in his graceful little paper on Mr. Henry James. In that short but evidently deliberate study he had the courage to write as follows:—

The art of fiction has, in fact, become a finer art in our day than it was with Dickens and Thackeray. We could not suffer the confidential attitude of the latter now, nor the mannerism of the former, any more than we could endure the prolixity of Richardson or the coarseness of Fielding. These great men are of the past—they and their methods and interests; even Trollope and Reade are not of the present. The new school derives from Hawthorne and George Eliot rather than any others; but it studies human nature much more in its wonted aspects, and finds its ethical and dramatic examples in the operation of lighter but not really less vital motives. The moving accident is certainly not its trade; and it prefers to avoid all manner of dire catastrophes. It is largely influenced by French fiction in form; but it is the realism of Daudet rather than the realism of Zola that prevails with it; and it has a soul of its own which is above the business of recording the rather brutish pursuit of a woman by a man, which seems to be the chief end of the French novelist. . . . It is, after all, what a writer has to say rather than what he has to tell that we care for nowadays. In one manner or other the stories were all told long ago; and now we want merely to know what the novelist thinks about persons and situations.

There is some obscurity here, and a danger of misunderstanding Mr. Howells in the attempt to choose between the meanings naturally to be drawn from his opinion, on the one hand, that we could not now suffer the confidential attitude of Thackeray; and his proposition, on the other, that what we care for is what a writer has to say rather than what he has to tell. What is meant by "what he has to say," and "what the novelist thinks about persons and situations?" Is it that Mr. Howells finds Thackeray's perpetual introduction of his individuality a superseded method, but that he still desires an explicit, though less free and easy, announcement of the author's views on characters and conduct? He had said in a previous paragraph that there was on the part of Mr. James's readers, in regard to Daisy Miller, a "mistake as to his attitude," a "confusion of his point of view with his private opinion;" and that "they would have liked him better if he had been a worse artist—if he had been a little more confidential." We are either witnessing a confusion of thought or a very subtle piece of metaphysicizing—one fears, the former.

No other novelist [says Mr. Howells a little further on], except George Eliot, has dealt so largely in analysis of motive, has so fully explained and commented on the springs of action in the persons of the drama, both before and after the facts. These novelists are more

alike than any others in their processes, but with George Eliot an ethical purpose is dominant, and with Mr. James an artistic purpose.

This is clearer, but it does not clear up the other passages. Is it meant that an author becomes "confidential," and accordingly primitive, when he harbours an ethical purpose; and that the true artist takes up some "point of view" which does not give the clue to his ethics or his "private opinion?" Is George Eliot, after all, classed with Thackeray as "confidential?" She was indeed confidential enough. Mr. Howells must excuse us if we cannot follow the logic of his criticism. Though we give it up as a whole, however, the different propositions remain interesting for us, and may fitly be discussed in the course of further consideration of his books.

It is important to think out that distinction between artistic and ethical purpose in a novelist's analysis of, and comment on, the motives of his characters. We may range alongside of it the distinction between the newspaper intention and the literary intention; though one's inclination is to dismiss the latter at once as superficial. According to this definition, the newspaper intention is in its degree a form of ethical purpose; the latter terms presumably meaning a desire to move the reader to an act of moral judgment and influence his conduct. It would follow that Mr. James writes, not with any wish to make a moral impression on his readers, but rather for the sake of the satisfaction he finds in his study and his art. Now, it is tolerably certain that artists of every description, whatever pleasure they may have in the practice of their art, require appreciation to make their contentment anything like complete; and it may reasonably be assumed that neither Mr. Howells nor Mr. James can be quite satisfied without that advantage. Mr. James, in his paper on Alphonse Daudet (*Century Magazine*, August 1888), as it happens, gives us his own idea of the nature of a novelist's intention, demurring to the definition of Mr. Charles Dudley Warner, that the object of the novel is to entertain.

I should put the case differently [says Mr. James]; I should say that the main object of the novel is to represent life. I cannot understand any other motive for combining imaginary incidents, and I do not perceive any other measure of the value of such combinations. The effect of a novel—the effect of any work of art—is to entertain; but that is a very different thing. The success of a work of art, to my mind, may be measured by the degree to which it produces a certain illusion; that illusion makes it appear for the time that we have lived another life—that we have had a miraculous enlargement of experience.

Here we are on much sounder ground. On this view, the literary artist works with his special instinct, certainly, but is conscientiously producing an effect—that is, he is challenging his reader to recognize in his production a certain meritorious fidelity, however artistically modified, to the actual; his satisfaction in his work culminating in his knowledge that his claim is conceded. The difference between a Bartley Hubbard and a literary man, then, is simply that the former is a lower species of artifex—artisan rather than artist—and is mainly concerned to know that his article meets a “felt want;” while the latter’s instinct or faculty impels him to produce his article and makes him count on its being appreciated because of the instinct’s existence. Both wish to produce an effect, only the literary man has a motive over and above this, which the Hubbard has not, save in the limited form of a bias in favour of that sort of industry.

What, then, as to artistic *versus* ethical purpose? It will be granted that every novelist who aims at more than narrative of adventure, works in ethical ideas, and that his effects depend on a general harmony between his views of life and conduct and those of his readers. A certain moral code is understood between them and him, and this code is really part of his material. This being so, it is scarcely possible that he should be without ethical purpose. He deals with the relations of men and women—relations which are the application of ethics, and it is essential to his success that he shall induce his readers to make a moral estimate of at least some of his characters and their actions. But it is equally essential that he shall all the while make an artistic effect—that he shall make the reader feel the story to represent life, and to be satisfactory as such representation. The fault of the “novel with a purpose”—which ought rather to be called the novel with a “moral,” in the sense of the “moral” of a fable—is that it fails truly to represent life, by reason of its giving factitious prominence to a subsidiary ethical idea, and implicitly attributing the character of a central truth to, say, the proposition that private lunatic asylums need to be looked after, or that dram-drinking may lead to ruin. The statistical and other observation which leads to this class of inferences, is not legitimately to be termed observation of “life,” and the stories of which they are the *raison d’être* cannot amount to anything deserving of being termed representation of life; and even if they only receive emphasis in a story with other and essentially wider interests, they similarly create a sense of false perspective. We sum up that the good novelist must create an impression, at once of the soundness and the delicacy of his moral judgment, and of the combined width

clearness, and minuteness of his view of life. Now, Mr. Howells presumably would not say that George Eliot seriously comes short in the latter endowment: his characterization of her work as dominated by an ethical purpose, is not likely to have been meant to imply that she tends to fail artistically by cause of presenting sets of subsidiary details to enforce subsidiary social propositions. It will probably not be disputed that George Eliot is a wide-seeing artist who delights in observation, drawing conclusions from what she sees rather than selecting narrowly related phenomena to illustrate restricted conclusions. What then is the significance or the justification of the distinction drawn between her and Mr. James? It would seem to be this, that the reader of George Eliot, by a process which he still recognizes as artistic representation of life, is led to meditate on the bases of human relations; while the reader of Mr. James, though also witnessing representation of life, finds himself left with a sense of having studied a skilful composition—and nothing in particular beyond. If this be a true account of the matter, are we not established in the position that, roughly speaking, George Eliot does for us what Mr. James does, and something more?

It is not here asserted that what Mr. Howells says of Mr. James and George Eliot is thoroughly accurate; what has been done is simply to assume a practical and superficial rightness in the distinction, and to find the precise relations of the phenomena Mr. Howells seeks to express. Our business at present is to criticize, not the novels of Mr. James, but those of Mr. Howells, and, with that view, to get at Mr. Howells' idea of an enlightened novelist's attitude and procedure. We are so far led to assume, despite what he has said about the stories being all told, and its being the novelist's business to say what he thinks of the people and the situations, that he believes in the policy of telling a story in considerable detail without giving the reader any decided notions as to what he, the novelist, thinks. The remark cited must just be held to mean that the novel-reader now wants to know, not simply that Jack and Jill fell in love and quarrelled, or were separated, or came together again, but what were the little peculiarities and accidental minor details in the affair, the manners in which the various characteristics of the persons particularized the familiar situation for them—the mere fact of people meeting one or another fate being regarded as a matter of no great moment. At least, if Mr. Howells does not mean that, his meaning is in a mist for us. And if that interpretation be correct, the observation under notice was hardly worth making, because in the first place the variations in character of personages, and the tracing of the consequences, constitute newness of story

still, as they have done for many a long day ; and in the next place it has for generations, not to say centuries, been understood that the narrator of the most striking story did well to give his readers an idea of the temperament and character of, if possible, all the figures he introduced.

Mr. Howells' theory and practice, then, can hardly illuminate each other. It has been already submitted that, after exhibiting a capacity and disposition to represent life subtly and justly, he proceeded to produce work apparently inspired chiefly by the desire to tickle ordinary palates—an alternative inference being that his powers of observation and reflection were more limited than at first seemed the case. Now, either view must be qualified by the admissions that some of Mr. Howells' later work shows an inclination to return to the paths of high-minded art, and a deeper intelligence than is inferable from the works objected to ; and that he has done some work more deeply thought and more finely handled in parts than "A Chance Acquaintance." The novel entitled "A Foregone Conclusion" has a suggestion of a kind of strength not apparent in "A Chance Acquaintance." It indicated an instinct for searching the deeper places of the soul ; an insight that did not swerve from the study of primary passion. But the story, which is in conception a romance, but is treated in the manner of the novel, is at best only a half-success. It is interesting to note that while Mr. Howells has written three semi-dramatic sketches, "Out of the Question," "A Counterfeit Presentment," and "The Parlour Car"—none of which have been played—"A Foregone Conclusion" has lately been dramatized, and played in London. In point of fact, its *motif* is much more feasible for the stage than that of any of the sketches named, none of these being actable—that is, in the present stage of development of the actor's art—while this has a basis of effective incident. One cannot, of course, conceive a satisfactory dramatization of this any more than of any other tolerably written story ; but the theme suggests a play, our drama being further from realism than the novel ; and one can conceive that if it had only appeared in a dramatic form, some of the weak points in the story would not have been apparent. However that may be, the story is, on a thoughtful retrospect, fundamentally unsatisfactory. The variation and vagueness of the implied moral standards, for one thing, suggests weakness. At one time we have Mrs. Vervain undisturbedly counting on Don Ippolito's making a new life for himself in America ; and Florida eagerly contemplating the same prospect ; the natural inference being that they expect him to become a free American citizen. But Ferris, the consul and representative of the land of freedom, is unable to conceive such a future for the priest, apart

even from the difficulty about the act of emigration. He is not merely secretly jealous ; he regards the idea of a priest's abandonment of his priesthood just as a Catholic might ; and when at length Ippolito declares his love for Florida she is horrified. One asks what it all means ; whether we are to regard the horror as sheer feminine inconsequence ; and whether an American consul would have treated Ippolito's case as Ferris did ? The fact seems to be that the author saw a good *motif* in the case of an unbelieving and gifted Venetian priest who should love an American lady, and desire to work out his salvation by beginning a new life in America ; but that he has been unable to control it. He wanted to rely on the priestly character as the bar to Ippolito's love ; yet he has not made Florida believe that the priestly character is a bar to secular American citizenship ; and even after she has expressed her horror she tacitly unsays it by her pitying embrace. Ferris, again, is never made quite palpable. Here, as in another story, Mr. Howells has sought to give us an impression of strength in a man by making him rather brutal, a device that can only be effective with very easily impressible people. In point of fact, Ferris's *brusqueries* and brutalities, his rages and misconceptions, are rather boring than otherwise ; he does not fully get hold of our intelligence, much less our sympathies. On the whole, the critical reader's feeling is that the book is weakened by the element of plot and misunderstanding, the manipulation of incident savouring too much of the old sensational method of keeping up the interest. Here was a theme that would sustain attention as well as need be, without the attribution of an intermittent superstition to any of the Protestant personages ; and, above all, without any need of the conventional expedients of the painter's misinterpretation of things, and the two years' interval which goes to produce the titillation of the regulation happy ending, when Ferris and Florida meet again.

With all its shortcomings, it must in fairness be allowed the story shows remarkable talent in its easy handling of realistic incident and its general newness and freshness. The talent is so great, to use Mr. James's remark on the art of Mr. Keene, that we wonder why it is not greater ; and when we proceed to other works the wonder is deepened. The author of "A Foregone Conclusion" gives us "Out of the Question" and "A Counterfeit Presentment," two semi-dramatic sketches which, though they have a species of delicacy that raises them above contemporary drama, can only be classed as specimens of dainty confectionery, indicating no higher artistic purpose than a desire to secure the patronage of the amateur of the maudlin. There is no true observation of life here—only an ingenious production

of amatory sensations for their own sake ; the leading characters having just the bare requisite flavour of reality given them by the author's partial use of his observation. The delicate humour and the delicate sense of style prevent the artistic unconscientiousness of the work from obtruding itself in detail ; it is all of a piece ; but when each is reviewed as a whole the sense of its essential inferiority is the more decisive. A kind of struggle against the corrupting influence of the love-story market is visible in "*A Fearful Responsibility*"—visible in a rather curious way. That novel deals with the perplexities of a semi-invalid American professor who, during the civil war, is working in Venice on the subject of Venetian history, and who finds himself burdened with the responsibility of superintending the love affairs of a beautiful girl, the sister of one of his wife's bosom friends. He takes the line of being desperately careful and conventional, snapping off in a spasmodic way the young Austrian officer who attempts, without an introduction, to press his suit on the professor's young guest. The story is satisfying in scarcely a single detail. After all that has been said of the independence, the self-respecting unconventionality, and the self-reliance of the American girl, there is something disillusioning in the attitude of the three Americans concerned in the affair—the heroine, the professor, and his wife. One questions whether any English girl with an ordinary amount of character, much less an American one, would have behaved with such forcible feebleness as is exhibited here by the two women and by the professor, who weakly treats the women as candid and straightforward persons, and acts accordingly. His and their conventionalism is overdone for any English-speaking community. Of course it may be argued that the story is a study of weak-minded and vacillating conventionalism ; but for it to succeed as such there would be necessary a more important heroine. We must be interested in a girl for her own sake if we are to take a philosophic interest in her mistakes. "*A Fearful Responsibility*" is to the extent of three-fourths just a thin, undeveloped love-story. It is a curious testimony to the calibre and the interests of the majority of American and English-speaking readers that they can be counted on to regard as the chief interest in such a story, not the character of the professor, his mission, and its upshot, but the problem of the ultimate engagement or otherwise of the heroine and the officer whom she meets in the train and at the masked ball. Now, there is evidence that Mr. Howells, after preparing for a "happy ending," was impressed by the thinness of the whole business, and sought to give the story a greater specific gravity by falling back on a "sad ending." As has been said, he may

have originally projected a study of mistaken conventionalism, which would call for an unhappy conclusion; but he surely intended something different when he began the twelfth chapter. It is there told how the professor is notified that, the war being over, his old university is re-opened; that it is henceforth to be also a "military institute;" and that he will require a "competent military assistant" for some time. The last detail is never again mentioned, and the inference is irresistible that it was a preparation for a "happy ending," in which the young Austrian officer should go to America as Lily's husband, perfect his English, and become Professor Elmore's military assistant at Patmos. If that was not intended, the detail is either an inartistic trick or an inartistic excrescence: that it was left standing by an oversight is the more satisfactory explanation. But the deflection to a grave ending does not save the novel. Here lies the trouble in nearly all Mr. Howells' books, that their ethical significance is too small in proportion to their elaboration—short as most of them are. It was not worth our while to have all this detail and suspense as preparation for the final reflection that it was perhaps a pity the officer was not encouraged. And even that degree of significance cannot rightly be extracted from the story: Mr. Howells will not even insist on his grave conclusion. Lily after going home becomes somewhat more staid; goes to parties as of old, but neither flirts nor marries; after several years falls into weak health; seems to brood on the old Venetian episode, and so makes Elmore uncomfortable for his share in it; recovers, and starts at the age of thirty a Kindergarten school in the West "with another young lady;" and "in due course" marries, "from all they (the Elmore's) could understand, very happily;" her husband being a clergyman. The latter circumstance is perhaps meant to do duty as a touch of gloom, but it is not emphasized. We have an account of Elmore's self-reproaches, and then the author's statement that they were practically unfounded; and the upshot of "A Fearful Responsibility" is that there was nothing fearful in the matter, there being simply no reason for believing that a heaven-made match had been frustrated. We feel we have been fooled. And here asserts itself the canon Mr. Howells would fain repudiate, that the front rank is only for those novelists whose art is rounded and controlled by an adequate theory of life—a theory which makes itself felt behind all their work. It may be confidently claimed that a recognition of some such comprehensive view of life—some such working philosophy—is part of our appreciation of every novel we pronounce great. What, precisely, let it be asked, is the difference between our critical frames of mind after reading a story by

Tourguénief and after reading one by Mr. Howells? This, that Tourguénief leaves us, as a rule, contemplating life in the light of his story, while Mr. Howells sets us considering his story in the light of life. The one work is a competently made and impressive transcript of what we feel to be the actual; the other, a clever and charming but unsatisfying combination of some aspects and sections of the actual with the pleasant. The one writer has made up his mind about life; the other has not.

Perhaps this last proposition requires separate substantiation. That can best be obtained from an examination of "A Modern Instance," pronounced by many people Mr. Howells' most important novel, and undeniably a work showing much talent and observation. It sets forth the courtship and married life of a young couple, of whom the husband is a non-moral rather than a bad creature—a scamp rather than a scoundrel; while the woman has very little mind or intelligent interest in life generally, but is intensely devoted and given to insane jealousy. In many respects the study is clear and finished. The portraiture of the young people before their marriage; the treatment of Marcia's love and wild jealousy; above all, the account of her utter self-abandonment and her passionate appeal to her father when, after casting off her lover in a frenzy, she finds she cannot live without him—all that portion of the story is strong and true. The Bartley Hubbard of the beginning does not thoroughly consist with the man of the later story; but up to the first quarrel with Marcia there is no serious difficulty in thinking him. One of the flaws of Mr. Howells' method, however, becomes apparent just here, in the detailed account of Bartley's attempts to sell his horse and sleigh. That episode refuses to compose with the general story; so far from being part of the presentation of Bartley's career as determined by his character, it makes the first difficulty in our conception of him. If the young man is to be conceived as shrewd and resolute in such a matter, yet without forethought or presence of mind in his other relations, we must have as much explained to us. We feel as if the horse-selling story was told mainly for its own sake, and in the presence of the study of a personality such a matter is out of place. Even the pictures of newspaper life have the air of independent studies. The artist, we are led to suspect, has no distinct selective principle to guide him; no clear view of his theme as a whole; and turns aside wherever a tempting opportunity for *genre* work offers itself. Another aspect of this want of purpose is the lack of clear impression, almost up to the impingement of the catastrophe, as to how the fortunes of the couple are tending. Bartley is represented as both resourceful and hard-working; he is shrewd, unscrupulous,

and, in the main, clever. Why should not such a man succeed as a journalist? He is just the kind of man who does. The account of his life as an unattached reporter, living a Bohemian life with his beautiful and quick-witted if narrow-headed wife, might quite easily be the prelude to a happy ending. There are thousands of such men in the world—smart, non-moral, without deep feeling, but getting along quite prosperously by dint of their smartness. If one is to be wrecked there must be good reason for it; and the reasons for the wreckage of Bartley Hubbard are not good. He takes rather too much mild beer, but not enough. He is only once drunk, and the incident serves another purpose than that of bringing him down in the world. He is made to grow fat, in order, it would almost seem, to increase our dislike for him, but the effect is chiefly to make us wonder how Marcia's old passion will survive this development of corpulence in the beloved object, apart from other considerations. The mild beer and the fat, one reasons, have no causal connection with the fall of his fortunes; and yet, perhaps, we are to understand that they made him stupid. His first real piece of ill-luck in Boston is the result of a piece of knavery which he short-sightedly does not lie away, as he easily might; and which in any case ought not to ruin a knave. He ought to become a well-to-do, greasy citizen. At first he was suspiciously clever; now he is not nearly clever rogue enough. Marcia, again, is made to turn against him by virtue of a delicacy of moral sentiment which we did not expect to find in her; and the result is that her act of judgment does not seem sufficiently real, especially as it does not precipitate the catastrophe. Finally, after Bartley has begun to go to the bad through what seems to be simply a loss of his old cleverness—whether through beer-drinking or inevitable fat—the catastrophe of his leaving his wife is brought about virtually by her crazy jealousy and her own declaration that she leaves him for ever; and we are left listening to the virtuous people execrating him, scamp as he is, for an act which Marcia's provocation might almost have made excusable in a better man. Every way we turn we are in a haze. If Marcia's burst of frantic jealousy had been well-founded—as at first we expect it will prove to be—we should feel standing-ground, but that is not the case. Never was the verdict of "faults on both sides" more helplessly grasped at. We vaguely feel, somehow, that Bartley would have prospered, with his unscrupulous views about journalism, if he had not got fat, and that then he would not have left his wife; which is hardly an adequate ethical induction from such a story. The novel, perhaps, would after all be less unsatisfactory than it is if the final rupture of the wedded lives of Marcia and Bartley were allowed to give what definiteness it can to the

story; for the crowning episode of the divorce is undoubtedly effective, though the details of the railway journey, like the horse-selling passages, are felt to be irrelevant. But the sense of confusion about the Hubbards is aggravated by the perplexity surrounding the other characters—Halleck, Atherton, and Clara Kingsbury. We start with tolerably clear opinions about these people, and end by finding that they—or at least the men—have changed on our hands like people in a dream. Halleck and Atherton catch our ear at first as the moral and clear-headed men standing in judgment over Hubbard; and the author distinctly causes us to feel that Atherton is an extremely superior personage who speaks his (the author's) opinions on the metaphysics of ethics, divorce, and other matters. But at the close we reflect that Atherton, the superior man, has married a fribble—unreal even at that—for no better apparent reason than that she is rich and clings to him, he being her lawyer; and we wonder whether, after all, the author meant us to regard him as a rather fine specimen of humbug. Clara Kingsbury we at first regard as a serviceable grotesque; but we find her happily married to the superior man. Then Halleck is a kind of elusive conundrum. At first he is a kind of model of intrinsic worth, who contrasts finely with Hubbard; but as his infatuation for Marcia develops, he becomes more and more unintelligible, our interest in her being largely dissipated just when his passion begins to be fully apparent. The significance of his career would seem to be that your good, unselfish man may have his life wrecked through a blind attachment to a small-minded woman whom he once saw as a village beauty, and finds years afterwards the infatuated and jealous wife of a scamp; and that such a passion as his may fairly account, as things go, for his abandoning Unitarianism and embracing the career of a Christian clergyman, though at the very last he is left half hoping to marry the widow. The book is summed up in the words of Atherton, with which it closes: "Ah, I don't know! I don't know!" And yet Atherton is a man with a cut-and-dry—extremely cut and extremely dry—moral code; which he is always exploding on us. Why, after all he has said, does he not know? The author, we feel, does not know either; and yet he has always made us understand that he is speaking through Atherton. We feel that his ethics is a compound of emphasized, sermonized conventionalism and vague tolerance. It is not that we are impartially left to reflect on an obscure and delicate moral problem; we have been listening to the most emphatic deliverances on every step of the case; and at the finish the author's confidence suddenly fails him, and he begs us not to take him at his word. The fact is, Mr. Howells cannot help

feeling that the fictionist's art is nothing without some kind of philosophic purpose, and he falls back on an assumption of philosophic doubt. He would fain be regarded in this case as the artist who reproduces what he sees, and disclaims responsibility as to the verdict; but he cannot escape the consciousness that by the very process of selecting certain details for us he implies that these particular details lead to certain conclusions; and he backs out with a protest that it is difficult to say what the conclusions are. We, in turn, decide that Mr. Howells has flashes of illuminating cynicism, flashes of pessimism, and periods of convinced conventionalism; that with a wide problem before him he gets confused; and that he is happiest when he is doing love-stories for the general market, though he is at times moved to aim at higher things. There are signs that he would like to make Halleck marry Mrs. Hubbard, but that he feels such a consummation would disastrously cheapen the book.

Compare these impressions with those we get from reading one of the novelists we accept as great; and the shortcoming of Mr. Howells will be manifest. We do not leave a novel of Hawthorne, of Balzac, of Tourguénief, of George Eliot, of Thackeray even, in a state of mere confusion and discontent. We feel that they are equal to their work; that they have their personages in hand; that they have a philosophy which sums matters up. Hawthorne deals with a world which he treats as a series of problems; but his treatment of each is a process of analysis which ends in clearness and contemplation. We may agree with Mr. James that Balzac's explicit, didactic philosophizing is often preposterous; but his practical philosophy, of which the title is "*La Comédie Humaine*," is on the whole adequate. Tourguénief's pessimism is perfectly definite and all-embracing: the note is always clear. Thackeray's man-of-the-world cynicism is equally comprehensive of his world, as, unlike Trollope, he rarely projects a personality that is not perfectly within his range; and what need is there to dwell on the substantial completeness of George Eliot's mastery of all her wide range of presentation of life? We may feel that she makes out a more regular and palpable moral sequence in things than really exists, and that she at first was a little too copiously and formally didactic; but if we set aside the question of the rightness of her judgment and the soundness of her art in the case represented by the personality of Daniel Deronda, her clearness of view over all the ground before her is undisputed. George Eliot has given a philosophy to thousands who but for her would have none. Her "*ethical purpose*" is the expression of her working philosophy of Meliorism—the aspect in which her sympathy differentiates her from a great pessimist like Tourgué-

nief. Mr. Howells would perhaps say that Tourguénief, like Mr. James, differs from George Eliot in being dominated by an artistic purpose; but the true view is that Tourguénief's art expresses a philosophy of sadness, while George Eliot's sadness is modified by the impulse to teach. One essential matter is that both have a rounded conception of life, and deliberately body it forth. Now, it may well be that an artist shall arise who shall see more variety in life than Tourguénief does; who shall equal Balzac's observation and surpass him in depth and sanity; who shall transform pessimism into world humour; and who shall draw from life a wider ethic than George Eliot's; but he will still be an artist with a philosophy, not a mere humorous, catholic observer, who is satisfied to be entertained by his observations and to present them in an entertaining form. He will differ from such an observer as the painter of great pictures differs from the producer of "sketches from Nature." The power to project and arrange a picture is the painter's decisive qualification; only when he can do that is he effectively an artist.

The want of a philosophy in a novelist, unfortunately, means not merely a defect in his books as wholes; it means that his characters, when he is not copying real personages, are apt to lack intelligibility. The great novelists all possess in some degree Shakspeare's power of creating people who are not sketched from any model, but who are made of the material of human nature and have a distinct individuality; indeed, it is obvious that every novelist is making, or attempting to make, such people during half his time. Now, it is the special weakness of the novelist without a philosophy that even his best characters have his own defect; and as every novelist of necessity invites acceptance of some of his characters as effective, it results that with him we find ourselves challenged to respect a number of people who have an air of superiority, but whose superiority we have to take for granted, not being able to perceive wherein it consists. What is meant may perhaps be made clearer by taking up for a moment the heroes of Byron, and one of their modern descendants, Gautier's Fortunio. Long ago inquisitive people began to ask what there was, after all, in the Laras and Corsairs to command our admiration; whether they were deeper or clearer thinkers than ordinary humanity; and the result of the inquiry was a rather sweeping verdict as to the sawdusty character of their interior. So with Fortunio, who is held up to us as something quite above the ordinary run of his fellow-creatures: we find in him, on examination, nothing in the nature of a soul by which he relates to ours. We know that the really impressive man, in the actual world, is so because of a certain attitude towards the world, a certain kind of saga-

city, certain powers and peculiarities of mind, and a certain measure of knowledge; and we feel that if there were any real personage of whom Fortunio is a theatrical presentment we should find him, if we met him at dinner, to be a Byronic fool, an aristocratic brute, or a tedious Philistine. Gautier, of course, is not a novelist at all, and we may read him for his scene-painting without feeling it is any the worse for the entire unreality of his heroes; and we might accept Byron's heroes, if only the poetry were better, with some of the satisfaction of our predecessors, whose taste in poetry was more primitive; but nothing can make amends for want of thoroughness in the creations of a writer who aims at being a novelist proper. Now, not a few of Mr. Howells' men are, in their way—that is, in a different way—as dubious entities as Fortunio, and for the same ultimate reason, that we feel the author assumes their scope to be relatively large when it is relatively small, and means them to be taken as effective minds when in point of fact he has not made us aware of their minds at all. Take Staniford in "The Lady of the Aroostook," Libby in "Dr. Breen's Practice," Halleck in "A Modern Instance," Ray in "A Woman's Reason," and even Ford in "The Undiscovered Country." Ray and Libby, we feel, we are challenged to accept as effective and admirable personalities, both being credited with a fine combination of strength, refinement, sagacity, modesty, and resource; but the moment we try to conceive ourselves as meeting them we feel there is something wrong; that the kind of man who exists in the environment of Ray and Libby has very distinct limitations, which are an important part of his description; and that the author has not only not indicated these limitations, but has not enough breadth of view to perceive and define them. The novelist must in some respect be above his creatures; and Mr. Howells is really above the kind of man he handles in respect of psychological subtlety; but it is his fate to give his own superior kind of psychology to the limited personalities; and the result is the discontent above indicated. Libby and Ray will not relate to actual humanity; they are the ideals of an author who is not high enough in his point of view to know how his ideals will compare with those of thoughtful people. In a similar way, we feel that too much has been implicitly claimed for Halleck and Staniford when we proceed to sit in judgment on their conduct, which is that of men to whom we credit a different calibre from that which Mr. Howells at first led us to assume in them. Ford, again, is a variation on Ferris; a man whom we feel we are expected to regard as of forcible character because of his hardness of outline, which is indeed so pronounced that an impression of force is almost inevitable;

but whom, on a retrospect, we do not at all feel to be strong by virtue of any inward quality. We do not find that we have been enabled to perceive the true inwardness of these persons; we do not feel sure that they have any inwardness at all; and, to put the matter rather brutally, we decide that, with all their fineness of touch and style, Mr. Howells' novels are finally adapted for a lower order of readers than those who are capable of fully appreciating a writer of the first order.

It is generally claimed for Mr. Howells that he knows and can draw women very well; and as much may be allowed—with the qualification, however, that such praise implies a rather unflattering judgment as to the average woman. Those of us who confess we find Mr. Howells' women charming, go far to say that we like a woman to be a trifle silly; that we do not want to find in her an intellectual or even a quite rational companion. He has drawn four married women—Mrs. Elmore, Mrs. Ellison, Mrs. Vervain, and Mrs. March—of whom two, he gives us to understand, are likeable fools; but the difference between them and the others, of whom the same is not hinted, is only one of degree. A certain infusion of charming foolishness, or childishness, enters into most of his heroines; indeed, it is now and then a little dismaying. In "Out of the Question," where we are professedly introduced to an American girl who is both charming and sensible, in the person of Leslie Bellingham, we find her in a tolerably serious situation—comedy though it all be—talking as a satirist might make a "girl of the period" talk. Is this an approved sample of the American girl? we ask; and does Mr. Howells feel about her as he makes us feel? He is presumably in a satirical mood, for in other books he gives us considerably different heroines to be charmed with. On the whole, it is to be suspected that critical women will not be very well satisfied with Mr. Howells' gallery of women portraits, few of which are respectfully done. Florida Vervain is the most memorable; she has something of the "dynamic" personality of George Eliot's women. Dr. Breen has a certain factitious importance through her doctorship, her abandonment of which will probably be resented by enthusiastic women readers as no more a telling comment on the claims of women than is Helen Harkness's failure to succeed in avocations for which she has not been trained—a kind of failure which would certainly be about equally complete in the case of a young man similarly situated, as the author, indeed, indirectly admits. In "The Parlour Car: A Farce," again, the farce consists in the conduct of the young lady, who is a charming goose, while the man is drawn respectfully enough, and endowed with sense and delicacy, though Mr. Howells does make him tell a story of his own goodness and prowess, which,

as it happens, is again made to do duty in "The Lady of the Aroostook"—a proceeding which makes us displeased with both the novelist and the young man. The main point, however, is that the superior kind of man is made to cherish the love of a charming goose while perceiving her quality. The summing-up of Mr. Howells' views about women is that their supreme business in life is to fall happily in love; and, though this is to a large extent true, there is the drawback, resulting from his intellectual incompleteness, that his young women are pretty girls falling in love with suitable young men, never adorable women whose moral natures love deepens and irradiates. We must go to other novelists if we want to think women worshipful. Even Florida Vervain is, to some extent, a flash in the pan. Many male readers will be inclined to protest that Mr. Howells' charming girls are from the life, and that the worshipful heroines are not; but surely there is a realistic mean between Romola and Leslie Bellingham, or even between Dorothea Brooke and Grace Breen?

It is clear that a novelist, whose opinion about women is that above-mentioned, will of necessity tend to produce love-stories of a restricted importance. In all fiction, indeed, the relations of the sexes figure largely, as needs must be, seeing that they rest on the fundamental fact of life; but it is in their treatment that the difference between the greater and the lesser novelist comes out; the first presenting to us certain personages who interest us as individualities, and proceeding to show how love affects them; while the other proceeds to interest us in personages by letting us know they are in love, and exciting our curiosity as to how the affair will end. The first sees love as a great factor in life; the second treats it as a delightful and conspicuous episode, thus making, after all, less account of love than the other, who seems to make it subsidiary. Thus in "The Lady of the Aroostook" we have a young man and a girl, who are psychologically blank to us, brought together on a ship; and we see an attraction arising between them by degrees. This is the gist of the story. We are expected, on the strength of the universal sympathy with a love affair, to find sufficient interest in contemplating the growth of the love of these two characterless young people, in consideration of their curious position on board ship; and such is the stamina of average humanity that most of us get led along, and along, weakly curious, to the sweet end. It would almost seem as if Mr. Howells had sardonically resolved to experiment on the popular appetite for the amatory with the most uninteresting heroine he could construct, taking only care to make her beautiful and to put her in a piquant situation without any rival. There must indeed be some planned relation

between the profoundly commonplace character of the lovely Lydia and the circumstance that Staniford falls in love with her purely because she is alone among the men and he is idle ; but the story is only an extreme instance of Mr. Howells' later method. In "A Woman's Reason," finally, he has reached quite the lowest artistic and intellectual plane that an artist of his culture and delicacy can deliberately stand on. He told us that the moving accident was not the trade of the new school of fiction ; but immediately afterwards he proceeded to write a story of which a large section was sheer Charles Reade. The narrative of Fenton's mishaps and coral-island experiences reads like a calculated imitation of that great sensationalist ; which amounts to saying that it is merely superior melodrama ; and even the story of Helen's struggles to make a living, though not told in the Reade style, is only a superior kind of manipulation of the "moving accident ;" the troubles of the two lovers, who are separated through Helen's feminine finesse and Fenton's undue straightforwardness, being just so much variously exciting incident designed to make the final meeting the more thrilling. There is a closing suggestion that her experiences have had an effect on her character, but the pretence is rather thin. Fenton, again, is almost an entire failure—how nearly so can only be conceived after reading the story. So hard pressed is the author in the effort to make his hero live that he resorts to the following desperate predication concerning his state of mind on the coral-island :—

In the maze which had deepened upon Fenton, the whole situation had an unreality, as of something read long ago and half forgotten, and now slowly recalled, point by point ; and there were moments of the illusion in which it was not he who was imprisoned there on that unknown island, but the hero of adventures whom he had admired and envied in boyhood, or known in some romance of later life. . . . All these things seemed the well-known properties and stock experiences of the castaway of fiction ; *he himself the figment of some romancer's brain, with which the author was toying for the purposes of his plot, to be duly rescued and restored to the world when it should serve the exigency of the tale.*

It is difficult to fully express the nefariousness of the art of this passage, especially in the italicized clauses : there is a suggestion of artistic humiliation about it which tends to overlay our derision with pity for the author's straits. Enough to say that a novelist must be hard pressed indeed for something to say when he psychologizes in this fashion.

As has been said, Mr. Howells seems to oscillate between the desire to cater for the popular appetite and a leaning to higher things. "The Undiscovered Country" may be assumed to

represent one of these strivings after a worthy subject, and as such it may be regarded with a favour not exactly proportioned to its final value. That, however, is comparatively high. Not only does the book give copious proof of the author's quickness of eye and discursiveness of observation, but—method apart—it is evidently the result of a good deal of thought. It is the strongest of all his stories that end cheerfully, though the eternal device of making the lover suspect a rival is employed to intensify the *dénouement*. In none of his books, perhaps, is there less of irrelevant or dispensable detail; the closeness of the tissue giving an impression of exceptional creative certainty. In dealing with such a subject as the spiritualistic aberrations of a visionary mesmerist, however, Mr. Howells could hardly attain to a philosophic success which he has failed to reach in his treatment of more normal phenomena. To succeed in such a case would require something more even than the special pains Mr. Howells has evidently devoted to it. A rounded artistic exposition of it could only come from one who had made up his mind on the various aspects of the matter, and this Mr. Howells does not seem to have done. At all events his narrative, close as it is in texture, will not stand examination from the point of view of logical scepticism any more than from that of believers in spiritualism; his science, on analysis, leaving a residuum of rubbish, and the fashion of holding the balances between credulity and disbelief being far from arresting attention. As regards the Shakers, too, deft and easy as is the presentment of them and their environment, we do not arrive at confidence in the trustworthiness of the picture. There remains a suspicion that Mr. Howells does not fully see through and round the Shaker idiosyncrasy; that he does not clearly recognize the peculiar limitations and bias of the members of the sect; that his account of them is at bottom romantic. It is the old drawback; he is not sufficiently above the subject-matter to present it in its true relations to general social phenomena. The author who can remain at all hazy on the subject of spiritualism is hardly the person to analyze rigorously the intellectual and moral nature of the Shakers. And, to make an end of the fault-finding, there is something disappointing in the usual optimistic dismissal of the married lovers in the case of such a marriage as that of Ford and Egeria. As before remarked, Ford is not quite solid, but he has telling aspects, and marriage seems an insufficient final classification in his case. As Phillips is made to say in the closing pages: "Imagine a Pythoness with a prayer-book, who goes to the Episcopal church, and hopes to get her husband to go too!" What are we to make of it? The problem is such a grave and important one. George Eliot, one regretfully

reflects, deliberately avoided it; but she did not raise it and then drop it as Mr. Howells has done here. It is sufficiently inconsistent, however, to regret the evasion of an important problem by an author of whom one complains that he is not equal to the treatment of problems calling for philosophic power; and we must just note this missing of a great consideration as one of the evidences of Mr. Howells' limitations. We may put beside it the attitude maintained towards the civil war in "*A Foregone Conclusion*," where Ferris's experience of the struggle is treated as just so much time spent before he wins the woman he loves—a way of dealing with that colossal fact in the recent history of mankind which seems common among Americans, whose indifference sometimes makes us forget how ghastly the memory really is. Their novelists seem to regard it as an occurrence which separated lovers, not as something which could colour men's whole thoughts on life.

But enough has been said to justify, or at least to illustrate, the charge of intellectual insufficiency against Mr. Howells; and when that is done the critic has no further ground for adverse criticism. What has been said, indeed, is perhaps apt to mislead by laying so much more stress on the artist's shortcomings than on his skill. If "*The Undiscovered Country*" is on the whole but a love-story with a new species of complication, it yet has value even as a psychological study. The personality of Dr. Boynton is an original and meritorious projection; and the whole episode of Egeria's unhappiness under her father's experimenting and her intense feeling for the charm of physical nature after her fever, is soundly and even finely conceived. She may be a little colourless, she may be indebted somewhat to her beauty for our interest; but she is perfectly real. And Mr. Howells has such a strong natural faculty of observation that he has put some brilliantly real people into almost every story he has written. To say nothing of the almost invariable vitality of his ladies, Dr. Mulbridge and his mother in "*Dr. Breen's Practice*" are vividly genuine; so is Squire Gaylord in "*A Modern Instance*;" so—to take a vicious type—is poor little Hicks in "*The Lady of the Aroostook*;" so, in his peculiar way, is Arbuton in "*A Chance Acquaintance*." Our author's technique, too, is so fine that even his least adequately thought work—if we except the adventures of Lieutenant Fenton—never exhausts the patience of a reader fully mindful of the contrast between skilled writing and the bulk of the writing he reads. Thus, for instance, while the journalist Evans, in "*A Woman's Reason*," never seems to come within our acquaintance, it is impossible not to relish his "form;" and despite the confectionery quality of "*A Counter-*

feit Presentment," it is impossible not to perceive the delicacy and ingenuity with which our palates are titillated. The touch is as light and as winning as that of Marivaux, and the effects are complex beyond any Marivaux attempted. The pathos about the death of Mr. Harkness, in "A Woman's Reason," again, has an effortless poignancy such as one rarely finds. And Mr. Howells is never obtuse; never vulgar; never fatuous: on the contrary, he is, within his intellectual and ethical limits, perhaps the most alertly, the most instinctively, artistic of American novelists.

It may be asked whether, with a writer of such eminent accomplishment, who interests and amuses us in spite of ourselves, we do well to be so rigorously critical as to condemn him for what he lacks, especially at a time when so much work that is altogether worse is popular and unblamed. When there is considered the appalling crudity of such a book as "The Gilded Age," concocted as it was by two such clever men as Mark Twain and Mr. Charles Dudley Warner, and tolerantly received as it was by the flock of servile newspaper reviewers, it may seem as if it were an ill-timed undertaking to insist on the deficiencies of Mr. Howells. But criticism can no more afford to be adjusted on such views than the high-aiming artist can afford to fashion his product with an eye to the weakness of the many producers rather than to the strength of the few. Work that claims to be worthy of the present day must be tried by the highest present-day standards. We can go back to and enjoy the plays of Marivaux without scruple; but when a novelist of our own day works on the lines of Marivaux we cannot choose but demur. On any judicial estimate Mr. Howells must be credited with having brought something to the store of the resources of fiction; and it may well be that he will influence the art for good. He has indicated an ideal even while swerving from it. "Ah! poor real life, which I love," he exclaims in "Their Wedding Journey," "can I make others share the delight I find in thy foolish and insipid face!" He is entitled, after all, to an encouraging answer. Remembering, too, how an artist is tempted, nay almost coerced, by his world; remembering to what a large extent *l'homme moyen sensuel* and his wife make up the American as the British reading public, we may admit that Mr. Howells would have had great difficulty in resisting the seductions of the love-story market: remembering the contrast between Russian pessimism and American optimism, we must concede that he is very differently situated from Tourguénief; that he is in the stream of a tyrannous tendency to light-hearted superficiality. At times he faces round: he has done a capital magazine sketch (*Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1882) of a

forenoon's proceedings at a Boston police-court, which blends a deep note of reverie with the light, happy strokes of description ; and we have seen that he has fits of gravity and intensity in more than one story. Reviewing them all, one arrives at a notion that this gifted, sympathetic, unphilosophic novelist, with his acutenesses and his blindnesses, his felicities and his inefficiencies, may be a link between a past school and a future school ; an intermediate type in the evolution of fictional art. But, remembering the fate of intermediate types, we cannot promise him immortality.

ART. III.—WOMEN RATEPAYERS' RIGHT TO VOTE.

SOCIETY is cheating itself of the full advantage which should come to it from the intellectual and moral progress of its units, inasmuch as it refuses to admit to natural and healthful political action such of those units as, having every other legal qualification, are excluded from the franchise list because they are women.

Many of them are compelled, by the conditions of society, to labour and compete with men ; these bear the financial burdens of the State in the same way, and to the same degree, as their masculine competitors, but they are no exceptions to the rule of political exclusion which is applied to their sex ; they have no share in the determination of political questions, they have no voice even in the making of those laws which deal especially with the safety and welfare of women.

In olden days, when might was right—when the *könig* was the man who could, and the weak were glad to surrender their liberty to the strong for the sake of personal protection—it was but a natural and consistent thing that woman should have no share in the Government. But the continuance of her old position in this respect, when everything has changed around her, is an anachronism and an inconsistency.

The differences existing between her and man, physically, mentally, and morally, have sometimes been pointed out to show that her admittance to political power would be the introduction of a new element in the law-making bodies ; the inference is supposed to be in favour of her non-admittance. Yet this fact of difference it is which, so long as the Government is represen-

tative, constitutes her chief claim to share in it ; for if she is essentially unlike all other classes, none of those can adequately represent her. A Government acting on the patriarchal or parental system has a right to settle the affairs of subject womanhood, as it settles the affairs of subject manhood, from a footing superior to both ; but as soon as the parental system is abandoned for another, either representative or selective, the element of womanhood has a claim to separate consideration.

Let us consider the matter as it would be if Parliament were not representative, but selective ; if, instead of professing to be the mouthpiece of the governed, it professed to be a gathering of the wisest heads of the nation, those who are fittest to rule and to lead others. Even in that case the feminine half of humanity could not be ignored in the selection ; for one or two women in every generation would be found worthy to have a place in it. In literature, in art, in works of philanthropy, in all spheres where mere merit may make its way without prejudice, a few women have come to the front.

But the case is worse than this. No one pretends at the present day that political power is confined to the wisest and worthiest. No standard of moral character or mental capacity is made a condition of entrance to the charmed circle of political rights. If these things were the necessary qualifications, no woman would need to protest against her exclusion ; the remedy would lie in her own hands. But it is the condition of manhood, the one thing impossible for her to attain, the one distinction out of her power to remove by effort, character, or the force of good fortune, which is the great qualification. In vain may she live with her husband on equal terms, eat at his table, educate his children, advise him in business, succeed him in the conduct of it ; in vain may she ask, with Shylock, if she has not eyes, senses, affections, passions ? if she is not fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same summer and winter ? nay, does she not read the same books, belong to the same race, attend the same place of worship ? The answer to all this is—she is a woman. There is no way open by which she can attain political rights, no way such as is open to the lowest and most unfortunate of mankind. She may make a fortune, she may produce books that no other man or woman of her time could write ; she may amass learning ; she may accomplish works of public usefulness ; she may be a philanthropist or a philosopher ; she may achieve distinction in a dozen different ways, and prove herself possessed of a head and a heart which few men could equal ; she is still politically below any drunkard, any bankrupt, any representative of the other sex who may

choose to lead his life of ignorance and stupidity in a house of a certain rental.

We look around us and see a widow who has taken up the work dropped from her husband's hands, who has educated his children, maintained his household, and in all respects fulfilled the duties of a citizen as he did; surely *her* intelligence, which has shown itself so supple and adaptable to different spheres, might be of some little use to the State? But no; she is a woman. Politically-speaking, she does not exist.

Next door we see a lady who from her earliest girlhood has supported herself by the work of her hands and head. Now, in her capable middle-age, as the head of a school, the instructor of youth, she is independent and prosperous. She makes an allowance to an idle old uncle, and helps to support an incapable brother. The uncle and brother are deemed fit persons to have votes; she is not. The brother is a lodger, giving to the State no pledge in the shape of property or anything else; she is a householder, paying heavy taxes and supporting an establishment which provides the means of sustenance to governesses, masters, and servants. No matter, she is a woman; and the State values the thought, the *voice* of the incapable burden-making brother rather than that of the energetic wealth-producing sister. In the delicate adjustment of balances which constitutes the Government of the time, society accepts the weight of *his* character and influence, but neglects hers.

A little farther on we see a farm managed by a woman who employs many labourers. These labourers, whose work is guided by her intelligence, are considered worthy of votes; but she is not. The State wants masculine voices, not cultured intellects; a *man* is the creature it recognizes—idle, dissipated, unsatisfactory though he may be; a good citizen, whose labour is a support and whose influence an advantage to the community, is ignored, does not exist—if she happens to be a woman. Let Queen Elizabeth (unless she happens to sit on the throne) keep silence while Hodge tells us what he thinks. A woman may be a queen or a regent, but she may not, under any circumstances, have a vote in the choice of a candidate for the great Community of Talk.

The averages are against her. That is the terrible fact. The brains of women weigh less than those of men; the physical strength of women is not so great as that of men. These facts are indisputable. Nevertheless, when we leave the question of averages, and consider individuals, it is easy to select, even among our own acquaintances, and from one class, numbers of women who are only surpassed in mental qualities by a few men of the same class. The way in which the political question is worked out at the present moment is this. Suppose humanity

to be represented by numerals up to twenty; all the evens are men; all the odds are women. The evens are undoubtedly higher than the odds, whether you take them as a whole, or take them as an average, or take them in pairs, to represent classes, one and two, three and four, &c. If, therefore, only the highest must rule, the highest is man, whose top number is twenty. But this is not the case. The ruling power has been granted to extend a long way down the evens, and at the same time it has been absolutely refused to the odds. It is as if 20, 18, 16, 14, and so on down to 6 and 4 had been granted privileges which are still refused to 19, 17, 15, &c., on the grounds that these are *smaller numbers*. Naturally, 19, looking from a position of no political rights, at 4, to whom political rights have been granted, doesn't see the justice of this question of averages; which, indeed, in the ingenuity of its working, reminds us of a puzzle played at by children on their slates, in which all the outer noughts of two circles are enclosed by a line giving access to a central nought, and at the same time shutting out all the inner ones.

It is, by-the-by, a singular argument for the inferiority of the feminine sex which some men offer when they refuse to admit women to compete with them on equal terms in examinations, without fear or favour. If the women are so notably inferior, the men need no other protection against their rivalry, for *the women will fail*. It is as strange a thing to hear of women being admitted to the toils of competition, and yet shut out from the "honours" thereof; strange honours indeed that are left to the men to boast of under such circumstances. But there is a still greater injustice in the regulation by which—for the reason that woman is weaker, mentally and physically, and therefore we suppose already weighted in the struggle for existence—she is excused none of the rates or taxes for which men are liable, yet is shut out from the privileges of self-government, the right of being consulted concerning the expenditure of the public money which she helps to provide, and of voting for or against laws which affect her life and her property. A representative Government sends its tax-collector duly to the door of the widow or the single woman keeping her household. It is the man with the voting paper who doesn't find it necessary to call.

The argument of *inferiority* is, however, beginning to look flimsy even in the eyes of its firmest supporters; it is therefore being abandoned by the more intelligent in favour of the argument of difference, the essential difference existing between men and women.

Now such a plea for the political nullity of women might hold good, as has been before said, in a case of parental Government,

the head of which is supposed to examine the claims of all its subjects with an impartial eye, to arrange their affairs and settle their disputes without favour or prejudice. Under such a form of Government women might be content to leave their interests to be looked after in common with the interests of the rest of the community. But in a representative Government, a Government by *outside pressure*, the fact that one part of the community differs from the rest in faculty and function, gives it a special right to representation.

In questions concerning women the outside pressure is not used at all, or is used by those least concerned in the matter at issue; or even exclusively by those whose interests are opposed to the doing of justice. If political power is a vital principle, which is to circulate through all classes, and come back to the centre, having discharged its office of nourishment to all the organs, and received due impulse in return from all—and that, indeed, seems to be the light in which representative Government must be regarded—how can it be healthy to the whole body that this action should be suspended in one branch alone, leaving that branch to stagnate in a semi-separate life?

It is in this injustice, this waste and actual destruction of material which ought to be used for the general good, that we must look for the causes of some social anachronisms, especially of the survival of certain barbarous and debasing codes of morality, among classes which have on the whole made large advances in the direction of a high and healthful development, and yet are found in a few important particulars to be still struggling in the mud of ungoverned instincts and uncontrolled passions.

The influence of woman is supposed to be supreme in her own home and to find sufficient exercise there; but such influence is exercised singly, and is brought to bear solely on individuals; whereas the community consists of classes, and it is highly important that the special virtues and powers of each class should inform and influence other classes, whose powers and virtues are developed in different directions. It is undoubted that in one virtue at least (a virtue most important to the physical health, material welfare, and intellectual progress of the human race) the women of the upper and middle ranks are—taken as a class—far in advance of their husbands and brothers. Nevertheless, and in spite of the constant mingling of the two sexes in daily life, the progress of the one in this respect seems to have very little influence on the progress of the other.

One great explanation of this unfortunate circumstance (unfortunate with regard to the future development of the race as well as the present health and interest of the community) seems

to lie in the fact that in a hundred ways the natural and rightful influence of woman is destroyed because she is not permitted to take her rightful place in our complex civilization ; her interference is entirely negatived in the important channel of public legislation ; politically she is a nullity ; consequently, in a community composed of classes and legislating for classes, she exists only as a unit ; 'she speaks only with a single uncounted voice ; and, however great the influence of a woman may be as an individual, her influence as the member of a great and important body must be computed at nothing.

The natural result of this political impotence is political ignorance. She is never permitted to aid in any decision, therefore she abstains from forming any opinion on questions touching the larger interests of her race. Yet her specially developed instincts ought to be of special use here as elsewhere. If, for example, she were encouraged to be interested in all questions touching the physical health of the young of the community (instead of being permitted only to deal with such as they affect the individual members of her own household), she would bring a new habit of thought into places where it is sorely needed. If she were allowed to look into questions dealing with the moral relation existing between men and women, and to have a voice in the laws affecting such relations, her eyes would be opened to many facts of which she lives unaware, and she would less frequently be induced to step from her own higher standpoint in order to become the companion of a lower type of man. Less frequently should we see her (under the flattering name perhaps of angel and reformer) become his accomplice in the injury which he inflicts on society, his instrument for bequeathing the weaknesses and diseases which his vices have engendered to the generation which succeeds him.

Society has paid, in its moral stagnation, a heavy price for its injustice to women. It has failed, in one important particular, to advance with its advance in other respects. Its fault has been a fault not belonging to its time nor in accordance with its progress in other matters ; and this its sin against woman-kind has been the origin of a social stupidity which has brought its own punishment. The innocent have suffered with the guilty in this result. Pure-minded women and guileless children have shared with vicious men the consequences of their ill-doing. And it is not to the interest of humanity that the innocent should thus suffer.

But the community, while misconceiving its duty with regard to women, has mistaken also the direction in which its own advantage lies. It has tried to stifle and debase a power which

it ought to have adopted and made use of. It recognizes woman as a specialist who has her own department in home life; it works more and more to make society a large family in which the influence of each member is felt, and the knowledge and instincts of each class are brought to bear on the common good; yet it has crushed out this one most important element of womanhood from the department of law-making—the department on which rest the foundations of social order and progress.

That such progress should have been disproportionately slow in some important directions does not seem strange to those who have considered the loss of functional development that the community has imposed on itself by this means. Society has paid, and is paying, for its own injustice in the past. The political position of taxpaying women has long been perceived to rest on no logical foundation. The time has come when it should be acknowledged to be no political necessity, but rather a social mistake, and an injury to the commonweal.

ART. IV.—IMITATIVE ART.

On Imitative Art, its Principles and Progress, with preliminary remarks on Beauty, Sublimity, and Taste. By THOMAS H. DYER, LL.D. London: Bell and Sons. 1882.

AT a period when high art in England, at least in two of its leading branches, can hardly be said to make progress in the purely ideal sense, it is interesting to note any contribution from the press of our nation which invites the reasoning faculties to a serious consideration of the principles of Imitative Art. From a veteran writer like Dr. Dyer, the author of the work at the head of our article, was naturally to be expected something well thought out and solid, as well as a full reference to antique examples and parallelisms both Greek and Roman. It is some satisfaction to see a classical scholar enter on this walk, as Ampère did before him, and present us with something which is almost as interesting as his topographical account of Ancient Rome which in the days of our nonage we remember to have perused with pleasure. When a sound classic throws his

discus in this arena, we naturally expect to find a long range and a high mark, and in this case we are not disappointed ; for we feel that we have something substantial before us, both in respect of authority and form, and we fancy ourselves in a measure raised into a higher sphere, above the mere hand-book authors—exhaustive and clever though they be—our Jamiesons, Crowe and Cavalcaselles, and Burckhardts—and that we have undertaken to examine things in a severe spirit. When we say severe, of course we mean according to the principles of art as laid down and understood from the earliest age of criticism. Dr. Dyer therefore naturally begins by an inquiry into Taste and the Beautiful, two subjects which, even now, are far from exhausted, and on which the greatest discrepancy of opinion exists. But to begin—who shall define Taste? Who is able to dispute with authority upon a question where we have hardly any assured premisses, major or minor, for a basis? Give us the fulcrum for which Archimedes cried out, and we will undertake to move the world—in other words, to reconcile criticism and establish a theory, for all time, as Newton did, by proving it mathematically. But we never shall have a *stable* fulcrum, or an indisputable standard to go by, as long as nations and ages are at war on the point of beauty and good taste. A German may be satisfied with his Gretchens, his Nannys, and his Lotties ; but would they please an Italian? The workman who fashioned the Ninevehian Sculptures, or he who first made the statue of Osiris, or a Buddhist idol, would assuredly have turned away in a sort of disgust from the Elgin Marbles, the Venus of Milo, or the torso of the Otricoli Zeus.

But still, for all that, taste lies somewhere in the infinite, and must not be neglected ; meantime, let us take what we can get and be thankful. One thing is clear, to succeed in getting on the right track of pure taste is a very rare and difficult thing indeed. Good taste, either in execution or criticism, is about as rare as that which the Duke of Wellington in his pithy way said was so difficult to find among men—"common sense ;" for, in truth, to be a man of taste in the best sense of the word is to be almost perfect. It is to have attained to the condition which the ancient philosophers taught men to aspire to—virtue, wisdom, sobriety, a proper knowledge of yourself, and so forth ; in fact, to have arrived at an end which is almost beyond the powers of man. The gift, then, to begin with, is exceedingly uncommon—rarer than a vein of gold in the territory of the Transvaal, or a streak of good land in England, where good land, as elsewhere, runs only in streaks, and is not to be found in large masses. In truth, good taste is not only an inestimable possession, but an article which we fear is sometimes adul-

terated—a good deal of pinchbeck about, and even debased coin passing current with the best. Nay, even some of our greatest artists are found at times to confute themselves and err on the score of good taste. Witness Michel Angelo himself, whose frequent irregularities are not always defensible. And, as we follow the descent of genius down to our own day, we fear we shall have to admit that the discrepancy becomes more glaring, and the prospect of rehabilitation further off. What can be more startling, for instance, than the employment of blue as a pigment in delineating the beard by a modern painter of undoubted talents? What would Titian, or Rubens, or any of the other great masters of colouring have said had they found some of their adventurous pupils practising it upon the canvas for which they were responsible? Such a thing is at best only an experiment of art, the effect of which had better have been first tested in the studio before being exhibited to the public; for the confirmation of an innovation may easily lead to a distortion of the laws of taste.

We have said that good taste becomes more difficult to establish as art descends. When we use the term descends, we mean of course that men in these days are further removed from the gods, and are either more or less defective in the possession of the *mens sana in corpore sano* than formerly. Education does not always develop good taste, because it may develop at the same time bad canons of criticism; for the enlarged activity of the human mind may simply get *momentum* without necessarily finding the true direction. The impulse given may be comet-like rather than planetary. It is somewhat remarkable to find that we rarely lose our tempers with the ancients because of their handling. As Dr. Dyer, following the old school of critics, very justly says: "The ancient sculptors were mainly absorbed with the idea of beauty and sought for it alone, rejecting the more vulgar and debasing accessories." Their principles were few and simple, and therefore they mastered them. Their mode of treatment was above-board and honest, and therefore they universally pleased. But who could undertake to reconcile the conflicting canons laid down for the regulation of modern art? What a difference, for instance, there is between Aristotle and John Ruskin? Yet perhaps not a few thinkers and readers in these days will say that the latter has thrown a light on the subject which was never dreamt of by antiquity, and that his researches have effected a revolution both in our judgments and in the products both of the brush and the chisel. This may be indeed true, but the vital question remains—is the new direction sound? Or to take once more the Duke's test—has that great rarity in the world,

"common sense," been made more abundant to our vision by all this teaching? We really and conscientiously doubt it. We may have many thousand more artists, and many hundred thousand more bidders for pictures, than we ever had before; but we fear we have less of the exercise of high and pure art. Mr. Ruskin's works are exceedingly interesting and startling from their novelty and the fresh light they throw on all questions of art, and painting in particular; and no man has thrown himself more daringly into the breach in favour of contemporary genius, and has so little respected the maxim "*De Mortuis*;" but for all that we ask—where are the fruits? Where are your highest efforts of art? Where are your Pheidias and Praxiteleses, your Raphaels and your Titians? Nay, where are your eccentric and abnormal Michel Angelos? These new canons certainly have not produced them. We do not behold them in substance. All we see is, a great rage for art; many eyes peering about, and comments on every tongue. Mr. Ruskin we grant saved some very good men from oblivion and rectified an unjust censure. He did more than any other writer of our time to bring to the front and exalt the value of contemporary productions as redoubted rivals of classic works of art. He even threw such a serious damper on these latter works as to depreciate their market price. Men fancied that they saw very little in them, and went about like Aladdin, desiring to change their old lamps for new; but the dealers tell us that the tide is now turning, and that since John Ruskin ceased to write the old masters have again gone up in price. We are bound, however, to say that the author of "*Modern Painters*" always discriminates, and only challenges the truth of the Horatian canon of the one hundred years' peaceable enjoyment of repute, when the elder workman is likely to prove a serious rival on English ground.

Dr. Dyer proceeds on the best and most assured method of criticism—that of judging with the examples before him, and framing his conclusions accordingly. His method therefore is the inductive one: out of a vast number of good examples and a nearly general concurrence of opinion, to build our canons of art. It is difficult to gainsay what everybody has confirmed, and gone on confirming for upwards of two thousand years; and yet even here opinion is fluctuating. The Apollo Belvidere, for example, does not occupy that high and absorbing place it did in Winckelmann's, or even in Byron's day. By some judges it is considered even a weak production in some respects. For our part we rather incline to go with later opinion, and consider that it has been considerably overpraised. It is certainly not the Apollo of the first book of the "*Iliad*." We look for something godlike and severe, and we almost complain of only find-

ing a too handsome man. If all the good-looking, out of fellow-feeling, were here to rank themselves on the side of beauty, the canons of good taste would assuredly suffer. This very fluctuation of opinion within so short a period suffices to illustrate the instability which we have spoken of above, and how difficult it would be to enforce a law for all generations and all likings. But, on the other hand, there are degrees of good and bad, and the fluctuations never pass into extremes. We never absolutely condemn as bad that which we have once greatly admired. The conclusion therefore is, that a good standard of beauty and taste somewhere exists, although we may not be able to define it in terms. But there are many things in Nature beyond our explanation, and therefore we are warranted in contending that this perfection which we admire is the result of an intuitive gift inherent in the individual, just as man possesses an inherent superiority in some qualities over the brute creation. If we cannot quite say why, we know at least that they constitute his distinctiveness in the order of creation. So, superior men, like Raphael or Shakspeare, possess certain intuitive or distinctive gifts far above their fellows, and infinitely above the boor or the Hottentot. You may indeed improve the boor or the Hottentot, but you cannot produce equality by any mode of manipulation; though the exhibition of taste and genius may greatly depend on culture. It is idle for us to ask, why one particular seed develops into a hollow stalk and another into a solid trunk and branches; why the barn-door fowl, which we are proud to see on our dinner-table, and the serpent, and the crocodile should all hatch their young, *ab ovo*. It is a freak or phenomenon of Nature, and let us be content; unless we are prepared, with some philosophical thinkers, to make all the higher and better operations of the mind the result of emanation.

On the question of beauty, Dr. Dyer observes:—

Beauty is *subjective*; it lies not in the object, but in the mind that perceives it. If it lay in the object, it would be absolute and capable of definition, in which case there could be no difference of opinion about it. But in fact there are few things about which men differ more, though the object remains the same. The cause of this difference, therefore, must be in ourselves, and the perception of beauty be only relative. Hence, since beauty is undefinable, and since it is impossible to make all men feel alike, it has passed into a proverb, that there is no disputing of tastes—which only means that the matter cannot be brought to any logical and definite conclusion.

But the seed must have good ground and favourable circumstances to develop its powers; and accordingly we find the exemplification of taste and genius associated with a feeling of exaltation in prosperous periods of a state or people. In Athens

there was a sudden blaze into art development after the glorious successes of the Persian defeat. When the factions were silenced in Rome, Augustus converted a city of brick into one of marble. In Italy, in the Middle Ages, during the monopoly of commerce and the Eastern trade, and when the Popes laid the world under contribution, the arts flourished. In Spain the wealth of the New World, following the national ascendancy over the Moors, gave the same impulse. In Holland it sprang up with the command of the sea and the carrying trade, and died out gradually as the monopoly was lost. In France, during the reign of Louis XIV., the brilliancy of art was concurrent with prodigious success in arms and the lavish patronage of the court. In England art was at its highest point during the early part of the reign of George III., from the overflowing prosperity of the nation and the long series of victories by sea and land. In the midst of prosperity, and when the "piping time of peace" has arrived, men crave for luxury and enjoyment, and will pay any price for them—even to the ruin of their constitutions. They offer an enormous bribe, and genius is excited to make an effort in a particular direction. Lord Beaconsfield was of opinion that enthusiasm did the work, and made men and nations great. This is the explanation of a conjuror, and would not satisfy either Lessing or Dr. Dyer, who would possibly ask for a bill of particulars. It is a dreamy and indefinite one; for enthusiasm may be misdirected madness as well as the following out of a great natural law. We hold that progress to be good or durable must be in all cases in obedience to natural laws; and it is for this reason that the tyro is told to imitate Nature, and also why we think Dr. Dyer is justified in calling—for want of a better term—the efforts of men of genius to realize their conceptions in sculpture or painting, the exercise of Imitative Art.

But further, we consider that there are accidents which give some nations a capacity for the work and push them to the front. The succession to a rich inheritance will do that; and in our opinion the reason why Athens made such a sudden stride in the fifth century before the Christian era, and arose almost at once into perfection, was because she freely borrowed from Ionian genius, which had flourished in Asia Minor probably for centuries. The Ionians, of the same kin as the Athenians, found a secure home in Athens, which they could no longer find on their own shores; and the ruin of their independence from the overwhelming flood of the Persian invasion was the origin of high art in Athens. Greece and the islands were safe when Asia Minor was lost to the artist, and in Ægina, Lesbos, Rhodes—in short, wherever the refugee could find

a tooting—the sacred gift was exercised. Up to this date we see no exemplification of it in Greece proper. The relics of Tiryns, or the Cyclopean structures of Argos, Orchomenus, or Arcadia, are not high art. In literature the Odes of Pindar—the first real artistic development to be seen in the language—did not appear until just after the Persian invasion, when all Greece joined hands, and, out of danger, learnt the value of national union. If this theory of transmission, or the progressive development of art and culture, be true, the inference is, that there must be a subsisting groundwork for some time in progress before you can expect a sudden blaze of light; in other words, that perfection is only attained by a series of stages or gradations, and that art is either more or less essentially derivative. In all probability the soft and refined Ionians got their ideas from some extinct civilization in the East and improved upon the instruction, just as Athens afterwards improved on the Ionians of Asia Minor. We think it was Raoul Rochette—an author rather abused in his day—who first advanced the idea of a lost civilization which had been inherited, though he failed to establish anything by proofs. He was probably on the right track as far as making a guess; for it could not be mere fancy which led almost all the Greek states without exception to bring their institutors and stock-fathers from Egypt or Phœnicia or Phrygia. However this may be, it is with the rise of Athenian art that we commence to date, and have made it, as it were, the first Olympiad of our chronology of culture. Everything is referred to this standard, and with good reason too; for the examples, whether of architecture or sculpture, are the most magnificent and perfect that we possess, and we have reasonable grounds for concluding that most of the good antique remains which are scattered about in museums had at one time a home in Athens: Corinth and the islands of course contributing their quota. The art of sculpture, indeed, seems to have been universal, and came readily to hand at a moment's notice. The first thing the outlying Byzantines did when Athens generously assisted them against Philip, was to pass a decree for the erection of three statues, sixteen cubits high, to be placed in front of the port, representing the community of Athens crowned by the Byzantines. Also the inhabitants of the Chersonesé, on the same occasion, passed a decree that an altar should be erected to Gratitude—a fact to which Demosthenes alludes with pride in his speech "*De Corona*." It is one of the interesting features of this imitative impulse to observe that sculpture had then progressed so far as not only to personify deity and portray a human resemblance to the life, but also to express a sentiment; and we fancy that as art declined this tendency

became more manifest; and from relying too much on imagination and abandoning Nature, its nurse and mother, the creative force was lost, and it expired in weakness.

When art flourished most at Athens literature was also at its best. It was the age of Pindar, of Sophocles and the Greek tragedians. It was the short-lived age also of well-balanced freedom, when the aristocracy were proud to be the democrats of their nationality. The philosophic and oratorical periods followed close upon it, and we fear did not assist the development of art; the one being too *subjective* in its teaching, the other too agitating. A reaction after victory and the dissipation of impending fears constitute the highest incentive to the development of art, provided there be security and wealth; but having reached so high a point, and when it can go no further, taste becomes capricious; and as a child throws away its toy, so a state cloyed with the good things of life asks for something new. But still art was never forgotten, and Greece became the teacher of Italy in after-time, when, in the words of Horace, "the captive became the conqueror."

As to the qualifications of the Hellenic race for this special development, Dr. Dyer observes:—

It is fortunate that the creed of the Greeks was highly favourable to art. Gibbon has observed, that their language gave a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy. The same lively and penetrating genius which formed their tongue was exercised in the development of their religion, and endowed all the phenomena of Nature with a spiritual life and a bodily form. The sun, the moon, the air, the sea, the earth itself became divinities. The dwellings of the gods were on the mountain-tops, though intimately bound up with all the material creation.

And we may add, that the line of demarcation between gods and men was so imperfectly marked, that it is difficult to say which flattered the other most by admitting a common resemblance, not only as regards outward form, but in the qualities and passions of the mind; for a god might descend to the standard of a man, and a man might rise to the stature of a god. Such a happy equality has never been exhibited in any other religion. To the Greek mind the inhabitants of Olympus were only the reflex of a community which had its home on earth.

Athenian art [as Dr. Dyer observes] was modified by three characteristics which especially distinguished the race—humanity, cheerfulness, and a love of the beautiful. Though animal sacrifices were allowed, they were not looked upon as altogether justified; but differences in this respect abounded; for the Athenians alone of all the Greeks erected an altar to Clemency, as sensible of its need in the

vicissitudes of human life, and disinterestedness rose to so high a pitch, that an ambitious youth was content with the simple meed of a laurel wreath.

And again :—

As the ideal world of the Greeks abounded with images of dignity and beauty, so the real world presented the same ideas incorporated. The physical beauty of the Greek race has probably never been equalled. When Adamantias wrote, about the beginning of the fifth century, its superiority was still striking. The Hellenic and Ionian races were in stature rather tall, broad-chested, well-built. The head was of middling size and oval, the neck robust, the legs straight and the extremities finely moulded. The nose was perfectly straight, the upper eyelid projected sharply, the inner part of the eye was deeply set and the ears beautifully formed. A striking feature was the round and nobly moulded chin, sometimes, but rarely, indented with a dimple. The eyes, full of light, were at once moist and vivid ; the complexion fair and the hair yellow. Finer models it was impossible to have. The females partook of the general character, with the natural differences of sex. Sculptors denoted the colour of the hair by the way in which they executed it. Winckelmann observes, that black hair is shown rough as in the heads of Zeus, whilst light hair is smoothly wrought as in the statues of Aphrodite and Apollo. In the youth of Pheidias sculpture had reached a point which needed only the hand of genius to perfect it. Considerable technical perfection had been attained ; the human form was pretty correctly shown, but deficient in ideal beauty and grandeur. But the characteristics of Pheidias were the product of his own genius. He endowed the realistic figures he saw around him with ideal beauty and animated the lifeless stone with an apparent soul. Grandeur and dignity, however, were his prevailing qualities, and in those respects he has probably never been surpassed.

It is very important to note that Greece possessed such magnificent models, for assuredly without good exemplars there can be no inspiration. Even at the present day it is a well-known fact to all sculptors that Italy possesses the finest models as regards the female hands and feet in any part of Europe ; and that to the eye of an Italian the wrists and ankles of most Englishwomen would not serve as a study even for those revivals of the antique which are to be purchased in our streets for a few shillings. Some affirm that the conception of artistic beauty is innate in Italians, and that they cannot err, even if they would ; but is it not rather that they have beauty ever before them, and employ much of their *dolce far niente* in merely looking at it ? If the modern Italians were more strenuous, we should have great works of art, which we certainly have not nowadays : we have only paltry reproductions simply because the nation is content with little and receives no impulse. It is

almost a marvel to find in the present day that in Italy, the land which perpetuated art, and which only sixty years ago could boast of a Canova, both painting and sculpture, as regards creative originality, are at a lower ebb than in any other country in Europe.

Still, ideal beauty must always be superadded to the highest type, and this to our mind has its origin partly in instinct and partly in education and training. In truth, the source is a very complicated one, just as the product itself is complicated and highly wrought. It is quite evident that little can be done without culture; and yet culture and canons of criticism will not do alone, and the offspring of such artificial resources may be as cold and lifeless and as unmoving as a mere lay-figure. It has been remarked by Lessing that beauty was the almost exclusive character of ancient art, and that expression had little place; whereas, with modern art, expression is everything. But it is not true that the merits of ancient statuary are confined to beauty or that expression is ever wanting in good examples; for we find both grandeur and pathos as well as dignity and character. Every god has his peculiar and unmistakable traits; and there was even great variety shown in the portrayal of the deities under different hands. The distinctive characteristic of the ancient sculptors as compared with the moderns was, that they kept expression within due bounds. They included all that was dignified and becoming, and rejected the vulgar and more debasing associations. The highest and crowning merit of some of the ancient statues is their infinite repose. It was doubtless this aspect which inspired the line of Virgil when speaking of Theseus:—

Sedet, eternumque sedebit
Infelix Theseus.

For we may assume that when Virgil met Augustus at Athens, B.C. 19, he must have seen in its perfect state that magnificent but mutilated torso which we now possess in the British Museum, and was impressed by its sublimity. The prevailing weakness of modern art is its painful realism. The artist must copy Nature as he beholds it around him, and the subjects are not always cheering or suggestive of ennobling emotions. Our civilization, therefore, whatever be its merits in other respects, is not conducive to the nurture of high art. Disease and "madness laughing in his rage" and folly may be better depicted than of old, but assuredly neither the perfection of the human form, nor the highest manifestations of human happiness. The expression in ancient art therefore was not only far more ideal, but had less of conventionalism. It was either

more or less characteristic of the existing national traits, where manliness and fortitude were qualities, not to possess which made man ignoble in the sight of his fellows. Nay, even where grief and suffering are depicted, as in the Niobe or in the Laocoön, it is a noble and dignified grief—an agony something more than mortal—which, although it inspires pity still, makes the character more exalted. All the manifestations of modern life, as compared with antiquity, are morbid, sickly, and pathological; health and cheerfulness in the one case, the oppressions of labour and anxiety in the other—the goddess Heigeia personified in marble and celebrated in hymns, contrasted with the worship of grief and the suppressed sigh. The wonder is that our artists are able to uphold an ideal of beauty which must be to the vast mass of the community a strange and unknown deity. Hence our best high art in sculpture is seen in replicas from the antique. It is enough for the gazer to know that there was once a world which inspired such bright creations.

But still we admit the exaltations of genius which strives to go beyond Nature and even succeeds. That ideal beauty which is seized by the sculptor momentarily and fixed for ever, is only the personification of a wish or an aspiration. It is like any other bright conception, the difference being, that in the one case it is thrown upon the page, in the other it lives in stone, and

Stands as the goddess that enchants the world.

Byron, therefore, we think was right when he considered the creations of the mind and the reproductions of the chisel as superior to anything we find in Nature, as when he asks:—

Where are the forms the sculptor's soul hath seized?
In him alone. Can Nature show so fair?

And he answers the question in the negative. Still, we have no reason to despair. We are not sent into this world to be mere lotus-eaters, but to recall by effort the visions of that anterior world which Plato believed to be a reality. Aspiration towards better things is at least one half of man's nature, and it is no matter of wonder that he seeks to leave behind a record of the eternal idea in some durable embodiment. But if beauty, cheerfulness, and repose were the prevailing characteristics of antiquity, no greater antithesis can be found in sculpture than in the works of Michel Angelo, all whose creations are either more or less harsh and harrowing. If Death was represented by the ancients as only an eternal slumber, soft and peaceful, in the hands of the Florentine sculptor it becomes terrible to dwell on: hence if fear and awe are to be preferred to

beauty and cheerfulness, perhaps the aspect of the two figures in the tomb of the Medici, representing Day and Night guarding the portals of Eternity, is the sublimest thing we possess in sculpture either ancient or modern. Let this be a hint to our modern artists; let them discard the vulgar realisms around them, and endeavour in the Platonic spirit to embody a sentiment which will stimulate reflection.

The Laocoön is the work which has called forth the greatest amount of criticism and served more than any other production to furnish the canons of art. And yet the Laocoön is not to be ranked as a work of the highest power. When we say power, let us not be misunderstood. We do not refer to technical difficulties surmounted. Perhaps in respect of a triumph over technical difficulties, the Laocoön is the finest piece of sculpture we possess in a perfect condition. The mastery of these technical impediments has always been the theme of practical artists, who know well what it would cost them to reproduce this entire group out of a solid block of marble. It has also been a pivot for the pedantry of critics. We are glad therefore to see that Dr. Dyer is independent enough to differ boldly from Lessing, who endeavours to prove that the figure of Laocoön is an example of the beautiful. For our part we consider Winckelmann nearer the truth when he maintained that it was a fine example of moral grandeur struggling with bodily pain. This is modest, and perhaps about as far as there is any need to go. It would appear, however, that a certain exceptional character of dignity and repose was not only allowable, but essential in ancient sculpture; for when we come to compare the contemporary representations at the theatre with works of art, we find that in the former case the expression of feeling and passion is often very violent, and that such exhibitions of woe and suffering were great favourites with the Athenian people. But it was rare to see this in statuary, and we think it marked a commencement in the decline of high art, as well as a new departure. It is of the very character of the work, and of the material in which it is executed, that there should be repose rather than movement. We question much if justice can be done in marble to a violent incident. The horses on Monte Cavallo, the most spirited group of sculpture we possess, cannot be said to be an exception to this rule, for they are natural and unforced, yet such animals as the gods might be proud to own. Sculpture claims dignity for itself more than any other art, and if it travels beyond this it suffers. The Laocoön therefore, however meritorious as a triumph over difficulties, is an effort which goes beyond the legitimate bounds of art in its highest manifestations. In the case of the Niobe, the expression of

suffering is ennobling, for it is the suffering rather of the mind than of the body.

But the question arises—whence sprang the idea of the Laocoön group? From a Myth or from Virgil? If suggested by Virgil, then we hold that the artist has fallen below the conception of the poet. Perhaps no description, whether ancient or modern, surpasses that passage in Virgil where, as a prelude to the sack of Troy by night, he describes the motion of the two serpents, coming from Tenedos, with their scaly necks rising above the waves, making steady and determined progress until they land and conceal themselves under the sacrificial altar with an almost human purpose of destruction; and when Laocoön appears arrayed in his fillets, fasten upon him and his two sons. We question much whether even the wildest and most extravagant of our modern sensational writers has ever succeeded in thrilling the reader as Virgil has ~~done~~, much less in presenting so vivid a reality. The delineation in marble of agony and suffering may be sublime considered as a supreme triumph over technical difficulties; but we would just ask—does it not appear finer to those who never read the second book of Virgil? An unsophisticated traveller from Massachusetts or Yorkshire, pausing before this group, would probably pronounce it the most wonderful work of art he ever beheld, and would end by asking the source of the inspiration. He would certainly be more touched and think it greater if he had not read Virgil. If this be true, we consider the test a good one—namely, the capacity of an artist to rise to the height of an existing description. It has been the fashion for the last fifty years among German scholars to decry Virgil and to find fault with Cicero's weaknesses; but let us look into what they have left us as evidences of power, and ask ourselves whether we would prefer something beautiful and stirring drawn from a rich southern clime, to the product of dry rules of art evolved from the brain of a professor living in a region where the vine and olive sometimes die in winter? Why should such torpid spirits and artificially nurtured creatures presume to condemn the products of enthusiasm and fancy developed under the happiest auspices of creative Nature? There is surely some difference between the ever-lucid skies of Greece and the glowing landscape of softer Italy, and the chill bleakness of a northern latitude. Winckelmann himself did not catch inspiration until he had lived half his life in Italy, changed his mother creed for a more artistic and pagan one, and actually penned his criticisms in the language of Dante and Petrarch. Yet the Germans, since the days of Lessing, persist in thrusting hard rules down our throats, as if our *pabulum* to elicit creations lay only in

canons and precepts. To consent to such a choice would be to live not amid the teeming excellence of Nature, but in a sort of *hortus siccus*—nay, more, it would be all barrenness if men were taught to believe that they could do everything by dint of æstheticism, and might discard the surroundings.

But an artist, as we all know, judges of a work of art from a different point of view to that of a man of taste. He looks mainly—sometimes entirely—at the difficulties to be overcome—what it would cost him to accomplish the feat, and he gives the palm accordingly. Now, we do not consider either the working artist or the lecturing æsthetician the sole judge, any more than we do the unsophisticated Yorkshireman. The real and competent judge is the man of correct taste, independent of all rules. John Forsyth, for example, who, fortunately for art criticism, was cruelly imprisoned by Napoleon for twelve long years, and revenged himself by writing a book on Italy. Ampère was also of this order of men, and so too was Raphael, although he was a painter. Raphael never allowed himself to be trammelled by the rules of art, and no man has more completely broken the bounds; for he is the virtual creator of that which is now making such a noise in the literary world—we mean the employment of the historical method of inquiry. Men in these days ask—Who was it first applied the historical method as the crucial test? Some say Machiavelli; others Voltaire; others the Germans; others Ernest Renan. We say it was Raphael. This was the genius who first saw facts in their true light, and reproduced them historically. His enlightened mind rose above the superstitions around him, and although he was educated in a mediæval school, he soon shook off the influence. Nothing can be more modern than Raphael. He has taken the most advanced point of view that is possible. Witness his “School of Athens,” with all the illustrious of the earth assembled there. Witness his “Lo Spasimo” in Madrid, where we have the historical as it were in motion, and see energy and suffering contrasted. Witness more than anywhere the Cartoons. One would almost say he had heard Paul preaching at Athens, had been present at the sudden visitation on Elymas the Sorcerer, or saw the lame man at the beautiful gate of the Temple. Perhaps the most pregnant proof of the facility and creative power of Raphael lies in the fact that these works of art were considered by him as mere sketches—good enough only to furnish subjects for tapestry work. He threw them off hurriedly and without any effort, just as Shakspeare amused himself with drawing Lucio or Caliban. It was probably only by the merest accident that they were not burnt after the tapestry was completed; and we believe it is owing to the discernment of the Commonwealth

that we are now able to boast of them as the property of the nation. We have often thought that if you wanted to bring an obstinate man to accept the leading facts of Christianity, you could not do better than prescribe a daily course of Raphael's Cartoons. In our humble opinion, Raphael did more for Christianity than all the Popes put together—nay, than all the commentators and amenders of texts. He gave elevation to the subject, shook off all the narrowness of his early education, and dared to describe the facts of history. Let the honour, therefore, fall where it is due, and let not the Germans, or any others, claim to have discovered the historical method of proof which was invented before their language became a fixed one. In creative genius, and in the perception of truth and Nature, we believe there have been only two perfect men in the world—Raphael and Shakspeare—both keeping themselves thoroughly within the bounds of their imagination, and both ignorant of the modern canons of art. If you had made the inquiry of one: Why or how he drew a great-toenail or foreshortened a limb, he would have replied that he could not really tell how, or why. If you had asked the other: Why he mixed up Falstaff and Pistol with the repression of Hotspur's rebellion, which very nearly extinguished the House of Lancaster, he would probably have shaken his head in despair. It was the unerring instinct of genius, and not "the spectacles of books" which guided both: and we fear much if the spirit of modern æstheticism is allowed to hold sway, and we are taught to rely on the canons of art, we shall never have anything better to boast of than the Albert Monument in Hyde Park.

However, as we have already said, art is derivative, and hence it needs encouragement. If Raphael, when a stripling fresh from Urbino, had not walked among the galleries of Florence, and seen the wonders of ancient art in the Vatican, we do not believe he would have found his inspiration. But his eyes were to him a substitute for rules, as they are to all men of true taste. It is almost marvellous to see the leap he makes forward when we compare his earliest conceptions with his latest. He was not religiously inclined, and yet his Biblical creations in the Loggie of the Vatican show how he could extract the honey from the flower, when others before him had been piling up the wax like solemn drones, ignorant of the treasure which lay enshrined in the source from which he drew. Another man, bound down by the narrow rules of his early tuition, would have remained for ever drawing figures after the manner of his old master Pietro Perugino. Leonardo da Vinci himself could hardly ever get out of his mediæval trammels, however graceful and beautiful some of his figures may be; and Titian was always the slave of formal

conventionalism. But Raphael, though singularly gentle in character, and utterly free from pride or presumption, seems to have been independent of all men. We think one reason of his excellence arose from the fact that he was not a slave to sculpture like Michel Angelo. But that he made ancient sculpture his profound study is evident; for it is in his cartoons and fresco paintings that we find—and find only once in all our modern experience—that calm repose and dignity of manner which marked the best examples of Greek art. Raphael, like Pheidias, rejected all the debasing accessories, and only introduced the ennobling qualities of human nature; and the result is, that more than any other artist he evokes the spirit of antiquity. Incomparable as a draughtsman, unequalled for ease and correctness of drawing, simple in his compositions, he sought only the essential. And here it just strikes us, that taste, after all, may be a Socratic *negative* quality—that is to say, the art of rejecting the rubbish, and throwing away delusion—an exercise which ultimately develops the *positive* quality of honesty of purpose.

But Michel Angelo, his rival and contemporary, had even better opportunities of observation and education, for he was born in Florence—that seething city which banished Dante and sacrificed the good John of Medici, and the cradle of the Renaissance, where the encouragements to genius were lavished with no stinted hand:—

Her merchants sat as princes in their state,
And kingdoms were their suitors: 'twas their pride
To beautify the city of their choice,
And make their homes the palaces of art—
Lavish, yet chaste in their magnificence,
And rivals in their patronage of worth;
Then Florence as a second mistress rose
To teach the world the use of opulence,
And be the model of urbanity,
Revived again on earth when deemed as lost.

It was Florence rather than Rome that kept alive the sacred fire and made the first start into new life. The Popes were good patrons but poor teachers, except in so far as their treasures of art constituted a school. But Etruria was always the nurse of art and of a higher culture than Rome. The race was different. Who shall say of what race—since we hardly know the meaning of a single word of the language, or can guess the land they came from. But even to this day the people of this district of Italy are the most intellectual of any in the nation, and have even a distinctive physical character. Yet still this would prove the *derivative* element in art for which we contend—or at least the transmission of technicality; and with-

out a full knowledge of, and mastery over, technicalities, there can clearly be no success in art. Speaking of Michel Angelo as compared with Raphael, one would almost be inclined to affirm that he wanted the technical faculty in all its niceties, that he was too impatient to master it, or that his imagination overpowered him; for nearly all his works have either more or less an unfinished character. Perhaps this very want of completeness, which leaves so much to the imagination of the spectator to fill up, adds to the effect. No man certainly was ever more original. His design to raise the dome of the Pantheon in the air and place it on St. Peter's, is not more presumptuous than his conception of Moses with the horns of an ox, or the throes and contortions of suffering humanity exhibited in his "Last Judgment." He is certainly not a man to be imitated or to find a successor. That would prove a dangerous feat even to the most accomplished. But Raphael may be imitated, though hardly approached. His legitimacy of treatment is apparent everywhere, and his consistency with himself undisputed. On the other hand, one would sometimes suppose that Michel Angelo sometimes endeavoured to surpass himself. On the characteristics of the great Florentine, Dr. Dyer observes:—

In his delineations of the Last Judgment and the Creation of Man, no artist was more fit to open and close the scenes of that supernatural and portentous cycle. "The Creation" afforded full scope for the display of his wonderful grandeur without the temptation to indulge in exaggeration or caricature, to which he too often yielded in representations of the horrible. It might be pleaded in excuse that Dante did the same thing; but the effects of a poetical description and of a painting are very different; and, as Lessing has so well shown, many things which revolt not the ear, are quite unfit to be exhibited to the eye. Two enormous difficulties presented themselves in delineating the Creation of Adam and Eve: in the former subject an adequate representation of the Almighty; in the latter the task of avoiding the ridiculous. The figure of Adam, reclining on the rock and starting into life at the touch of the Creator, is a miracle of art, and one of the finest nude figures that Michel Angelo ever drew. Of the figure of the Almighty it may be said that it satisfies the imagination as far as art is capable of doing so. He is shown as a venerable old man with a flowing beard, but his person is hardly grander than that of one of his own prophets in the ceiling. The Creation of Eve is hardly so satisfactory. It is a repetition of the same subject under less favourable circumstances. Eve sinks on her knees, and lifts her hands in adoration after emerging full-grown from his side. In the painting of "The Fall" Michel Angelo has combined the sin and its punishment in the same piece. The double movement may be here defended, nay, perhaps, admired, as showing in the most vivid manner the swiftness of God's avenging wrath. Eve here is

one of the finest female figures he ever drew, and shows that though his genius inclined to the grand and terrible, he was capable of depicting grace and loveliness.

By his "Last Judgment" Michel Angelo completed the grand cycle of human destiny which he had opened in the Sistine Chapel with his frescoes of the Creation. The condemned are seen assembling upon earth; some are seized by demons and bound, while others are carried off by flying devils. Archangels with drawn swords repulse all attempts to force the gates of Heaven, and precipitate those to destruction who have tried to do so. But the horror of this picture is relieved by the next, showing the calling of the elect to Heaven. A chorus of angels on clouds resplendent like gold are making heavenly music, while others scatter flowers on the blest.

But it would take a volume—perhaps even many volumes—to describe the extent and incidents of these frescoes. Horror is the key-note of the composition, and Michel Angelo seems to have had throughout perpetually before him that text which declares, that "the devils believe and tremble." In our humble opinion the "Last Judgment" is a *tour de force*, and perhaps the teaching is not altogether in the right direction.

Raphael's picture of the Transfiguration has puzzled many observers and embarrassed a good many art-critics. If an individual were asked what was the subject of it, he would be unable to answer the question without a prompter. It is indeed almost unintelligible without descriptive assistance. We fancy that the picture has been misnamed. Raphael died before it was finished, and probably had not the naming of it. It is not properly the Transfiguration, but represents mainly and primarily a different motive. The object of Raphael no doubt is to show the superiority of divine power; and to do this he has taken in hand one of the most difficult subjects that ever fell to the lot of a painter—namely, to depict, not a success, but a failure—not man in a state of triumph, but in his weakness and presumption. The picture properly represents the folly of the Apostles in attempting to cast out a devil, and their impotence to work a miracle. To acknowledge their impotence and despair, some of them are pointing to the Mount of Transfiguration, and this action is ably depicted. When the unsophisticated observer is told what the actual subject of this magnificent picture is, his wonder is indeed great; when he is left to his own fancy, he is confounded what to say about it. This picture was perhaps the most difficult and complicated that Raphael ever undertook, and as a triumph of movement and action it leaves all other works of art completely in the shade.

Dr. Dyer has not touched on modern English art, nor even noticed the schools of Rubens or Rembrandt. He possibly considered that, as far as Italy was concerned, there was still an

alliance with the antique, and that we may there find worthy successors of the founders of the art. But we still think he might have said something on behalf of England, and remembered that we at least had a Flaxman. We also should have liked to have heard his opinion of Canova and Thorwaldsen, both of whom belong to this century, and whose productions Europe in the present day can hardly be said to emulate. Canova, as a brilliant light that flashed for a moment and passed away, deserves more than a cursory notice. He lies midway between ancient and modern art, and represents another stage of the downward movement—but he represents it grandly and beautifully. His chief strength lay in his cenotaphs, which are not only fine compositions, but singularly impressive and touching. Where he had gravity before him he was always great; but in lighter subjects his *penchant* towards elegance becomes trivial, and he is at times only relieved from insipidity by his incomparable finish. We often ask ourselves indeed, how it is that with so many admonitions before us as to how a thing should be done, and in the midst of so vast a number of tentatives, we appear not to be able to reproduce the wished-for result. In every country it is the same tale, and England is not in an exceptional place in this respect. Yet we have had our Bacons, our Baileys, our Westmacotts and our Chantreys, to say nothing of John Flaxman, the most purely classic of all our sculptors, whom Canova so admired that he refused to be honoured when in England, as long as the former went unhonoured and unrewarded. In painting, too, we possess a host of contributors, but hardly a Reynolds; though portraiture is perhaps now our strongest point. Yet where shall we find such characteristic representations as are seen in Charles James Fox, in Gibbon, or in that most unpromising of subjects—Lord Thurlow? Where are now the graceful draperies of our ladies of rank, and the languishing attitudes in which they delighted to throw themselves? Though somewhat fond of vulgar life, we cannot say we even possess a Hogarth, the most renowned caricaturist of manners and customs the world has ever seen. We admit that the knowledge of the two great branches of art is far better disseminated and understood than formerly, but the products certainly are not of the grand order. Both painters and dealers better understand the tricks and surprises of art, but less of its higher secrets. Our force once lay in landscape and colouring, though this latter, we fear, seems to be rather on the decline since the days of Etty and Landseer; while, as regards landscape, we greatly miss Stanfield and Roberts—both of whom were brought up as scene-painters, and whose works every day become more appreciated as the handling of

the pencil becomes more subservient to rules. Roberts is sublimity itself in the proportional and perspective. His cathedral interiors and exteriors may almost be said to inspire religious emotions: we fancy we could stand and gaze for ever and still see more. Our opinion is somewhat a heretical one—and we venture it with becoming modesty—but we think that high art in England received a shock with the worship of Turner and Landseer, and that the absorbing movement in this direction diverted some good artists from the contemplation of better things. Landseer as a minute colourist and painter of animal life is great, and his subjects are always cheering; but both these artists owe much to the engraver's art; and if we had not had a Finden and a Cousens, perhaps their reputation would not have been so widely disseminated. Turner towards the close of his career aimed at the impossible and degenerated into extravagance. His genius in certain walks was both original and striking. He found the secrets of art, but had not the talent to conceal them. But who will dare to imitate his methods? What young artist is ever set to copy him? Turner went beyond his depth when he went beyond a rapid sketch or a memory, and attempted minute details—more particularly when he undertook to throw Claude Lorraine into the shade. The difference between Claude and Turner is, that the one is the poetry of the past, the other the vivid realism of the present. But when Turner adhered to his dreamy and indistinct method, as in some of his earlier Venetian subjects, the effect is truly ideal, although it be a transgression of the higher canons of art.

We have said that high art in England is not at its spring-tide. On this point we would not, however, be misunderstood. When we speak of high art, we mean, of course, something transcendent—something rising considerably above *tableaux de genre*, which however charming in their way, and sometimes even cheating us into the belief that life is more delightful than hard reality teaches, do not rise to the point of making us forget this prosaic existence altogether, and, it may be, fancying ourselves for the moment in a higher sphere,—such an effort of art, in short, as men in after-time will pause before to gaze upon with rapture, and conceive the being who created it as something more than mortal. Yet is not that the art of Pheidias and Raphael? Are we to conclude that their spirit shall never more, in the Pythagorean sense, pervade the earth, guide the hand and eye, and animate the breast of kindred genius? We would not displace the gentler and more domestic associations; but we should sometimes like to feel ourselves stirred to the quick by living genius. We do not therefore believe that Imitative Art in its highest sense is only a thing of the past, to be worshipped

from afar. We would have it nearer to us ; and, what is more, we think we can evoke it ; for never in the experience of England have such pains been taken to impart instruction, never have the rules and principles of art been more widely disseminated, never has the minting hand of genius been so busily at work to multiply examples.

The plinth of the Albert Monument is perhaps the best open-air manifestation we possess of the glyptic powers of our generation ; though we question very much if we could do anything so good in the present day. The site of the monument is fine and awakens stirring recollections ; but the work is spoilt by attempting to combine two utterly different ideas—the commemoration of British liberality in inviting the nations of the earth to contend for the palm of industry and art, and the apotheosis of an individual. The incongruity, therefore, is great and striking between the solid pedestal and its infirm capital, and if it is to be examined as a work of art at all, the latter must be kept out of sight. The idea and composition of the plinth are in just harmony, and the story is admirably told ; the reliefs depicting the progress of art, science and industry, elaborate and tasteful ; the representations or personifications of the four quarters of the globe at the corners well placed. The execution of these emblems, representing both man and nature's material productions, is indeed very different. That which should be the best—Europe—is perhaps the weakest ; while that of America is a little unintelligible. The finest group by far is that of Asia, and here nothing seems wanting and nothing in excess. We know at once that it is Asia which comes stored with all the wealth of Ormus and of Ind, calm and beneficent as of old. Such essays of art destined for the open air are, we think, well within the powers of our modern sculptors ; and we only hope that on the next occasion when it shall be deemed fitting to raise a memorial of the nation's good deeds, the public money will be as liberally forthcoming as on that occasion ; for, as we have said, the sustenance of art is encouragement ; and we must remember that we do not nurse our children for high emprise without being prepared to give them a sphere and a reward when they shall have arrived at the maturity of their powers.

Just as we conclude we are fortunate in being able to congratulate the nation on the purchase by the Government of two of the most remarkable of the pictures in the Blenheim Collection—the *Madonna Ansdei* by Raphael for £70,000, and the equestrian portrait of Charles I. by Van Dyck for £17,500. We say nothing of the Raphael or its price, but we think the choice of the Van Dyck, which is one of the best examples of his grand style, reflects much credit on the committee of selection.

ART. V.—BRITISH WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

IN everything that affects commercial and international relations England naturally feels the most lively and vital interest; and though in the matter of "Weights and Measures" it has been characteristically slow in movement, it has not been so for want of thought or through indifference. On the contrary, the subject has always been to it one of anxious and interested consideration. Since the middle of the last century—to go no further back—the subject has occupied no less than a decade of Parliamentary Committees and Commissions. And there is a probability that it will soon occupy the attention of one more—in all likelihood the final one on this important question. By the recommendations of that Commission, it may be expected the change which is urgently needed and imminent will at length be inaugurated. As to it will be entrusted the duty of inquiring into the subject and reporting thereon, many schemes will no doubt be submitted to its consideration. We think it therefore not out of place or inopportune to offer some remarks on the necessity of the change, and make a few suggestions on the character of the new system which should replace the old. The adoption of the French system in its entirety recommends itself by the vast conquests that system has already made. But, notwithstanding its now almost universal sway, we think it would be an irreparable loss to civilization to forego the opportunity its adoption by the British world gives us of vastly improving its detail. The foundation and principle of the French system we believe to be embodied in civilization, yet there remain striking defects which call for a remedy.

The diversity of weights and measures attracted attention at an early period, as we see by a provision of Magna Charta, which ordains that there be "one weight and one measure throughout the whole realm." But, remarks the writer of the article "Standard" in the *Penny Cyclopædia*—

Though a few Acts of Parliament were sufficient in process of time substantially to establish the political rights which that charter was intended to grant, hundreds of them down to the present time have been ineffectual in producing the use of one weight and one measure.

No subject has in fact exercised the Legislature so long and so frequently, and yet the diversity still prevails, and to as great an extent as ever. In France an effectual step was taken to

remedy a like evil. There, as the Report of the Parliamentary Committee of 1862 tells us—

Louis XVI., at the recommendation of the Constituent Assembly, invited by a decree all the nations of Europe, and particularly the King of Great Britain, to confer respecting the adoption of an international system of Weights and Measures. No response being given to the invitation, France committed the consideration of the subject to some of the most learned men of the age, who devised what is called the Metric System. France was thus the first country to relieve itself of the barbarous multiplicity of Weights and Measures by adopting the most simple, convenient, and scientific system of them in existence.

This new system has made its way in spite of the prejudices its revolutionary birth, stiff classical nomenclature, and the hostility of ancient and national systems it excited. On the continent of Europe it has spread from France through Holland, Belgium, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Roumania, the North German Confederation, Wurtemberg, Bavaria, and Baden. It has crossed the ocean, and invaded almost all the southern nations of the New World: there Chili, Ecuador, Uruguay, Brazil, New Granada, Peru, and the Argentine Confederation have submitted to its sway. Several nations stand *in limine*; Norway has adopted the Metric system for decimal weights, Austria the half-kilogram with decimal divisions. The United States and Canada in the New World, and Russia and England in the Old, stand still at bay. The two latter were united in bigoted attachment to the erratic and old-fashioned measurement of time long after the reformation of the calendar, and they are again united in rejecting the Metric system. Russia still adheres to the "old style," and in her bigotry is content to remain eleven days behind the rest of the world. Let us hope that as England parted company with her then, so now again we may find her soon abandon the tenacious clinging to an antiquated barbarism that confuses the accounts of her commerce, hampers her trade, and earns for her among her neighbours a reputation of slowness in her arithmetic.

The "barbarous multiplicity" of the Committee is well illustrated by the fact that one commodity, corn alone, is sold in Great Britain by the bag, barrel, boll, bolt; by the coomb, hobbet, load; by the measure and quarter; by the sack, staok, strike, stone, as well as by the weight, winch, and windle. As if this were not enough, there are seven varieties of bag, six of load, five of hobbet, three of weight, and so on; and all this in one country. Nay, for the different kinds of this commodity, measures the same in name are not the same in amount: the

boll for wheat differing from the boll for barley, and that for oats resembling neither; for almost every market-town in England has a bag, load, or stone of its own, and almost every measurable article has a variety of standard.

The very Acts of Parliament enacted to diminish the confusion have only added to the medley, by the introduction of new measures without succeeding in the abrogation of the old. Why there should be twenty different kinds of bushel in one country no one can divine; or why the bushel should mean pounds in one place and gallons in another; or be a pound more for peas than it is for beans; or why in the same place, as at Manchester, it should be sixty pounds in the mouth of an Englishman, seventy in that of an American, is as puzzling to make out as why it should be 47, 49, 50, 52½, 56, 60, 63, 63½, 64, 70, 80, a lot more, and finally even 488 pounds. Our weights and measures reconcile us to all sorts of incongruities. Five quarters in a thing are just as bad as three halves; but while we shrink from the latter we are quite reconciled with the former, both in cloth and corn. We weren't satisfied with our own crooked quarterly division of the ell. We found the French, Flemish, and Scotch as bad or worse than ourselves, and we have their divisions of it all recorded in our table-books and committed to memory by our youth. Thus our poor child is driven to learn the evil fashion of quartering an ell into three, five, six, and even into thirty-seven quarters!

We have ten standard weights enforced by legal sanction of 5 Geo. IV. c. 74. But the sanction has been ineffectual against the many-headed monster of confusion. Instead of knocking off a single head, like other Acts of Parliament intended for remedy, it only added more. A later Act of William IV. imposed a forty-shilling fine on those who used any but the imperial measures; but the monster was strong enough to strangle the Act, and live on after it to prey on English commerce and mercantile intercourse. It lives still in our midst, and fashions our measuring furniture to every variety of the fantastic. It must have three different ale gallons, still another differing from these for oil, and a special one for train-oil, besides others for wine and corn. For wine it must have almost as many pipes as an organ; for weight it counts almost as many kinds of stones as a jeweller. The pipe is 92, 93, 100, 103, 117, according as the wine is Marsala, Madeira, Teneriffe, port, or Bucellas. To tell how various are its tastes in coal and cheese and wool and flax were an endless relation, and would take us in travel over the whole kingdom to collect the various local customs. The measures of mileage in our travel reveal its taste for variety. It treats us to one mile in England, a different one in Scotland,

and yet another in Ireland; nay, when we take shipping to the latter country we sail by one differing from all, and the length of the fathom also will depend upon the ship we sail in—to wit, 6, $5\frac{1}{2}$, or 5 feet, according as it is man-of-war, merchantman, or fishing-smack. And when it squares its lineal measures, they grow as might be expected in the operation.

But when we look abroad, and add the international confusion to our national medley, we can scarcely restrain from astonishment at the patient blindness of commerce in resting so long content under the heaviness of the chain that hampered it. Let us glance at things as they were at a time still recent, before the Metric system had taken that universal sway which it now has in European states. We shall thus have a better view of the confusion from which they have escaped in the adoption of the new system. Every nation, almost every city, had its own system. The changes rung upon the apothecary's drachm, as one travelled about, may furnish us with an illustration. In England and the United States its equivalent was 60 grains; in Berlin it descended to 56·40; in Vienna it mounted up to 67·69; in the Morea it was 46·26; through the rest of Greece 59. Hungary, and Egypt, so far as represented by Cairo, though somewhat apart, very nearly agreed: the former making it 48·62 grains, the latter 48·60. In Germany every leading city had a different equivalent for it. In Dresden it was 56·29 grains, Cologne, 56·35; Weimar, 56·36; Wurtemberg, 56·38. In Nürnberg it was 57·53; in Hamburg, 58·40; Lübec, 58·45. In Hanover it rose to 59·03, while in Mecklenburg it reached 61·27. So far for the equivalents of grains in the drachm, but the grain itself, contrasted in the comparative values given to it in different States, presented just as lively a picture of discrepant variety. Dr. Young has reduced the following exhibition of them from Vega:—

Austrian	1,125	Swedish }	
English	1,000	Spanish }	955
Dutch	989	Roman	909
French	981	Portuguese	864
Hanoverian	978	Neapolitan	860
Bernese	965	Genoese	850
German	958	Piedmontese	824
		Venetian	809

Let us turn to the measure *avoirdupois* to realize the shade it throws on this interesting picture. We shall suppose one hundred pounds' weight of some commodity to have been ordered in this measure from various places towards the year 1851. We take our figures from an article in the *Democratic Review* of that year. What shall we find? The London hundred pounds

took the shape of 143·70 in Mantua, 14·320 in Malta. In Parma, Pisa, Lucca, Rome, Florence, Leghorn, Bologna, Turin, it took successively smaller values, all different, till in Sardinia it came down to 114·29. Passing out of Italy, where the introduction of the Metric system has now given a single value in all these places to our order, we descend in the scale from Königsberg, where it would have brought 119·27 pounds; through Montpellier, 113·58; Barcelona, 112·60; Warsaw, 112·20; to Cracow, where it would have fetched only 112 pounds; thence through varying decreases our order runs the gauntlet of value through Marseilles, Russia, Madeira, till we find we have got for it at Dantzic 103·07 pounds. So far for places where it seemed to rise in *avoirdupois* value. As numerous were those in which it lost nominal ground. In Lisbon the London order would only bring 98·80 pounds, in Teneriffe 98·77, in Spain 98·40. Dresden and Leipsic would count it at 97·14, while in Frankfort it would be reckoned at 97·02. Thence the scale of descent ran by successive stages, all different, through Berlin, Ulm, Antwerp, Lübeck, Hamburg, Hanover, Brazil, Bilboa, Amsterdam, Bordeaux, to Bremen, where it reached 90·93. But it did not stop here. It descended at last to Berne, passing through different nominal values in all the following places:—Copenhagen, Morea, Nuremberg, Prague, Rouen, and Munich. Is it any wonder that commerce became under so tortuous and tangled a system of interchange an art of sharpeners, opening up, as it did in this multiplicity, so many opportunities for perfecting them in practice.

The different estimates of the human foot we should find in vogue in different places show how far it has been allowed to wander up and down from any normal model. The Turkish idea of it is gigantesque. It measures 2·195 of our English one. Turin was somewhat smaller in its estimate of the dimension; still, it allowed the liberal admeasurement to it with which we might be supposed to endow the heroes of olden days—there it was 1·676 of ours. In Bologna it became 1·244. In the following places it was somewhat more than a tenth larger than our English foot, but of a different value in each, to wit, Breslau, Brussels, Venice, Warsaw. It was less than a tenth larger in Copenhagen, Leipsic, Stockholm, and Vienna, and different again in all; and less than a tenth smaller in Amsterdam, Antwerp, Augsburg, Barcelona, Berlin, and Berne; and in two only of these places, both far apart, did it chance to agree exactly, namely, in Barcelona and Berlin. Marseilles and Ulm had more limited notions of human dimension; for they made the foot one-fifth less than our notion of it; while Palermo and Utrecht arrived at the dwarfish limit of nearly three-tenths less.

We have already seen that measures in different materials indulge themselves at home in a very cornucopia of perplexing variety ; but if we view them through a local medium, the multiplicity becomes kaleidoscopically multiplied, and the perplexity interminably magnified. In Caermarthenshire the bushel of wheat is a pound heavier than in Lincolnshire, being 68 lbs. in the former place and 64 in the latter. At Aberystwith, however, before we leave the Principality, it rises to 65 lbs. ; while on the borders, in Shrewsbury it grows to 75, and in Monmouthshire rises to 80. In Manchester market we have remarked two bushels in use ; and when you purchase your wheat by the American and measure it by the English, your one bushel becomes a bushel and a sixth, for the one contained 70, the other but 60 lbs. An English bushel at Manchester has a beggarly size compared with that at Wolverhampton : for there it is 72 lbs. ; but we have seen already that even this large measure is a mere pigmy to the 168 lbs. of some localities, and the 488 lbs. of others. There are some bushels that pounds fail altogether to measure ; not from their enormous size, indeed, but from the hostility the bushel shows to any standard used to gauge its capacity. In some places it may be gauged by quarters ; and with its affinity for oddity, will have them of that odd number for quarters, five. In others it is measured by quarts and gallons ; in more still by stones. So much for the bushel ; but bushels make loads and bags, and the variety, as usual, is multiplied by a new accession of local estimates in these new denominations. In some places the bushels are five to a load, in more they are counted only three. We have also that odd quarter, which oddly makes five even fourths in the load ; and there are quarts too, as well as quarters in it. At Ulverstone you get 144 of these in your load ; at Royston and Stowmarket they are far more generous to the denomination, for you get 488. But we are not yet privileged to dismiss the bushel ; it goes to the composition of the bag as well as it did to that of the load. Two bushels make a bag at Saltash, but they don't at Bridgnorth : there 'tis constituted of eleven score. The score constitutes it too at Leominster, but it is a score of twelve. Notwithstanding, eleven is a favourite number with the score in the composition of the wheat bag ; for we find it again at Much Wenlock and Lúdlow. But as if it could not be found a possibility that the same name should mean the same thing in two places in British measurement, the scores at the former places are ones of 4 lbs., at the latter of 10. Among the weights there is a special "weight" for wheat, and this too evinces the taste for variety ; at Whitehaven it is 14 stones, while at Nottingham it is 36, and at Scarborough runs up to 40 stones. A similar whim of change pos-

sesses the stacks, bolls, coombs, windles, and hobbets, used in the measurement of corn. A boll is sometimes bushels, sometimes pounds; and when it is pounds sometimes 240, sometimes 280. But 240 lbs. do not always constitute a boll, for at Beccles they would call this a coomb, and at many other places reckon it four bushels. At Wrexham they count a hobbet to be 168 lbs., at Pwlheli 252. These hobbets measure wheat; but there are others for the measurement of oats and barley, differing from one another, and from themselves, according to the locality. We have confined ourselves chiefly to wheat, but the variety does not confine itself to this. It asserts itself in all others just as well. As an article in *All the Year Round*, which has all the humour of Charles Dickens', the editor's, pen, on this subject, remarks:

Practically everything in the way of weight and measure seems to go its own gait, now on the appointed highway, now in the hedge or over the hedge, now in the ditch, it goes staggering up and down with a sort of drunken independence.

The same writer asks the pertinent question, "What is a stone?" and he answers it thus:

Fourteen pounds of a living man, eight of a slaughtered bullock, sixteen of cheese, five of glass, thirty-two of hemp, sixteen and three-quarters of flax at Belfast, four-and-twenty of flax at Downpatrick. It is fourteen pounds of wool as sold by the growers, fifteen pounds of wool as sold by the wool-staplers to each other.

To this he might have added, that in iron wire it is ten and ten and a half pounds, according to the gauge; and without going outside Scotland he would have found the following interesting variety, according to Dr. Kelly's "Metrology" for this single weight under the name of Trone, which, though abolished in 1618, managed to subsist up to the present century in the selling of butter, cheese, tallow, wool, lint, hemp, hay, and other commodities: in Ayrshire the stone for these weighed 24 lbs., in Dumbarton 23, Stirling 22 lbs. 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ oz., Lanark 22, Renfrew 21 $\frac{1}{2}$, Elgin 21, Haddington 20, Kirkcudbright 17 $\frac{1}{2}$, and Fife 16.

Here then, locally and universally, is in very truth a monster confusion of many heads. The sins of our fathers through unnumbered generations are visited upon us, their children, and multiplied by our own. The clearness of the cool-headed Briton vanishes from our view as we contemplate it. It is so universal, so heaped up, so entangling, that nothing and no one has power to escape it. It embarrasses the schoolmaster at his desk, the scholar at his form, the man of business in his office, the lawyer at the bar, and the judge on the bench. The English merchant is embarrassed at home, and he embarrasses those

abroad with whom he deals. The highest in the land as well as the lowest are caught in this inextricable net. The juries of the Great Exhibition in 1851 could make no hand at first of the measures and weights of the articles to be sent in, on account of the jargon of systems followed by the exhibitors. Even the learned do not escape.

The circumstance of having different weights [says a writer in Brande's "Dictionary of Science," article Weight] expressed by the same name, as the pound and ounce troy and avoirdupois, is a source of great inconvenience and confusion. Few persons in fact can recollect the different standards and divisions well enough to have any clear or accurate ideas on the subject. The comparison of the weights is always a matter requiring care and calculation. The avoirdupois pound is greater than the troy pound in the ratio of 175 to 144; but in consequence of the different divisions, the ounce avoirdupois is smaller than the ounce troy. Dr. Patrick Kelly, in his "Universal Cambist," an elaborate and useful work, states that the dram avoirdupois, like the drachm of the apothecaries, has sometimes been divided into three scruples and sixty grains; but as no such weight as an avoirdupois grain ever existed, the use of the expression is an instance of the confusion inseparable from having different systems of weight in which the same names are applied to things totally distinct.

The enormous trouble and expense attendant on the introduction of any new system has been the great barrier in the way of improvement. "The quantity of iron weights of 14 lbs.," says the writer in Brande, "and its multiples in use in the country, is estimated to be not less than 30,000 tons, and the expense of changing them for weights in the decimal scale to be between £100,000 and £200,000." There is in addition to this, notwithstanding the superior simplicity of arithmetical work by decimals, the want of general familiarity with the Metric system among business people, and the difficulty of conversions of the old weights and measures into the new. Every one is familiar with the length, the bulk, the weight of a foot, a pint, a pound, but it takes some time before the mind can familiarize itself with the size of a decimetre, a decilitre, a kilogram. Hence it is that our Parliamentary Committees have recommended the gradual introduction of the continental system. That of 1841 would have us begin by altering the coinage to the decimal scale; that of 1862 resulted in the legalization of the whole Metric system as it exists in France. As yet this legalization has not affected the business part of the community; but through the introduction of some notice of the Metric system into our arithmetics, and through the extensive use made of it in popular scientific treatises recently published

[Vol. CXXII. No. CCXLIV.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. LXVI. No. II. DD

in these countries, the mind of the country is slowly gravitating towards that system which, daily enlarging its circle of admirers, is held elevated before the eyes of the people as the goal of future reform. The Society of Arts has petitioned for a uniform system. From without pressure is brought to bear as well as from within. The Statistical Congress of Brussels in '53 and the jury of the Paris International Exhibition in '55 recommended the same. The late Prince Consort called attention to its imperative necessity at the opening of the London Congress of the International Statistical Society. An International Association for unifying the system of Weights, Measures, and Coins, established a branch in England, the work of which was vigorously forwarded by Mr. James Yates, one of its Vice-Presidents. He has written the history of its introduction. Mr. Frank P. Fellows, a member of the Council of the Wolverhampton Chamber of Commerce, delivered an interesting lecture on the subject to the Society of Arts in 1860, which he afterwards published. Later on, the movement taking a larger development, looks, like the Postal Union, to be one of the grand beginnings of the universal fraternity of humanity. States and peoples finding the questions and interests they discussed on a narrow ground within their own mountain and river barriers have a common bond and basis with a right of common appeal, have met in common to discuss this question, which travels over all their borders. In 1867 Leon Levi proposed a Special Commission to organize an Exposition at the Palace of Industry of the Weights, Measures, and Coins of different countries. This Commission published a Report, edited by M. Jacobi, and gave its unqualified adhesion to the principles of the Metric system. In 1871 the Education Code prescribed it for Standards VI. and VII. in all schools. In 1872 a number of countries proposed the establishment of an International Metrological Institute, which having its seat in Paris might preserve the standards of the various countries intact, and compare them with one another. In 1875 an International Convention met at Paris, and twenty different nations sat at it through their diplomatic agents and representative men of science. They discussed all the international questions connected with the subject, and established in that city an International Bureau of Weights and Measures. Thus the question travels over the world with accelerating motion. At home it has made many practical conquests. Whole departments of the Government have adopted it. The Registrar-General uses it, and in the Customs it is now quite an old institution. Chemists use none other. Many engineer and insurance companies have availed themselves of its advantages ;

the Bank of England appreciates it; and since the establishment of the International Postage, the General Post Office has had to weigh its foreign letters by French grammes. At home and abroad the question is therefore travelling fast towards the final goal of union, unity, and simplicity. Before we adopt it finally, it is well then to discuss if, after all, the French system is to be accepted pure and simple, or whether it is not capable of improvement. We must remember that it was a first attempt, and that first attempts are never perfect.

When we examine the French system closely, we shall find that it is no exception. It has rather indicated than adopted the single unit on which its whole system should have been directly built. It has thus halted in mid-career, and done only half its work. We are not detracting from the merit of the work that is done; we only wish to show how more remains to be done, and how glorious it would be to us to embrace the opportunity of redeeming our backwardness by completing the work which France has earned so much glory from inaugurating.

As the French in their system reduced the heterogeneous elements previously existing into something of simplicity and concord, and in so doing placed herself at the head of the nations who are now following her wake, so we, by introducing a still greater simplicity and concord into their system in adapting it to our own use, will do finally for France and the peoples, what France did first for us and them. France shall still bear the initial glory; we carry off the final; and neither shall be jealous, for both are equally great. And so, after remaining long behind, pondering what steps to take, in our slow, moody English fashion, when at last we proceed to action, the step we do take shall place us in the front, and give us the lead of the nations in their rivalry for improvement. At least we shall not be subject to the imputation of tamely borrowing, but shall do so in a way at all times legitimate in the arts, and not only legitimate, but honourable; for we shall make the loan our own, impressing upon it a new value by the original and improved features we stamp on it.

Let us just glance at how this may be done. The real foundation of the French system is the *mètre*. But the whole building is not raised directly upon it. The builders have gone aside from the original foundation in forming the standards of almost all the subsidiary denominations. No doubt these standards have a relation to the original, but it is indirect. When in the subsidiary denominations we ascend or descend from the measure directly derived from the central unit of the system to the standard of the particular denomination, we find ourselves sometimes far away from what we feel ought to be the true

position of this standard. The subsidiary standards, if one may be allowed to express it so, are posited on a line positively or negatively at right angles to the one of their true position, and they occupy positions of varying distance from the central point of this co-ordinate line. They are then neither on a level with the centre of the system, nor with one another. The irregularity thus introduced deprives the whole system of that graceful symmetry the observance of the natural and direct relation would have secured. The mètre being the standard of length, the mètre squared would naturally suggest itself as the proper standard of superficies, and the same cubed as that of solidity. Now from these the French have departed to the hundredth multiple of the former for a standard of superficies—their are being 100 square mètres; and to the 1000th sub-multiple of the latter for their standard of capacity—their litre being a 1-1000th part of a cubic mètre. Thus only a single element, that of solid capacity—and that, so far as solidity is concerned, of very limited application, inasmuch as it is used only in the measurement of timber—is in strict unison with the central point of the whole system. And yet, so natural is the direct relation in the subsidiary standards to this central unit, that the French, both people and savans, constantly disregard their own metric tables to appeal to it in “mètres carrés” and “mètres cubes.”

It is of importance to us to note the cause that gave rise to this variety of standards in the system, as our only hope of a better system lies in a radical remedy of this. We may easily perceive that the whole *fons et origo malorum* in the affair was the cramped nomenclature adopted by the framers of the system—a nomenclature whose entire compass does not allow it to extend beyond three denominations inferior and four superior to the standard. Hence in each element it was necessary to poise the standard at a convenient centre point, lest, positing it too high, the inferior denominations would be exhausted before reaching the usual measurements of small quantities, or positing it too low, the superior ones might be similarly run out before reaching quantities for which society was already furnished with familiar names. Had they proceeded on the natural system of making the standard of capacity, for instance, the cube of the mètre (their lineal standard), the restricted sphere of their nomenclature would not in that case have allowed them then a smaller denomination than the litre, which is the standard or centre-point of that element in their system at present—that is to say, they would have to finish then where they may now be said to begin. Further in descent they could not go: the cornucopia of their nomenclature was exhausted, and all the smaller measures for which they now have names would remain unre-

presented. This was their practical difficulty, and the method they took to obviate it went upon elevating and depressing the subsidiary standards to meet the exigency as best they could. It does not seem to have occurred to them that the real remedy lay in a more expansive notation. Indeed, it was no wonder it should not; for with all the yeast and fury of the time for new institutions within the French borders, it was a dreaded venture to come down into the forum with a frightening roll of new names. The designers of the system were apprehensive even for the success of those they chartered, and were anxious to reduce them to the smallest number possible. Liquids and weights demanded minute measures, and in these they brought down the standards; land, ones of wide extent, and in it the standard went up. It would never do to express the grocer's ounce or the chemist's drachm by prefixes of a tenth, a hundredth, or a thousandth, as the case might be, attached to the lowest denomination the tables could furnish. The common sense of the people would revolt at one's having to demand his ounce of tea in terms of one-hundredth or one-thousandth of any specific weight, no matter how scientifically conceived or scientifically advantageous the system which required them to do so. In weight, then, the savans had no other outlet of relief from the cramp their nomenclature imposed, than the reduction of its standard to a point a million times lower than the natural one. But while thus indulging the popular feeling in small measures of weight, they were actually sinning against the principles of their system in the larger ones. They could not help it. Their notation ran out before they could reach them. In avoiding Charybdis they struck upon Scylla. In gratifying the chemist with names, within the natural range of their nomenclature for small measures, they were depriving commerce of those for large ones: for to express these they had to introduce two words (*viz.*, the quintal and the millier) foreign to the whole style of their nomenclature, and hostile to the symmetry already attained through its prefixes. These names no doubt were known to French literature, but the influence even of the new system has not hitherto been able to withdraw one of them at least—the millier—from the Parnassian mount to the popular mouth. The people prefer our English ton (*tonne*) to the legal millier.

Thus practical considerations forced the framers of the French system from the course they might have otherwise desired to follow. The curious part of the subject is, that in this scarcity of names which the nomenclature at best could furnish, restrictions on the use of those it does furnish have caused a still greater stint. We have seen a cause for this in the anxiety at first not to impose too much upon the people. We may judge of the

extent to which this indulgence has been carried when we learn from no less authoritative a source than the "Annuaire du Bureau des Longitudes"—an official publication—that six whole measures are struck out of the table of surface, leaving only two for use, the are and the centiare; and three are similarly wiped out from that of capacity—to wit, the millilitre, centilitre, myrialitre.

Indeed, it is hard to see on what principle French savans have proceeded in the selection and rejection, or why ten acres should not have a name as well as ten litres, or why one-tenth of an acre should not have a name as well as one-tenth of a mètre. It cannot surely be pretended that such a space is not likely to occur, whereas it is almost 12 square yards. We see here the radical defect of the French system, and the limitations introduced into it have increased the defect. The tendency to supply this want by introducing names foreign to the system defaces it. The "mille marine," "mille géographique," and "lieue marine" are instances.

Frenchmen themselves are alive to these defects, and M. Vauthier, Engineer of Roads and Bridges, proposed at the International Congress of 1870 a system of increasing the denominations in each table from nine to twelve. The system he proposed is sufficiently crude, and so incomplete that he himself, in speaking of it, had to call several denominations for which he had not drafted a name, denomination α , denomination β .

If we adopt the Metric system, it is only rational to expect that we should adopt it in as improved a form as possible. To correct its radical defect we should draw out all our subsidiary standards in the natural manner, deriving them directly from whatever measure of length we adopt as the basis of the whole. To be enabled to do this we require a nomenclature capable of sufficient expansion. Fortunately, the one we are about to suggest is such. Its expansibility is well-nigh indefinite. It is of such wide applicability that it will make the position of the centre-point a matter of entire indifference. We may make it a meter, a million times or a millionth part thereof, with pretty much the same result so far as convenience is concerned, viewing the matter abstractedly. For of course politically the meter is, we might say, the only practicable foundation for any future system. Through our nomenclature we shall be able to reach by a convenient name any quantity, however remote, either above or below the centre-point. Our system will make our powers of expression almost cope with those of conception; geography and science will be furnished through it with names for their largest measures; and our power of minimizing will, on the other hand, reach beyond the minutest registry of the microscope.

The principle of this nomenclature proceeds upon that of the French: We start from the same point, and travel along the same road. They obtain their denominations from the central one in each standard by the attachment of a significant prefix. We do the same. They observe a correspondence between those denominations which are superior to the standards and those inferior. We copy this correspondence. They secure this by drawing the superior prefixes from the Greek, the inferior from the Latin. All ours are drawn from the Latin with a single exception, that of the seventh, which alone is from the Greek. Our distinction between superior and inferior is attained by the addition of an *s* to the latter, a letter of very usual occurrence in Latin and Greek numerals. Our prefixes are extremely short; shorter they could not well be. In most cases, in their union with the name of the standard they will give rise to words of not more than two syllables. They are simply the first letters of the Latin numerals—viz., *pri*, *bi*, *tri*, *qua*, *qui*, *se*, *he*, *o*, *no*, *de*, *unde*, *duode*, *tride*, &c., for the superior denominations; and *pris*, *bis*, *tris*, *quas*, *quis*, *ses*, *hes*, *os*, *nos*, *des*, &c., for the inferior ones. Should a denomination ever reach so high as the twentieth, the prefix will still be the first letter of the Latin numeral *viginti*, *vi*; and the denominations proceed regularly from it, *vi*, *vipri*, *vibi*, &c. So thirty and superior *tre*, *trebi*, *tretri*, &c. We add these to the name of the standard, and thus a *primer* signifies 10 meters, a *bimeter* 100, a *trimeter* 1,000; while on the opposite side a *prismeter* means $\frac{1}{10}$ th the meter, a *bismeter* $\frac{1}{100}$ th, a *trismeter* $\frac{1}{1000}$ th.

As our unit of superficial measure does not correspond with the French one, we are forced to give ours a new name. We call it a *metrare*; that is to say, an area or are, founded on the meter, our superficial standard being a square meter. We attach the prefixes in the other denominations of this measure to the word *are*, rather than to the long word *metrare*. We have thus the *priare*, 10 ares; the *biare*, 100 ares; the *triare*, 1,000, &c.; and the *prisare*, $\frac{1}{10}$ th, *bisare*, $\frac{1}{100}$ th, &c., of the are.

We allow but one measure for capacity, as it needs no more. We could not with propriety adopt either of the standards the French furnishes. The compounds from the word *litre* would be too long; those from the word *stere* would confuse people from the similarity of naming in corresponding denominations, caused by its initial *s*. A *pristere* and *prisstere*, though distinct enough to the eye, are liable to lead to confusion in the ear. We have therefore gone to the Greek for a name for this standard, and found a very eligible one, namely, *chore*, from *χώρησις* (*choresis*), capacity: 10 chores are a *prichore*, &c.; and $\frac{1}{10}$ th chore a *prischore*, as in the other tables.

We were forced again, in devising a name for our standard of weight, to depart from the French name; for our standard, being the weight of a cubic meter, is a million times heavier than that of the French. Now, to call two things so very different by the same name would be to open a door to confusion. Besides, the association of the word *gram*, whose root is *γραμμα*, a letter (which as a weight among the Greeks was only the twenty-fourth of an ounce), with so large a weight as that of a ton, which our standard nearly reaches, would seem incongruous. We have therefore named the standard of weight a *grav*. This is very like *gram* in spelling and sound, and preserves thus an association with the French word. It is, if possible, more appropriate as a denomination of weight in general than the French one; for there seems more of the general idea of weight in the word *gravis* than in *γραμμα*. The *prigrav* is 10 gravs, and the *prisgrav* $\frac{1}{10}$ th, &c., as before.

This nomenclature might be adapted to a decimal system of coinage by the introduction of the names *or* and *arge* for the gold and silver standards. A *prior*, *bior*, *trior*, &c., would then represent the decennial multiples of the *or*, 10 *or*, 100 *or*, 1,000 *or*, &c.; while a *prisarge*, *bisarge*, *trisarge*, &c., would give the decimal fractions of an *arge*, $\frac{1}{10}$ *arge*, $\frac{1}{100}$ *arge*, $\frac{1}{1000}$ *arge*, &c.

We append a table (p. 417) of the correspondence of the systems.

One advantage of this nomenclature is that the prefix at once tells the range above or below the standard to which the denomination has reached. Thus the prefix *tri* shows that the quantity has reached the third denomination above the standard, as does *tris* that it has arrived at the third beneath. To obtain, therefore, the number of gravs in any number of trigravs, one has only to add three noughts—thus, 4,324 trigravs contain 4,324,000 gravs. The prefixes may be at once converted into a power of 10 or of $\frac{1}{10}$ th; thus an *oare* may be written 10^8 are, and an *osare* 10^8 are.

In calculations which involve the conversion of denominations of one table into those of another, the answer suggests itself quite readily. Thus, to find the side of any surface in the table of superficial measure, take the denomination in the lineal table whose prefix is half the prefix of the given denomination. The side of a deare is a quimeter; of a seare, a trimeter; of a quasare, a bismeter.

So of the relation between denominations in the lineal and cubic tables: when the prefix of the former is one-third that of the latter, the lineal denomination is the side of the cubic; thus, a prismeter is the side of a trischore, a primeter of a trichore.

These correspondences between the tables are of great advan-

tage to practical men. In measurements they get rid of a vast amount of complexity, and one sees the answer as it were intuitively. The system itself, like Babbage's machine, grinds it out for him.

Another correspondence is of no less importance. It is that of weights and sizes. A chore of distilled water at 4° centigrade weighs a grav, a quishore of it weighs a quishgrav; and so on. This correspondence is useful in determining the specific gravity of bodies. Since the prefixes correspond for weight and size in distilled water—the matter of the standard of weight—one has only to ascend or descend from the weight of any given denomination of bulk in any other matter to the weight of a chore thereof, in order to obtain the specific gravity of the substance in question. A chore's weight of anything being also its specific gravity, under this system persons will be quite familiarized in common life with the specific gravity of all ordinary things.

The abbreviation of space gained under it in the expression of quantity is an attractive feature. The Arabic notation by its graphic conciseness won a remarkable victory over the old Roman one. Should this system come to be adopted, numeration will win the palm for compactness of expression over notation—that is to say, words shall beat out figures. Instead, for instance of sixty-two million one hundred and thirty-eight thousand miles, we shall simply say an undemeter, and in the single word we shall have compassed a space two-thirds of the journey to the sun.

We have fulfilled the promise of our article. Some of our readers perhaps might wish that we had entered further on the question, and treated them to some comparative estimate of the other systems that have been proposed to a like purpose as that which we have been endeavouring to set forth. One advantage, however, has accrued from the method we have pursued; to wit, that in exposing the advantages derivable from our suggestions—which our readers, we believe, will have no occasion to complain of not being done *con amore*—we have not been drawn into invidious comparisons.

All that we felt bound to do was to put forth in as clear, forcible, and succinct a manner as possible, the means we saw most practicable for remedying the defects of the French system. Whether the system which embodies these, as contrasted with other remedial systems, be a better or more practical one, it is for practical men and men of science to determine; and to that determination we accordingly consign it, with the consciousness that the best is most likely to win its way to ultimate adoption.

ART. VI.—MADAME NECKER AND MADAME RÉCAMIER.

1. *Le Salon de Madame Necker : d'après des documents tirés des Archives de Coppet.* Par M. LE VICOMTE D'HAUSSONVILLE. Paris. 1882.
2. *Lettres de Benjamin Constant à Madame Récamier, 1807-1830.* Publiées par l'auteur des Souvenirs de Madame Récamier. Paris. 1882.

THERE is an epoch in the higher intellectual and social history of France which affords special and never-failing sources of interest. It presents certain fascinating appearances which seem proof against the ordinary deteriorating action of time, and reflects pictures and portraits that never seem to cloy by frequency of presentation. The span of time which this epoch includes may be said—if not rigidly, yet with an obvious approach to accuracy—to reach from about the accession of Louis XIV. to the end of the eighteenth century. It was an epoch no less remarkable for its political than for its social aspects. To the sterner lineaments of the period, however, no direct allusion will be made ; it is only to the indirect action of social life upon politics—too striking a feature of the time to be overlooked—that some cursory attention will be given.

Standing conspicuously and most interestingly in the foreground of social life during the period in question, there was an institution—for it merits that appellation—which, in its most striking phases, it may even be said in its entirety, is dissevered from all that characterizes the present, by a chasm scarcely less wide and deep than that which yawns between the passing years and the years beyond the flood. And herein lies its principal charm. The Parisian *Salon* is gone, because it was a special product or consequence of an association and interaction of political, religious, and social organizations which, though separately, not wholly extinct, or absolutely incapable, in some modified form, of reinvigoration, can never again coexist in any European State. Germs embodying unimagined political and social growths ; occult dissolving and destructive forces ; heedlessly handled levers which contributed to overthrow, not merely a royal dynasty, not merely a Monarchy which had survived the assaults and storms of a thousand years, but a system of government which the world supposed to be indestructible ;—the Parisian salons may justly claim, if regarded merely in the light of unfledged revolutionary assemblies, no inconsiderable amount of consideration and interest. It is not, however, with the ultimate

momentous consequences which flowed from their speculative teaching, but with the women who presided over their immediate action, that we purpose chiefly to deal ; and even this restricted scope, except in a few brief necessary allusions, will be devoted to the character, and to the comparatively circumscribed influence, of two of the last, and certainly two of the most interesting, queens of French society — Madame Necker and Madame Récamier. With them the erewhile influential dynasty of female potentates—a dynasty which had ruled with despotic sway over the literary and philosophical innovators of the pre-revolutionary period, over the revolutionary giants themselves, and, finally, over those who struggled impotently to resuscitate the old social forms in their most refined, fastidious, and exclusive expressions—became extinct.

Yes, those autocrats of society are gone : their sway was potent for good and for evil ; and now no lingering descendant exists to perpetuate even a semblance of their despotic rule. It is partly for this reason that the relics they have bequeathed to posterity are interesting. Memoirs, diaries, letters, and an infinite number of notices, which for nearly two centuries have formed conspicuous items in French literature, bring us face to face with these fascinating, if imperious, queens.

“Fully disposed as I am [says M. D’Haussonville] to condemn the abuse of facilities for making public inedited papers, I am nevertheless quite as sensible as any one can be to the attractiveness of documents wherein the men and women who lived in remote times seem to speak directly to us. . . . How pleasing to hold in your hand discoloured leaves whereon the ardour of ephemeral sentiments is described in traits the duration of which seems an irony, when the powder that had served to dry the writing still adheres to the coarse paper of the time, and shows that your indiscreet hand has been the first to disturb those centres of the past. The least scrap of paper seems then to become animated with a singular life : a letter, some thoughts jotted down in a diary, a few words hastily traced upon an envelope, or upon the back of a *carte à jour*, appear to you worthy of any pains to be deciphered, for they represent the faint voice of a human being that, from out the remote past, yet reaches your ear. . . . From these letters, these papers, these journals, to which the secrets of so many dreams, of so many passions, of so many sorrows, have been confided, there exhales an ever-increasing perfume of sadness. Even as I plunge into the strata of a past, which is at once so distant and yet so near, I seem, as it were, to feel the weight of these heaps of oblivion, which have accumulated upon so many *souvenirs*.”

* * * *

“Women of the past, so charming and so noble even in your errors, do you really merit those rigorous judgments we are often disposed to record against you ? When destruction and reconstruction

were on all sides simultaneously at work, is it surprising that you should enter upon unknown paths, and that, without guidance or support, more than one false step should mark your course? "

" J'aime à vous voir dans vos cadres ovales,
Portraits fanés des belles du vieux temps,
Tenant en main des roses un peu pâles,
Comme il convient à des fleurs de cent ans."

It is, as already remarked, with those "belles du vieux temps" who bloomed, like the roses they wore, just a century ago, to whom most of the following pages will be devoted. Their predecessors, from those who gave to the salon the distinctive features and the authoritative attributes which transformed it into a *quasi* national institution, onwards to those whose influence under the Republic was superseded by the sudden advent of an all-powerful periodical literature, will merely serve to introduce the last descendants of a truly queenly race. They have long since received frequent and ample notice and consideration from a crowd of writers representing every form and degree of celebrity. Widely familiar, however, as it is, their presence never degenerates into an intrusion, because it is ever accompanied by a halo of inexhaustible interest. And yet, with the exception of a few letters and scant memoranda, the most distinguished of the recognized chiefs of society during the period in question have left no written memorials, in which might be deciphered traits in their character traced by a surer hand than either that of friendship or of malignity. All their talents, whether natural or acquired, were directed, with rigorous discipline, solely towards achieving pre-eminence in the art of gathering, at stated times, in the salons over which they presided, the *élite* of the literary, artistic, and fashionable members of society.

It is generally acknowledged that the influence of women was mainly instrumental in effecting the bright contrast which French society in the seventeenth century presented to that in the century immediately preceding. To vulgarity and grossness in conversation, in manners, and in literature, succeeded a refinement of bearing and language which, indeed, was often overwrought, and sometimes transformed into fastidiousness and affectation. This salutary change was initiated in that *salon bleu*—"the cradle of polished society"—over which Mme. de Rambouillet presided during nearly the first half of the century. Was it not there, and in similar successive *réunions*, that, for the entertainment and edification of women, the process of simplifying and rendering intelligible to untrained minds the exposition of scientific and other abstruse subjects was very successfully carried out? Was not one of the results of that

attractive and charming labour to make ease, elegance, and, before all, simplicity, the most characteristic excellencies of modern French literature? The first writers who visited that first and most celebrated of salons were the caustic Malherbe and his pupil Racan, and the first of its chroniclers was Voiture. It left no equal among its immediate successors, chiefly because there ever lowered upon them the baleful eye of that suspicious, ignorant, and selfish tyrant, Louis XIV. ; a supervision which compelled Freedom, in whatever guise and however wary, to halt and whisper. Fortunately, there were not wanting proud and brave women able and willing to transmit the traditions and the truly civilizing spirit of the parent salon onwards into the following age ; wherein tyranny was tempered by epigrams, and profligacy by punctilious elegance of demeanour. Among these may be noted Mme. de Sablé, Mme. de Lambert, and the charming, if too complaisant, Ninon de Lenclos. The death of the last of these women in 1706 may be regarded as a definite transition point in the career of the salon. The perfection of high-wrought, if somewhat rigid, elegance of manners, and the supreme, if somewhat pedantic, polish of conversation, were in the future to doff their straitlacedness, and assume an aspect more in accordance with those forms of licence conventionally regarded as the most graceful and attractive. The change, in most directions, was by no means a salutary advance. To grace and true dignity in conversation and demeanour, succeeded, with marked abruptness, semblances and counterfeits : there was little that could be called natural, and nothing that was really solid. Viewed in its social aspects, the seventeenth century may be said to present, as well in colour as in form, absolute truthfulness when compared with its successor, which was so painted and padded that rarely were a few traces of the reality discernible. Yet it would be unfair to deny that all this was done with an art and ingenuity unsurpassed in attractive falsehood. Art, in fact, had supplanted Nature, and developed into a very fascinating substitute.

The chief directing and officiating priestesses, in the temples dedicated to the fashionable forms of art-worship, fulfilled their duties with consummate ability—initiating and carrying out, to a degree of unsurpassed perfection, not merely outward and visible rites and observances, but secret enchantments, which tended to formulate in prescribed characters the expression and action of the moral and intellectual faculties. During the Regency and the early part of the reign of Louis XV., the ex-nun, mother of D'Alembert, and mistress of Cardinal Dubois, Mme. de Tencin, who was styled *La reine des beaux-esprits*, fitly inaugurated the eighteenth-century *salon*. Her immorality was condoned—

if, indeed, it was thought of at all—in consideration of her possessing many remarkably attractive social qualities—qualities which must assuredly have presented no little brilliancy, seeing that they enabled their possessor to command the suffrage and allegiance of such men as Montesquieu, Marmontel, and the youthful Voltaire. When she died, Fontenelle “pathetically” remarked—“She knew my tastes, and always offered me those dishes which I preferred : it is an irreparable loss.” Yet he did not go to her funeral for fear of catching cold ! This *na ve* expression of regret affords an instance of that cynical selfishness which was so characteristic of French society during the eighteenth century.

With every successive year of the century the salons increased in influence, and became more and more identified with that social and political unrest which was hurrying France into the chaos of the Revolution. Though differing but little from other salons, a passing notice may nevertheless be given to that of Mademoiselle Quinault ; for it appears to have been the first to see gathered at its table that great triumvirate—the most potent, yet the most unconscious, of revolutionists—Diderot, Rousseau, and D’Alembert. They had been in the habit of meeting at a small *restaurant* in the Rue Fromenteau ; but, through the intermediation of Duclos, Mademoiselle Quinault induced them to become habitual frequenters of her salon. It is now that we begin to recognize the first unequivocal presence of that spirit of change, in many of its momentous aspects, which had been for a century hovering over France. The salons were the principal temples wherein, either openly or insidiously, were preached doctrines tending—in most part, no doubt, hazily and indefinitely—to subvert both Church and State. There, one Utopian speculation followed another in rapid succession ; there, opinions were formed, changed, or modified ; there, in a word, were taken most of the important initial steps which determined, in the highest regions of thought, the course of many future world-stirring opinions. It was the frequent opportunities of contact and attrition which such assemblies afforded to the minds of the most eminent thinkers and theorists of the time, that stimulated into activity the general tendency to innovation which had been evoked by the exacting and callous despotism of Louis XIV. (called the Great !) ; and which had been made inveterate by the apparently confirmed ignominy and weakness of the Monarchy, the confirmed profligacy of the Aristocracy, and the confirmed laxity of discipline shown by the Church, a corruption tending directly to undermine the established religion, and even to blot out all religious sentiment from the mind of the people.

Yes, it was by the skilful generalship of women that the mili-

tant forces destined to overthrow the Monarchy, the Aristocracy, and the Church, were allured and, with remarkable docility, drilled into studied and concerted action—a discipline and an accord notably shown by those who planned and perfected that great revolutionary lever—the *Encyclopédie*. Powdered, frizzled, and jewelled, the marshallers of those forces, composed for the most part of involuntary rebels against the old *régime*, were themselves profoundly unconscious of the destructive consequences to which their seductive manœuvres were infallibly leading. Their ambition had no other aim than to shine and rule in certain special social coteries. They were implicated in numberless intrigues, jealousies, and rivalries; but such inevitable intruders were all made to yield precedence to the dominant and ever-exacting passion for social distinction. Their anxiety never wandered beyond the present. How could even a faint surmise of their posthumous fame, far less a shadow of the approaching political convulsion, find admission into the mind of women preoccupied with, and as it were dedicated to, immediate objects and demands? Every step in the onward course of the century left deeper and deeper impressions of the influence exercised by those seductive and placid precursors of anarchy. The numerous published accounts concerning them, though of varied authenticity, have been very widely spread and very eagerly read. There is no intention to repeat here a tale which has been thrice told. What immediately follows is a mere preface, serving relevantly to introduce a brief sketch of those who closed what has deservedly been called a queenly race. Three or four names, justly renowned, take precedence, and claim the tribute of a few lines.

To Mme. de Tencin succeeded a more illustrious, and certainly a more estimable, woman—Mme. Geoffrin. To the possession of many highly attractive gifts, she added the qualities—seldom found in one occupying such a position—of prudence and moderation. Thus endowed, she reigned and governed, with vainly contested sway, over the literary world. So implicitly acknowledged was her power, that, by the graceful expression of a few well-timed moderating words, she could check the extravagant utterances often indulged in by those of her subjects who belonged to the “advanced” division of the philosophers. Her influence was acknowledged not only in France but throughout Europe; inspiring with curiosity, if with no higher feeling, even the distant semi-barbarous Russian Court. Though possessing this widespread fame, Mme. Geoffrin was by no means an educated woman; but she had the good sense—rare among the ignorant—to acknowledge her deficiency. A certain Abbé, who was about to publish a

grammar, asked to be allowed to dedicate it to her. "To me," she exclaimed, "dedicate a grammar to me : why I know very little even of orthography !" In spite, however, of deficient education, of obscure birth, of lack both of youth and of beauty, she far outstripped her rivals in a certain placid charm of manner and discourse which was felt by all, but which eludes any attempt at description. Though discreetly reticent, and always unpretending and modest in her demeanour ; though possessing wonderful shrewdness and accuracy in discovering the aptitudes and inclinations of her guests, she was noted for extravagance and lack of discernment in her benevolence. This was a singular defect, or probably weakness, in one so observant of character. Surely she could not have failed to note the epidemic of ingratitude which prevailed in those days, and to foresee—what in fact really happened—that when she died no one, even among the direct recipients of her bounty, would afford her the smallest tribute of unselfish regret. As a counterpoise to this ingratitude, she was amply rewarded for her untiring efforts to achieve exceptional social distinction. "Her salon," says Sainte-Beuve, "was better regulated, and more firmly established, than any which had existed since the days of the Hôtel de Rambouillet."

It would be difficult to find two women presenting a greater contrast than Mme. Geoffrin and her chief competitor for supremacy in the higher regions of social life—Mme. du Deffand. This is tantamount to saying that the latter was eminently distinguished for wit, especially wit of a caustic nature, rarely wounding where justice pointed, but never more congenially employed than in seeking to inflict some unmerited pang : that she was selfish even to the injury of self : that the concentration of all her faculties upon what appeared conducive to her own instant convenience made her insusceptible either to love or friendship in any of its refined or lasting forms : that her language upon all subjects, and especially upon all absent persons, was inspired solely by what would afford present gratification, however questionable : that her demeanour, though obtrusively refined, never showed even a semblance of diffidence : that her parentage was far from being what is termed "obscure," for she belonged to the *noblesse*, a class which she represented in most of its attractive qualities, and especially in those qualities which were the reverse of attractive ; and that she ridiculed genius, virtue, and the mildest avowal of faith in anything which stood aloof from the exacting pretensions of the immediate present. Her salon was, nevertheless, during the greater part of the eighteenth century, a fairly accurate epitome of French society in all its varied expressions. No doubt it was more aristocratic than philosophic ; and more disposed to admit the mocker and

the slanderer than the believer in human perfectibility, or the devotee of science. But there can be no hesitation in admitting that it was far more diversified in character, and far wider in the range of its sympathies,—divesting the word of its most charming associations,—than any other salon of the time: its utter lack of faith in any thing or any one made it indifferent to all, and therefore tolerant of all.

When we turn from Mme. du Deffand to greet Mademoiselle de Lespinasse, again how striking is the change. The one had exhausted in early youth what little warmth of sentiment and sympathetic feeling Nature had grudgingly doled out to her, and passed into a state of actively malicious egotism: the other was ever surcharged with impetuous passions and enthusiasms, viewing all things from a standpoint of undisciplined feeling. Yet she was endowed with such peculiar graces both of person and manner, and such suppleness of aptitude for adjusting and leading into harmonious fellowship the varied and often contrary susceptibilities and opinions of those around her, that she is said to have placed her salon upon a level not less eminent than that attained by its most extolled and exalted competitors. Like Mme. Geoffrin, she contributed—not indeed with equal munificence, for her means were very limited, but with far more earnestness and decision—to encourage and unite in practical accord the constructors and compilers of the *Encyclopédie*. Not that her tastes were naturally very receptive of political dogmas having a democratic flavour; but that her illegitimate birth, and the consequent unmerited neglect and scorn which she had suffered in early life, urged her to adopt many of the crude and vague political theories and projects inculcated by the dominant school of philosophers. Thus principled, her natural enthusiasm had an inspiring influence upon the innovating instincts of those whom she professed to follow. She may indeed be unhesitatingly awarded the foremost place among those leaders of society who contributed to foster and invigorate the novel religious and political speculations then in vogue; and she may close the number of those rulers of society most signally representing the predecessors of the two women about whom we are specially interested. Indeed, the great majority of the salons—they had multiplied exceedingly—afford little that can lay claim to attention, and still less that can be deemed deserving of commendation. How, for example, can the feeblest interest be elicited by what were called the *Salons de la Finance*? On the other hand, though worthy of high consideration, salons like that presided over by the Maréchale de Luxembourg were too narrow and exclusive in their social preferences to exercise any marked influence upon French society.

As the latter half of the eighteenth century advanced, and the shadow of the Revolution began to steal over the old Monarchy, there existed a salon which presents many special points of attraction. It cannot, indeed, be awarded so high and commanding a position as that justly occupied by many of its predecessors; but it was the last salon of the old society, and it possesses a side interest in the fact that it was presided over by the wife of one who figured among the last Ministers of Louis XVI. It has aroused fresh interest lately by the additional light thrown upon it from numerous documents hitherto lying neglected, or perhaps too scrupulously guarded, at Coppet among the archives of the Necker family. It was not merely the centre of a distinguished literary circle, attracting the most eminent men of the time,—for there might be seen Diderot, D'Alembert, Grimm, Buffon, Marmontel, the Abbé Raynel, the Abbé Morellet,—but it was political in a very conspicuous and decided manner. Up to that time, it had been necessary to surround every political allusion with great circumspection. Criticism upon the acts of the Government were rarely hazarded, and indeed of the presence of any practicable political suggestion it would be difficult to find, among all that was said or written, even the faintest trace. At the accession of Louis XVI., a notable change in its political aspect came over the spirit of the salons: it often presented a boldness of opposition to the policy of the Government which at times amounted to temerity. This antagonistic note was sounded with far more emphasis—at least effective emphasis—in the salon of Madame Necker than elsewhere. It is not of course inferred that M. Necker was a political firebrand; but at that time his political utterances were considered presumptuous by many and daring by all. It was especially during the interval of time which elapsed between his impolitic dismissal, in 1781, from the post he held in the French Ministry, to his resumption of office in 1788, that he encouraged political conversation in his wife's salon. Madame Necker, though adopting her husband's views, surrounded all political discussion with as much discretion as her influence could command. She was far less inclined to favour dry, if at times exciting, controversies upon economical and financial subjects than to welcome the more genial presence of literature, especially when it came recommended by the charms of lofty sentiment, and not without some consideration even when tricked out with the frippery of sentimentality. In the formation of her salon she experienced no little difficulty in overcoming the caste prejudices of her own sex. Though class distinctions were rapidly dissolving, they still had fanatical devotees, especially among women who had attained any notice-

able degree of social eminence. To literary men, the protection or the purse of a great financier was eminently useful; but for women of "quality," who had no fear of poverty or dread of the Bastille, to frequent the salon of one whose father had been a poor Swiss Presbyterian minister was considered a gross violation of the most obvious laws of etiquette. With Mme. Geoffrin it was not difficult to treat, for there existed no interdicting "quality;" but it was very different with the Maréchale de Luxembourg and the Marquise du Deffand. In a letter to Walpole, the latter thus expresses herself:—"I shall sup to-morrow where I would willingly send some one to occupy my place—at Saint-Ouen, with M. and Mme. Necker. Well, I have been fool enough to make that acquaintance, and when I ask myself why, I blush to discover that it is the shame of *ennui*, and that I am often as foolish as Gribouille, who threw himself into the water for fear of the rain." On the other hand, when in a patronizing mood, the Marquise, in a letter to the Duchesse de Choiseul, makes the following amiable admissions:—"These women [Mme. Necker and Mme. Marchais] are agreeable: they are by no means fools, nor are they insipid. They are better fitted for society than most of the *dames du grand monde*." Madame Necker returned this contempt less ostentatiously, but with even measure. "That poor woman"—it is thus she expresses herself when announcing the death of Mme. du Deffand to Lord Stormont—"that poor woman has quitted the world as she lived in it: she regarded society simply as a company. Her death-bed was surrounded by pretended friends, and not a tear was shed."

Yet amid all this artificiality of feeling, this worship of mere sound and tinsel, so offensively conspicuous in most of the women of the eighteenth century who have left any traces behind them, there nevertheless gleamed here and there—as indeed was almost inevitable—a bright instance of unalloyed affection and of enduring friendship. There was the Comtesse d'Houdetot, for example, who successfully rebelled against the despotic sway which heartlessness wielded over at least the higher ranks of society. By her sweetness of disposition, and her lasting attachment, she greatly contributed to soothe the mental annoyance to which Madame Necker—naturally affectionate and amiable—was continually subjected by the cynical contempt of feeling shown by most of the women frequenting her salon. Mme. d'Houdetot, moreover, presented constancy in a form proverbially rare at all times, and at that period considered to be incredible: she remained faithfully attached to Saint-Lambert, though tempted by the more brilliant attractions, and the more eager advances, of Rousseau. Possessing qualities

whose existence was generally denied, and always sneered at, she is well worthy of notice, as the titled dames of the last century pass before the imagination.

In her dealings with men distinguished in philosophy or in literature, and even with men undistinguished except in belonging to the *noblesse*, Madame Necker encountered few prejudices. In most cases there was, indeed, a marked predisposition to give a cordial welcome even to the most indirect notice on her part. This flattering alacrity of acquiescence was occasionally seasoned with what would now be regarded as irrational adulation, but which at that time really formed an essential part of even ordinary politeness towards women. It is hardly surprising, then, to hear Diderot call Madame Necker "a woman who possessed all that the purity of an angelic soul adds to an exquisite taste." Then, again, Marmontel sent his bust to her with the following lines engraved on the pedestal:—

"A l'âme la plus pure, au plus sublime cœur
Que ces traits après moi rappellent ma mémoire,
Son amitié fit mon bonheur,
Son souvenir fera ma gloire:"

These inflated accents of esteem may pass unchallenged; but Buffon seems to have taken a flight beyond the permissible when, in a letter to Madame Necker, he commits himself to the following language:—"I have been unable to resist the pleasure of reading your letter over and over again: elevated thoughts, and profound sentiments, present themselves at every line, and are expressed in so noble and tempting a manner that I am not only affected but warmed and exalted to such a point that I have formed a more elevated idea of the nature of friendship." Surely this praise was extravagant enough; but yet more turgid homage found expression in the words which he caused to be engraved in letters of gold round a small enamelled box presented to him by Madame Necker, and upon which there was painted the portrait of the donor—

"Angelica facie et formoso corpore Necker
Mentis et ingenii virtutes exhibet omnes."

Adulation has here attained its utmost reach; any further advance would have brought it within the scope of the ridiculous. It had, nevertheless, a certain substratum of truth: its turgid phraseology being a mere exaggeration of actual desert.

It may be assumed that this incense was by no means displeasing to Madame Necker,—few women indeed could have resisted its fascination,—and she was, moreover, naturally partial to the society of literary men. "To love what is great," she remarked,

"is almost to be great oneself." But she was too strongly intrenched by early education and associations to afford to the extreme tenets of the new philosophy a chance of even temporary lodgement in her mind. "You astonish me, I admire you"—it is thus she writes to Diderot—"yet I am very far from adopting your opinions." She never failed to restrain with unhesitating firmness, though always in a manner charmingly inoffensive, the expression of any doctrines which might wound her religious susceptibilities. Her orthodoxy was unimpeachable, but she was no bigot. In a volume of extracts—culled by her husband from a multitude of manuscripts wherein she had for many years jotted down her opinions and criticisms upon men and things—which was published in 1798, she displays remarkable impartiality, discrimination, and taste, though the sentiments are at times overloaded with "respectable" and gushing expressions. She had great discernment, charming calmness of demeanour, and a very willing charity. To these accomplishments and good qualities should be added her unreserved affection for, and lasting constancy to, her husband; and this was much, considering the loose morality which prevailed at the time, and the many temptations which always surrounded her. On this fair picture may of course be detected a few blemishes, for it is the picture of a human being. There is just visible, for instance, a slight smear of vanity; but as such a speck, in some form, is rarely absent from any portrait, whether of a man or of a woman, it will not be regarded as a very noticeable disfigurement. Besides, it represents a species of vanity at that time very excusable in one holding a prominent position in society. When the success of her salon was pretty fairly assured, Madame Necker made strenuous efforts to trace her lineage to some "noble" source. In this really superfluous quest she was ultimately foiled by the exacting nature of the proofs demanded by the *généalogiste du roy*. Among those whose opinion was at all worthy of notice, the real nobility of her father, the good Swiss pastor, implied a sufficiently lofty title to pass current in any society. Some anonymous slanderer ascribes to Madame Necker "*beaucoup de méchanceté, de hauteur et d'hypocrisie*." The imputation of wickedness—the term "*méchanceté*" is here, no doubt, used in its worst acceptation—in any of its forms to so exceptionally pure a woman is of course sheer calumny: nor did she exhibit any unworthy pride or any offensive dissimulation. That she sometimes wrote and acted up to the verge of hypocrisy may be admitted. She entertained a very high estimate of her qualities both intellectual and moral: indeed, there is ample evidence to convict her of being slightly conceited and prone to pharisaism.

M. d'Haussonville,—connected by family ties with Madame Necker,—laudably attempts to pass by or throw into the shade such failings; but they are too ingrained in the character of his ancestress to find an effective hiding-place.

Perfectly self-sustained, Madame Necker never permitted either love or friendship to overpower her judgment. There seems, for instance, to have mingled as much calculation as love in the attachment professed by Mademoiselle Suzanne Curchod,—afterwards Madame Necker,—for Gibbon. The prudent and precociously wise couple had not left childhood far behind them, both being about eighteen years of age. The young lady was fully alive to the fact that an alliance with her youthful admirer presented many very eligible probabilities. As to the boy, he deserves great praise for the admirable taste and judgment he showed in selecting a girl as the future partner of his life, not solely, or even chiefly, for her beauty, but because she was richly endowed with high intellectual and moral qualities. Mr. Gibbon, senior, also merits no little credit for refusing to accept as a daughter-in-law one who was personally unknown to him. He probably concluded that the preference of a lad of eighteen would, in such a case, be almost exclusively determined by mere external attractions. Had he been aware that he was slighting a highly accomplished girl, who was also a paragon of virtue, it is but fair to surmise that any objection founded upon mere irrational contempt for the poor Protestant pastor's daughter would have yielded to a little pressure of entreaty. It is hardly necessary to state that in this case paternal obduracy caused no broken hearts, or even lifelong regrets. There is ample evidence that the feeling of love was on both sides very tepid indeed. Gibbon, with pompous and cool affectation, says:—"I sighed as a lover, I obeyed as a son; my wound was insensibly healed by time, absence, and the habits of a new life. My cure was accelerated by a faithful report of the tranquillity and cheerfulness of the lady herself, and my love subsided in friendship and esteem." In the concluding words of this curious extract, the writer seems disposed, very ungallantly it must be owned, to excuse his own indifference by calling attention to the calm demeanour of his lady-love under her bereavement. He might, a few years later,—not in justification, but in specious mitigation, of his conduct,—have directed the notice of those who blamed him, to a perfectly selfish negotiation, seemingly tending to matrimony, carried on by his quondam mistress with a credulous young lawyer named Correvon. In a letter to a friend, Mademoiselle Curchod says:—"If our brilliant chimera [a marriage with Necker] vanishes, I shall marry Correvon." When the "brilliant chimera" is verging on realization, poor

Correvon, disabused of his "chimera," vents his disappointment in the following plain, and, as just shown, perfectly justifiable language:—"I now clearly perceive that you merely regarded me as a miserable makeshift (*pis-aller*), and that you eagerly embraced the first opportunity that offered to establish yourself in Paris." Gibbon would also have been justified in claiming further palliation for the callousness of his own conduct by pointing to Mademoiselle Curchod's apparently disingenuous, if not ungrateful, behaviour towards a certain young widow, Madame Vermeux, to whom M. Necker was paying his addresses. Whatever complication and haze there may be about the matter, certain it is that, in one way or another, Mademoiselle Curchod adroitly supplanted the widow, her friend and protectress, in the affections of the rich banker. As to the very youthful couple, their fault, if fault there was, may charitably be regarded as venial; for the *soi-disant* lovers were constitutionally insusceptible of any ardent affection. Assuming an appreciable difference in the very moderate temperature of the "passion" which safely glowed within them, Mademoiselle Curchod is certainly entitled to whatever superiority that difference may represent. At all events there is ample evidence to prove that Madame Necker always regarded Gibbon's visits to her salon with much complacency. The fame of the Historian was no doubt soothing to her vanity, for it could not fail to cast at least some faint indirect reflection upon her. And yet she does not scruple to pronounce Gibbon's famous production to be unworthy of her unqualified approbation. "If that history of many centuries," she says, "were not dishonoured by the ignoble and arid opinions of the philosophers of the present age, it might be placed in the same rank with that of Sallust and Livy." She seems also to give expression to a little delicate irony in the following extract from a letter she wrote to Gibbon in June 1792:—"For you, sir, possessing great mental vigour, when the whole of life is decided, no woman sufficiently worthy could be found, except by a miracle: you are wedded to glory."

No qualifying accents mingle with the praise Madame Necker lavishes upon her husband. "I never knew a man more conscientious in the discharge of his public duties, nor more virtuous in private life." During the time he was *Directeur-Général des Finances*, M. Necker certainly displayed great administrative aptitudes. His reforms, however, were too reasonable and too obviously impartial to commend them to the depraved taste of the day: based upon justice and common sense, they made no concession either to empiricism or to caste privileges. In his pamphlets and expositions relative to financial matters, he may also claim to have shown considerable ability in modifying the

dryness natural to such subjects ; though he would hardly have presumed to accept the eulogy awarded to one of his publications by the Archbishop of Aix—"On y trouve de l'esprit jusque dans les chiffres." If he made no great figure in his wife's salon, he was by no means the dull, prosaic man he is generally supposed to have been. Notwithstanding her naturally malicious temper, Mme. du Deffand shows considerable penetration, if not a full measure of justice, in her estimate of the Neckers :—"Le mari a beaucoup d'esprit et de vérité ; la femme est roide et froide, pleine d'amour propre, mais honnête personne . . . tous deux ont de l'esprit, mais surtout l'homme." At all events the work before us shows that in his home life M. Necker was both affectionate and lively. The following anecdote is a charming proof of this :—

One morning whilst at breakfast Madame Necker was called away to transact some business. On returning, she was much surprised to hear a great uproar going on within the room, and to see, as she opened the door, her husband and daughter,—the future Madame de Staël,—with their *serviette* tied about their head in guise of a turban, dancing round the table. As she cast upon them a look of astonishment, they, like two naughty school-children, shamefacedly reseated themselves without saying a word.

Fond as he was of his daughter—an only child—M. Necker by no means humoured her literary tastes ; and, in a not altogether jesting tone, was wont to call her *M. de Sainte-Ecritoire*. With more penetration, Madame Necker was less opposed to this marked propensity in the future author of *Corinne* and *Delphine* ; but in the general culture and bringing up of her daughter she showed great watchfulness and even severity. In 1784, when about eighteen years of age, Mademoiselle Necker is described by Gibbon as "one of the greatest heiresses in Europe, vain but good-natured, and with a much larger provision of wit than of beauty." Her parents dreamt for a time of a marriage between her and William Pitt ; but to this project she showed an invincible repugnance. After her union, in 1786, with the Baron de Staël Holstein, she became virtually the presiding spirit in her mother's salon, where political discussions began rapidly to displace all other topics of conversation.

"The times were out of joint." The literary giants of the eighteenth century,—Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and others,—who had peopled the salons, and had sedulously paved the way for the advent of chaos, were either in the grave or on its brink ; and the political athletes, Mirabeau, Danton, Robespierre, as yet unknown to the world, were about to take advantage of

that well-prepared way to the revolutionary arena. But even the most adventurous and daring of the departed indefatigable guides towards the consummation of social equality and the "rights of man" would have been terrified at the character of the tendencies which the conflict rapidly revealed; and appalled at many of the practical consequences which were almost the inevitable fruits of such tendencies. No "Reign of Terror" ever obtruded its ghastly shadow upon the fair and often ethereal beauties of their Utopias, or suggested itself in the least developed form, as a possible result of any attempt to realize their impracticable, though perfectly logical, theories.

Here an unprofitable though very natural question presents itself—What direction would events have taken if Necker's administration of the national finances had suffered no abrupt termination, or any weakening break in its course? By the Court, Necker was, for some time, regarded as belonging to what was called the party of Choiseul; and there can be no doubt that his dismissal was considered by the vast bulk of contemporary opinion as being in many respects analogous to that of Choiseul, and as more portentous of disaster to France. Necker and Choiseul! Well may M. d'Haussonville express his astonishment at this strange juxtaposition. "And yet who knows," he is tempted to ask, "if the admirable grace and dexterity of the one, coming to the aid of the financial ability and the capacity of the other, their efforts might not have strengthened the Monarchy, and enabled it to escape the rock towards which it was drifting, and upon which it ultimately foundered?" Between these two men there are, no doubt, striking radical differences; but between Necker and Louis XVI. how many striking points of resemblance present themselves! "The same perfect decorum in their home life," says M. d'Haussonville, "the same integrity in the conception of political projects, and also the same indecision when it became necessary to take and to follow an energetic course." This similarity was evidently recognized and felt by the King. It is indeed abundantly evident that the unfortunate Monarch was only very indirectly responsible for the summary dismissal of his Minister; that impolitic act was brought about by the malign influences which persistently haunted the Court, and to which the weakness of Louis XVI., and not his will, succumbed. Troops of misfortunes quickly followed. By his death, the King infinitely more than atoned for the irresolution which pervaded his entire mental constitution. The reins of Government passed rapidly from one political faction to another, until, in an incredibly short time, they fell into the hands of the least qualified and the most degraded class of the people. From such anarchic and feeble keeping, it hardly

needed the presence of exalted genius in an unscrupulous military adventurer to snatch them.

During the time that mob-rule kept France in a state of anarchy, the salons became transformed into mere political clubs, such as those over which Mme. Roland and Mme. Tallien presided. From clamorous exponents of the unbridled passions of Democracy they passed suddenly either into the obsequious echoes of an autocratic will, or into mere scientific and jealously bridled literary *réunions*. It was whilst Despotism in the above forms weighed upon France that women such as Mme. Necker and her daughter disclosed the wide grasp of their loving nature, and the profound depths of their courage: the inborn heroism which, under the placid and careless sway of the decrepit Monarchy, had lain dormant, now sprang into vigorous activity, and placed itself far in advance of all other personal qualities. Towards the close of his work, M. d'Haussonville devotes many interesting pages, composed principally of letters, to a few striking instances of unselfish devotion and magnanimous compassion on the part of Mme. de Staël. That uncompromising woman holds a foremost place among the most courageous of her sex. She formed a project, fully described in her correspondence, for the escape of the King and Queen—a project admirably conceived, and which certainly gave the most cheering promise of success. Unfortunately there existed many misgivings, if not morbid suspicions, in the clouded and perturbed mind of Marie-Antoinette, which induced her to thrust aside the friendly hand that might have saved both her and one yet more deserving of compassionate consideration. It was during the trial of the Queen that Mme. de Staël, with unflagging zeal, wrote in a few days those elegant and touching *Réflexions sur le procès de la reine* which, if they failed to effect their object, at least attracted general attention, and, it may charitably be hoped, produced widespread emotion. That their existence was ever known to the Queen, whom her implacable persecutors strictly watched, is far from probable.

With a quick and ever-watchful eye to detect the means of serving all who were struggling in the grasp of tyranny, Mme. de Staël courageously remained in Paris through those perilous days, the 20th of June and the 10th of August, until the beginning of September. In her retreat at Coppet, her anxious vigilance in the cause of the oppressed never flagged. Nor was her generous labour sterile: many a one who would have fallen a victim to mob "justice" was rescued through her exertions. Among this fortunate number may be mentioned M. de Lally and M. de Jancourt. She elaborated numerous means of escape for those of her friends who were in prison. Some of these

schemes were probably impracticable, others were not attempted. Mme. de Poix and Mme. de Simiane were repeatedly urged to make an effort, by methods minutely detailed, to place themselves beyond the reach of the guillotine; but they remained impassive, for either their courage failed them, or they regarded as very doubtful the success of the proposed stratagems. It happened, nevertheless, that accident came to their aid, and sheltered them among the fortunate prisoners who were released after the 9 Thermidor.

It was during the height of the Terror—about two months before the remarkable date just mentioned—that Madame Necker died (May 6, 1794). For many years her health had been rapidly declining, and her final illness was very protracted and severe. Shortly before her death there occurred the following affecting scene, related by M. d'Haussonville, which affords a glance at an amiable feature in the character of both M. and Mme. Necker:—"Her sufferings were very acute: night brought her neither rest nor alleviation of pain. Sometimes she would fall asleep in the day, her head on the arm of her husband. 'I have seen my father,' says Mme. de Staël, 'remain immovable for hours together, lest by a change of posture he should wake her.'" This touching family picture seems to disclose the probable existence of a rich fund of subdued sensibility in the disposition of Madame Necker, which may atone for much apparent coldness, of feeling, and even for much of that too calculating prudence which often swayed her actions.

In the history of the Salon, which had then nearly reached its last page, Madame Necker was evidently the chief connecting link between the century about to close and its successor. Her correspondence stretches from Voltaire to Châteaubriand, and from the Duchesse de Choiseul to Madame Récamier. Her daughter may also be regarded, in a more immediate, though in a less distinctly marked, manner, as handing on a few pale traditions of the old French society from one age to the other. It was during the last illness of Mme. de Staël, in 1817, that Madame Récamier and Châteaubriand first met. These names are indissolubly associated with the early years of the nineteenth century, though in many respects their possessors had more affinity with the preceding epoch. Châteaubriand was a lingering representative of the old *noblesse*, Madame Récamier was the last representative of the queenly race that had ruled with so much power, and with such amazing effects, during the preceding century.

A few remarks on the early Salons appeared an appropriate introduction to a special notice of the salon of Madame Necker: it seems no less befitting to complete the survey of those

memorable centres of literary, philosophic, and political discourse, by a brief glance at what may be regarded as the only further real exponent of the salon under its original constitution, and wielding its characteristic influence.

During the first and brightest period of its existence, the salon in the Abbaye-au-Bois represented the Restoration in the most refined and least bigoted phases of its character. It was conservative and monarchical, but with no visible sign of exclusiveness. Presenting few restrictions as to speculative tendencies, the most renowned leaders of the chief political parties, and the *élite* of the literary world, were welcomed there with unstinted cordiality. Mme. Récamier, with a subtle power known in most part only to herself, rapidly harmonized and brought into amicable association the old and the new—the partisans of the past and the disciples of the future; the Aristocrat and the Democrat, the wealthy in intellect and the wealthy in purse. This expansiveness and liberality of feeling made her the confidant of all parties. Having few political prejudices, and those few resulting more from personal feeling than from conviction, she held a position among warring factions of almost absolute neutrality and impartiality. She shrank with fastidious delicacy from all contact with political agitation. She appears, indeed, to have entertained few, if any, very decided views upon politics, philosophy, religion, or upon any subject about which there existed strongly marked divergencies of opinion. She discreetly avoided any course which might have led to notoriety, and even the discussion of any subject which might have challenged acrimonious controversy. But in spite of this mental neutrality and equanimity, this shrinking from public observation, and, it must be added, this absence of any marked sympathy for any one or any thing not immediately interesting to her, there was at least one pre-eminence which she could not escape, and which she accepted with charming complacency—she was, as Sainte-Beuve emphatically declared, “*La reine des élégances.*”

Among the frequenters of the salon in the Abbaye-au-Bois were several English notabilities—Maria Edgeworth, the Duchess of Devonshire, Sir Humphry Davy, the Duke of Hamilton. There, as time advanced, assembled many of the rising generation of Frenchmen who were destined to achieve a brilliant and lasting reputation—Alexis de Tocqueville, Villemain, Lamartine, Montalembert, Sainte-Beuve. For this quick appreciation of nascent talent, this patronage—in the best sense of that term—of those to whom such notice was an encouragement, and, to some, a valuable assistance, Madame Récamier deserves high praise.

The Revolution of 1830 was a turning-point in the history of

the salon in the Abbaye-au-Bois. The statesmen of the Restoration were dispersed, and political questions were thenceforth less frequently discussed. Literary subjects filled the gap thus made, and monopolized nearly the entire conversation. Madame Récamier remained, nevertheless, the impartial friend to whom the hopes and fears of Legitimists, Bonapartists, and Republicans were confidently imparted. The political fall of those for whom she entertained a certain interest did not abate the sympathy she felt for all—however diverse the colour of their opinions—who possessed any share of her regard. She had a keen relish for whatever contributed to the success or glory of her friends; and this laudable pride suffers little detriment because it happens to savour somewhat of personal vanity. With a rare power of penetration, she could estimate the ability, the pretensions, and the aspirations of her guests; and, by means skilfully concealed, lead each one into that congenial path of conversation where his special knowledge would procure him present applause. Thus she contrived to impart satisfaction to all, and to obtain from each a full measure of grateful and even tender acknowledgment. To assume, however, that this impartiality in her recognition of genius, this general equality in the measure of her attention, flowed from exclusively untainted sources, would by no means represent even a large proportion of the truth. She was an adept in deciphering human weaknesses, and often applied intoxicating stimulants to the generally veiled but powerful feelings of pride and vanity, in order to obtain an illegitimate, and in many instances an oppressive, footing in the estimation of her admirers. To this perfectly effective flattery of the vanities of her acquaintance, she added a power of fascination which had no existing equal. In a letter addressed to her by an early companion, the Comtesse de Boigne, there occurs the following passage:—

“I have told you a hundred times, and I have thought so a thousand, that what makes you so engaging is your benignity (*bonté*); perhaps I am the only one who would venture to tell you so, for it seems absurd to praise the benignity of the most beautiful woman in Europe.”

Possessing these supremely attractive qualities—benignity, elegance, beauty—Madame Récamier wielded a formidable power over the affections of those with whom she was intimately acquainted, a power yielding beneficent results in the keeping of those only who are endowed with a large share of circumspection and clemency. Such a combination of captivating and modifying qualities, however, is rarely the possession of any human being; and certainly it cannot be said that Madame Récamier often

tempered the exercise of her numerous attractions with much merciful consideration. Many instances are recorded showing the triumph of her vanity over her solicitude for the feelings of her friends. It may even be said that upon some she persisted, with much secret satisfaction, to inflict torture of the most delicately refined and yet pitiless nature. She was fully entitled to the eulogy lavished on her beauty, but she placed it on a far higher level of perfection than the most ardent of her admirers : to her, indeed, it was inimitable. This conceited estimate of her loveliness was shown in the well-known attempt of Canova to model her features. The bust, on which the sculptor had expended his highest and most enthusiastic efforts, was regarded by the original as an altogether inadequate representation. The vanity of the woman was offended : the pride of the artist was wounded. And yet the bust, which was shortly afterwards executed in marble, passed as a sufficiently beautiful ideal likeness of Dante's Beatrice !

Comparing the various opinions formed of Madame Récamier, the best and most equitable appears to be that of De Tocqueville—a very high-minded and impartial judge :—" If I admit that there was in Madame Récamier an abyss of petty passions, and an art reaching almost to artifice, it must also be admitted that she had a real taste for the brilliant products of the intellect, and showed great fidelity to her friends."

Considering the tainted moral atmosphere of the times, it was probably fortunate that Madame Récamier was insusceptible of any ardent love ; for there can be no doubt that this absence of feeling contributed to her peace of mind, and, it may safely be conjectured, enabled her to escape many embarrassments and perils. From her girlhood, onwards to old age, her beauty and her other superlative fascinations naturally made her the object of much loving attention. The mass of aspirants to her hand she dismissed or checked with infinite suavity ; whilst a few, distinguished for their intellectual eminence or their social position, were permitted to entertain hopes which were foredoomed by their creator to systematically devised and slow extinction—a process of disillusion frequently protracted through the best years of life.

Among those who may be regarded as mere dishonourable and despicable pretenders to the favour of Madame Récamier,—men who outraged her with their foul advances, and whom conceit or arbitrary will rendered incapable of suspecting failure,—were two of the Bonapartes, Lucien and Napoléon. The former importuned Madame Récamier with a series of fulsome sillinesses ; the latter assailed her with insolent presumption, and with the ill-disguised commands of a coarse tyrant. Lucien, with his

ridiculous love antics, she waved aside with deserved contempt ; whilst the grossly insulting overtures of the Autocrat she courageously resisted, and, as a natural consequence, suffered many years of petty and cowardly persecution. One poor excuse may be made for Napoléon—he had but a very superficial acquaintance with his intended victim. If he had known her it is just possible that, in spite of his coarsely arbitrary disposition, he might have paused ; for it needed little penetration to convince any one that a woman of such delicately scrupulous refinement, unless exceptionally timid, would never condescend to befool herself by accepting the disreputable position of *dame du palais*.

It is a relief to turn from men imbued with such despicable feelings to one who approached Madame Récamier with profound and chivalric deference—Mathieu de Montmorency. The long and indefinable intimacy which subsisted between them affords, at least to all appearance, an instance of the cold yet attractive character of Madame Récamier. "The greatest beauty in Europe" ruthlessly exacted the perennial sacrifice of the warmest and most devoted feelings solely at the shrine of her vanity. Such appears to have been the case in the instance just mentioned : it had no stain but that of overweening selfishness. There nevertheless existed at the time many doubts as to the purity of this friendship ; but they seemed to have sprung rather from the general impression which then prevailed as to the probabilities involved in such an intimacy than from any distinct proof. In a letter written by the Duchesse de Broglie to Madame Récamier in 1819, when the latter and Mathieu de Montmorency were joint tenants of a country cottage, there occur the following rather broad insinuations:—

"I can picture your little *ménage* in the solitude of the Vallée-aux-Loups as the most delightful in the world. But when the biography of Mathieu is written in the Life of the Saints [he was very pious], you must acknowledge that this *tête-à-tête* with the most admired woman of the time will form a very droll chapter. 'To the pure all things are pure,' says Saint Paul, and he is right."

The raillery is exquisite.

The only recorded failure of Madame Récamier to secure a desired purpose by means of her numerous fascinations was her attempt to induce Guizot to become a frequent visitor to her salon. It is probable, however, that, in this case, Guizot, though sternly principled and somewhat puritanical, was influenced by some exceptional cause ; for he certainly belonged to a class of men sparingly endowed with power to resist weapons of such a nature, even when less numerous and effective.

Incredulous hitherto even of the possibility of such a discomfiture, Madame Récamier must have suffered sore humiliation when she became fully sensible that her wonderful charms were not irresistible. It was late in life before this conviction dawned upon her. During her early years, confidence in her power had tended to foster, at the expense of her generous instincts, her pride of dominion over the feelings of those with whom she was intimate; and she was accustomed, as already remarked, to sacrifice—not wantonly, perhaps, but certainly with little compunction—the most ardent love of her admirers at the shrine of her vanity. This inattention to the pain she inflicted upon others was shown with peculiar intensity during the long and untiring devotion which she persisted in exacting from Jean-Jacques Ampère and Benjamin Constant. The former, at the time he became acquainted with Madame Récamier,—then a middle-aged woman,—had hardly attained maturity; and it is by no means surprising that so young a man should have been intoxicated with language such as Madame Récamier was wont to use in addressing those who had consciously or inadvertently become entangled in her toils. A specimen of her insidious and cruel trifling is shown in the following extract from a letter she wrote to Ampère in 1824:—

“Je reçois votre seconde lettre de Tarracine, elle me touche jusqu’au fond du cœur. Je pense à vous, je vous suis sur cette route que vous faites seul, je vous vois comme le pauvre pigeon voyageur.

Mon frère a-t-il tout ce qu’il veut,
Bon souper, bon gîte et le reste?”

The almost inevitable effect of such language was to inspire Ampère with amorous thoughts: and it was in this wise such thoughts found expression:—

“Je me dis qu’en lisant cette lettre vous serez peut-être un peu attendrie en pensant à dix ans d’une affection si douce, si pure, que rien peut altérer, et sur laquelle nous pouvons nous reposer pour tout l’avenir. . . . Ne m’enverrez-vous pas pour mes éternelles quelques-unes de ces lignes que vous seule savez écrire? C’est un moment pour vous, et moi je vis bien longtemps sur ces moments-là.”

In the lately published letters addressed, between the years 1817 and 1830, to Madame Récamier by Benjamin Constant, there is displayed, with less excuse, far greater fatuity. The future author of the *Acte Additionnel* was not at the earlier date a young man. His experience and his mental acquirements were exceptionally extensive. He was widely conversant with men and women, their ways and their wiles. Though, from long and varied practice, he was generally capable of detecting the secret springs which influence human actions, his penetration was at

times deflected by the erratic movements of some absorbing feeling. Though brave even to rashness, he was deficient in firmness; and though intellectually powerful, he was morally weak. He was poorly endowed with self-control; and the most glaring, if not the greatest, inconsistency which is noticeable in his career was caused by a passion to which he had weakly succumbed, and which had become the arbiter of his actions.

On the 19th of March, 1815, when Louis XVIII. was about to quit Paris, and Napoléon was at Fontainebleau, an article in the *Débats* from the pen of Benjamin Constant contains the following words:—"Je n'irai pas, misérable transfuge, me traîner d'un pouvoir à l'autre, couvrir l'infamie par le sophisme et balbutier des mots profanés pour racheter une vie honteuse." The writer was urged by his friends to place himself beyond the reach of the Autocrat. Acceding to this advice, Constant hastened from Paris, and got as far as Nantes, on his way to America. There he hesitated, and after an absence of five days he was again in the capital. Yet a few days, and it was found that the erewhile bitter opponent of the Empire had been willing to accept the title of *Conseiller d'État*, and was deliberately bending his powerful mind—whether seriously or not is doubtful—to perform the impossible feat of transforming the tyrant Napoléon into a Constitutional sovereign!

Whence this glaring inconsistency, this sudden change of front? The cause, so mysterious at the time, is now fully revealed—Constant could not endure banishment from the woman who had usurped the entire control of his mind, and the exclusive possession of his heart. His letters, though they show that the inventive faculty of the writer—a faculty remarkably fertile—had been surcharged with extravagant demands, are replete with skilful combinations. They exhaust the whole vocabulary of love: they form a repertory of amorous expression in all its phases. They pass from despondency to exultation, from abject entreaties to objurgations and even threats; and present, in some form, the passionate impatience, excitement, and often the mental confusion of the writer. Repetition is not infrequent: it was almost inevitable. But this iteration, if not positively attractive, is lost sight of under the elegance and perfect grace of the diction in which the letters are conspicuously arrayed. Surely no epistles of such a nature were ever penned with greater ease and facility; for they are evidently the spontaneous products of a mind overflowing with gushing thoughts.

To clothe such productions in a foreign garb would inevitably detract from their perfect grace, naturalness, and simplicity. The following extracts from the originals will, we think, fully justify this conclusion. Most of the letters were written in 1815,

whilst the love of the writer was dizzy with expectation, clouded with doubts, or overwhelmed with despair. Those which follow are considerably less in number, and were penned at gradually increasing intervals. It was a case of hope deferred, and the inevitable sickness of heart preyed upon Constant. In justice to Madame Récamier, it should be noted that she never positively encouraged the feeling of passionate admiration so frequently shown towards her. Her great fault—so great at times as to look very like cruelty preposse—was her general unwillingness positively to forbid the persistence of such love. It was, indeed, her invariable custom to treat the *élite* of her worshippers with an insinuating grace which could not fail to challenge professions of love. This warm feeling she endeavoured to keep simmering, as it were, in the breast of her admirers, in order to enjoy the sweets of constant homage, and the delicious emotions of passion without approaching too near the confines of danger, or even of anxiety. When it presumed to make any advance not perfectly deferential and submissive, she was wont to check it, though in a manner so charming and enticing that it retreated only to nourish itself on thoughts more infatuated than ever. Thus she deliberately retained many of her lovers for years hovering between hope and despair.

Though the first letter addressed to Madame Récamier by Constant is dated 1807, no regular correspondence took place between them until 1814. Then it was that Madame Récamier invited Constant to discuss, at several interviews, certain matters relating to Murat, King of Naples. To Murat these interviews brought no advantage; to Constant they were the beginning, or rather the confirmation, of a passion which ceaselessly tortured him during the remainder of his life. The expression of admiration which occurs in a letter dated the 8th of September, 1810, is the placid intimation of the approaching love storm:—
 “Il y a en vous, Madame, je ne sais quel intérêt qui captive et qui ne peut jamais cesser.” Four years later, Constant emphatically and somewhat suddenly declares the full scope of his love:—

“Je n’ai jamais qu’une pensée. Vous l’avez voulu; cette pensée, c’est vous. Politique, société, tout a disparu. Je vous paraissais fou peut-être. . . . J’ai raison d’être fou—je serais fou de ne l’être pas. . . . Jamais on n’a aimé comme je vous aime. . . . Soyez mon ange tutélaire, mon bon génie, le Dieu qui ordonnera le chaos dans ma tête et dans mon cœur.”

Clouds rapidly gather and obscure the fair prospect—

“Aujourd’hui que mon sort est en vos mains, Juliette, chère Juliette, un mot peut me sauver. . . . Un peu d’espérance renaît dans mon

âme. Ne la tuez pas, par pitié, ne rejetez pas un rocher sur ce cœur qui se rouvre à peine. . . . Répondez, décidez. Vous disposez souverainement de toute ma destinée. Adieu, pitié, affection, justice au nom de Dieu."

Such plaintive accents of doubt and entreaty are of frequent occurrence ; and then there was jealousy, whose intrusion could not be prevented. Constant fancied he perceived a formidable rival in a certain M. de Forban, and he vents his suspicion to Madame Récamier :—

"Je vous aime follement. . . . Pardonnez-moi cette lettre, elle est le cri de la souffrance la plus affreuse. . . . Après le bonheur de vous posséder, il en est un que je mets presque à côté, ce serait celui de frapper l'homme qui a perdu ma vie et de mourir après. Pardon encore. Je ne sais ce que j'écris."

He tried flattery—

"Vous êtes l'idéal d'une femme, la réunion de tout ce qui séduit, de tout ce qui impose, de tout ce qu'on révère, et de tout ce qu'on aime. . . . Vous êtes en figure, en esprit, en noblesse, en pureté, en délicatesse, l'être idéal que l'imagination concevrait à peine si vous n'existiez pas."

This fulsome appeal failed to make the slightest impression upon one who had long since grown tired of such intoxicating incense. He then endeavoured to awaken her pity :—

"Il est trop vrai, je ne suis plus moi, je ne peux plus répondre de moi. Crime, vertu, héroïsme, lâcheté, délire, désespoir, activité, anéantissement, tout dépend de vous. Dieu m'a remis entre vos mains. . . . Les trônes du monde, la richesse, la vie, la mort, le succès, la gloire, l'exil, l'échafaud, tout cela m'est rien à côté d'un signe d'affection de vous. . . . Ne me déchirez pas le cœur, parce que je vous aime. C'est mon seul crime, ma seule erreur, c'est ma perte."

At length his delirium began to subside, and most of the illusions which haunted him vanished :—

"Il est étrange, cet attachement pour vous, et d'une nature singulière. . . . Je puis n'être que votre ami, et je ne demande que cela."

Superstition came to his aid, inspired by the mystic utterances of a very elegant and eloquent sibyl—Mme. de Krüdner. Many of his letters became disfigured with an incongruous mixture of pious exhortations and amorous appeals :—

"Je conçois maintenant pourquoi il a fallu que vous exerciez sur moi cette épouvantable et mystérieuse puissance. Il a fallu que vous brisiez ce cœur revolté, que vous blessiez tout ce qui était rebelle en moi, mon amour, mon amour-propre, que vous m'humiliiez de toutes les manières, et que votre insouciance me foule aux pieds. . . . Quelquefois je me dis que, dans cette passion inexplicable et si

douloureuse, il y a peut-être de la volonté divine. . . . Le ciel vous avait choisie pour me faire traverser cette terrible épreuve. Vous avez bien rempli votre mission. . . . J'ai dit à cette puissance inconnue que je me résignais à mourir dans l'isolement où vous me laissez, pourvu que vous soyez heureuse. . . . Adieu ! Ne soyez pas fâchée. Il n'y a point de murmure au fond de mon cœur."

This appears to have been the last faint, hopeless cry for pity, though it is both preceded and followed by upbraidings:—

"Êtes-vous contente de vous-même relativement à moi ? c'est à votre conscience que j'en appelle. . . . Vous ne lirez pas ces lettres, je le crois. Vous les lirez peut-être un jour. Les choses changent de face quand elles sont devenues irréparables."

That Benjamin Constant—a man endowed with great penetration and mental vigour—should have been duped in such an egregious manner appears inexplicable. The unpleasant reality, which he seems to have perversely overlooked, for he must have been aware how remorselessly it had been revealed to others, forced itself at last upon his attention. In a letter dated the 7th of December, 1815, a tardy avowal of the bitter truth is wrung from him in the following well-merited censure:—

"Le seul tort que vous ayez, c'est d'avoir voulu vous faire aimer de moi, par je ne sais quelle lubie qui ne vous a duré que cinq jours. Je vous en parle sans rancune parce que la douleur du cœur, la seule que je redoute, est passée. Mais vous m'avez fait un mal véritable et sans remède, comme carrière, fortune, réputation, bonheur de toute genre. . . . Chacun a un moyen de nuire, et chacun est également coupable quand il s'en sert, depuis l'homme qui poignarde jusqu'à la femme qui veut s'assurer de son charme, au risque de l'agonie à laquelle elle abandonne ensuite le malheureux qui s'est laissé prendre."

If Madame Récamier seldom showed much compunction in the excessive and arbitrary exercise of her redoubtable attractions, she was not always permitted to escape some degree of retributive justice. Punishment, it is true, rarely reached her, and, when it came, usually appeared in the form of some untoward revolt against her tyrannous charms: but on one or two occasions it inflicted acute sufferings upon her most sensitive feelings. There was one man at least who, though to the fullest extent acknowledging himself to be her admirer, and whose friendship she retained upwards of twenty years, exerted a controlling and even a retaliative power over her, which forced her at times to taste the bitterness of the tyranny she was accustomed to impose upon others. Châteaubriand loved her, as most others did, for her personal attractions; but it was a love which, even at its commencement, had in it far more than an ordinary admixture of selfishness, an ingredient which gradually increased in

amount until the entire feeling became transformed, and represented little more than the lover's own convenience and caprice. On her part, Madame Récamier, whose cool temperament preserved her from the entanglements of love, was fascinated by the genius, position, and imposing personal bearing of one who was considered to hold the most distinguished position among contemporary writers; and, like the feeling of selfishness in Châteaubriand, this glowing esteem gradually attained a predominant position in her mind, and finally became the all-absorbing interest of her life. To Châteaubriand, supremely swayed by egotism, this admiration, though in itself very great, presented colossal proportions; and he made very successful use of it as a means of humouring his naturally imperious tendencies. The exquisitely expert trifler with the feelings of others was herself condemned to bear the heart-griefs occasioned by the unrelenting exactions of vanity, or by the apathy resulting from preoccupied feelings. From extant information it seems probable that Châteaubriand was greatly influenced in his behaviour towards Madame Récamier by the existing amount of popularity accorded to him. When applause rarely reached him, except in whispered accents, he was attentive and even submissive; when it was loud and general, his respectful reserve, so dear to Madame Récamier, diminished, and at times gave place to superciliousness both in demeanour and discourse. Thus it happened that whilst he was at the zenith of his popularity and filled a high official position in the State, Madame Récamier sought refuge in Italy in order to avoid continual mortification to her vanity, and to escape pangs often inflicted upon yet more delicate sensibilities. Taking a general view of the long intimacy which subsisted between them, we note with interest the methodical character which it presented during the closing years of its existence. Madame Ancelot, in her work on "*Les Salons de Paris, Foyers Éteints*," gives among her experiences the following graphic picture, often presented, of this systematized intercourse:—

Early in the day, Châteaubriand was accustomed to write a few lines to Madame Récamier, and at three o'clock to visit her. They took tea together, and at four o'clock guests were admitted. The great man was invariably found seated on the left of the fireplace, and the mistress of the house on the right. Conversation was carried on with bated breath, as though an invalid were in the room. Sometimes Châteaubriand would remain silent a long while, but his face showed when the conversation pleased him. . . . When it was not to his taste, he made no attempt to hide his indifference, but began to caress a rather ugly cat on a low stool beside him. The animal seemed placed there in order to prevent any guest from making a too familiar approach towards Châteaubriand. In fact, like everything else in the salon, the cat was there for a calculated purpose. If by this evidence

of indifference Châteaubriand failed to turn the conversation into a channel more agreeable to himself, another more explicit movement on his part soon showed that mere *ennui* had given place to impatience. Leaving the cat, he began to handle with feverish irritation the tassel at the end of the bell-cord beside the fireplace. Though Madame Récamier received no direct intimation that the limits of patience were reached, she seemed to divine that such was the case, and always found some means of hinting to the unlucky speaker that it was time for him to set bounds to his eloquence.

By the death of Châteaubriand, in 1848, Madame Récamier was deprived of the last of her most cherished friends. She was now old and nearly blind: in a few months her regrets and her comparative loneliness, undermining her strength, made her an easy prey to a dreadful epidemic then raging; and she who had been for many years the most lovely and admired woman in Europe sank into the grave.

"As long as French society exists," says Sainte-Beuve, "Madame Récamier will not be forgotten." However that may be, certain it is that at her death the lingering shadow of the old Parisian salon finally disappeared. During the greater part of her reign, indeed, the salon had ceased to be an institution wielding literary, political, or other influence, and retained merely that part of its former consideration represented by the degree of attractiveness in the individual who presided over it. The substance of its power was gone: it was a name and nothing more. It had deeply imbued French society with that exquisite taste and politeness which never fail to elicit the admiration and not unfrequently the envy of the world. Much of this fascinating polish, however, has for some time been wearing out and passing into a mere tradition. It was a special product of the times, developed in great part from a combination of accidental social and political causes. It is nevertheless so congenial to the French character, that no undermining or opposing influences are ever likely very perceptibly to bedim it, much less to obliterate its traces. The salon had, moreover, presumed to initiate fashion, and guide the intellectual agencies destined to mould the character of the age which began with the *petits soupers* and ended with the Revolution. But in the nineteenth century there is no fitting place for such an institution, its active functions having entirely passed into more efficient keeping. The natural and judicious freedom which existed under the Restoration and the July Monarchy enabled the Tribune and the Press to give wider and fuller expression to public opinion: in presence of unclouded and far-reaching light, the circumscribed artificial lustre which had glimmered in the salon disappeared.

ART. VII.—THE LORDS AND THE FRANCHISE BILL.

1. *The Lords and the Franchise Bill, containing the Debates in the House of Lords and the Ministerial Statement and subsequent Discussion in the House of Commons.* London : J. & R. Maxwell. 1884.
2. *Fifty Years of the House of Lords.* Reprinted from the *Pall Mall Gazette.* London : Macmillan & Co. 1881.
3. *England : Its People, Polity, and Pursuits.* By T. H. S. ESCOTT. New Edition. London, Paris, and New York : Cassell, Petter, Galpin, & Co. 1881.
4. *The Reform of the House of Lords.* A Speech delivered in that House, June 20, 1884, by Lord ROSEBERRY. Edinburgh : Andrew Elliot.
5. *The House of Lords and the Franchise Bill.* A Speech delivered in the House of Lords on the Second Reading of the Franchise Bill, July 8, 1884, by Lord ROSEBERRY. Edinburgh : Andrew Elliot.
6. *Speech.* By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P., in the Corn Exchange, Edinburgh, on Saturday, August 30, 1884. (Revised Edition). Edinburgh : Andrew Elliot.
 * [Reprinted from the *Scotsman's* reports by the Scottish Liberal Association.]

AFTER an interval of more than fifty years the controversy between the peers and the people as to their representation in Parliament is revived by a rash and headstrong party leader. Lord Macaulay describes the founder of the Cecil family "as a moderate, cautious, flexible Minister, skilled in the details of business, competent to advise, but not aspiring to command."* Whatever Lord Salisbury has inherited from his forefathers, the wisdom of the founder of his house has not descended upon him. A rising member of the Liberal party† most aptly likened the Tory leader to Samson, who, in his blindness, pulled down the House of Dagon "upon the lords and all the people that were therein." The effect of the rejection or effectual stoppage of the Franchise Bill, as every one even of the

* "Essay on Lord Burleigh and his Times."

† Mr. W. Copeland Borlase, M.P. for East Cornwall.

meanest capacity foresaw, "has already drawn in its train"—we adopt Mr. Gladstone's language, than which nothing can be better—"other questions of the gravest kind, and has suggested to the minds of a vast portion of the people the inquiry whether the time has come when it will be necessary to study the means of introducing an organic change into the constitution of the House of Lords."*

It is therefore a fitting time to consider the nature and character of the House of Lords, its power and the use it has made of it, the deadlock into which the two Houses, by the indiscretion of the Tory leader, have been led, and the means of escape from it, and, if such there be, of preventing its recurrence. Blackstone, defining the nature and character of the House of Lords, according to the metaphysical or *à priori* as distinguished from the inductive method, says:—"It is a body of nobility which is more peculiarly necessary in our mixed and compounded constitution in order to support the rights both of the Crown and the people by forming a barrier to withstand the encroachments of both."† The inductive method of treating the subject reveals to us the opposite as being the real state of things. Modern writers, Dr. E. A. Freeman for one, deny that the House of Lords is, or ever was, a *noblesse*, an order or body of nobles. It certainly was not called together for any such purpose as Blackstone imagines, but chiefly to supply the King with money. At first it was mainly an assembly of ecclesiastics, bishops, and mitred abbots, mixed with a smaller number of the great feudal vassals of the Crown. These were increased from time to time, and became strong enough to strive against the supremacy of the King. In all their struggles with the Crown the action of the peers was simply an exhibition of undisguised selfishness. It is not to the peers, but to the knights, citizens, and burgesses of England that we owe our liberties. At the Reformation the House became mainly a temporal assembly. On the passing of the statute of 16 Charles I. it became exclusively a lay body, and no bishops were again summoned until after the repeal of that statute by the Act of 13 Charles II.‡ At the unions with Scotland and Ireland the House on each occasion became in part a representative assembly, "the rotatory ecclesiastical representatives from Ireland," as they have been called,§ disappeared on the abolition of the Irish Church Establishment, but, though a representative element has been introduced into the House of Lords, it has been truly said that the House

* Speech, Aug. 30, 1884, p. 7.

† "Commentaries," vol. i. p. 157.

‡ "Blackstone," vol. i. p. 157, note.

§ Lord Rosebery, "Reform of the House of Lord," p. 5.

"represents nothing but the timorous instincts of property and privilege." A new element was introduced by the creation of three life peerages in 1876.

Vague and inaccurate ideas as to the antiquity of the House are common. The corporate body, called the House of Lords, is no doubt of great antiquity, but the majority of the individual peers, of whom the body corporate consists, have been created within the last one hundred and twenty-five years, and the majority of these at dates much nearer to the present time. Coke, in his Fourth Institute, says the number of temporal peers, at the time he wrote, was one hundred and six. When, in Anne's reign, the Tory Ministry resolved to swamp the Whig majority of the House of Lords, a creation of twelve peers was sufficient for their purpose. "In France," wrote Gibbon, "the remains of liberty are kept alive by the spirit, the honours, and even the prejudices of fifty thousand nobles. Two hundred families supply in lineal descent the second branch of the English legislature, which maintains, between the King and the Commons, the balance of the Constitution."* At the accession of George III., there were one hundred and seventy-four peers altogether, of whom thirteen were minors, and twelve Roman Catholics, leaving one hundred and forty-nine sitting peers.† In the first ten years of this reign forty-two peers were created or promoted to a higher rank in the peerage. Lord North was Premier from 1770 to 1782, and he created or promoted about thirty peers.‡ In 1782, on a motion condemning the elevation of Lord George Germain to the peerage, "only twenty-eight peers," as Wraxall narrates, "supported the motion. Nearly a hundred voted against it. These aggregate numbers," he continues, "appear indeed small to us, but we must recollect the limited extent of the peerage compared with the present times."§ In the division in the Lords on Fox's India Bill in December, 1783, when a canvass against the Bill was set on foot by the King himself,|| and every effort was used on both sides, the Bill was rejected by ninety-five to seventy-six votes: one hundred and seventy-one peers therefore took part in the division: "A prodigious number," says the writer just quoted, "if we consider the limited number of the peerage at that time."¶ Pitt then became

* "Decline and Fall," chapter xlv.

† Lord Rosebery, *ubi supra*.

‡ "Hayward's Essays," third series, p. 6.

§ "Wraxall's Memoirs." Edition, 1894, by Henry B. Wheatley, vol. ii. p. 182. The passage quoted was written in 1818. We take this opportunity of expressing our obligations to Mr. Wheatley for his valuable edition of this interesting and important book.

|| Sir G. C. Lewis, "Administrations," &c., p. 68.

¶ "Wraxall," *ubi supra*.

Premier. "It was not Lord North," continues the same writer, "but Mr. Pitt, who augmented the members of that House, if not with a profuse yet unquestionably with an unsparing hand. We have now above three hundred. Perhaps, however, that augmentation, great as it is, bears only a relative proportion to the increase of national revenue, popularity, and territory within the last thirty years." Dean Milman, in a note to the passage we have quoted from Gibbon, pronounces it to be "a wise policy to increase the patrician order in proportion to the general increase of the nation."

The two Premier-ships of Pitt extended over eighteen years, during which time he created or promoted one hundred and forty peers. We have heard attributed to Pitt the saying that every man with £10,000 a year had a right to be made a peer. On the death of the Marquis of Rockingham in 1783, the title and dignity of a British marquis became extinct—

he [says Wraxall] being the sole individual in the kingdom who then possessed that high rank, to which Mr. Pitt has since elevated during his administration eleven individuals, besides creating nine Irish marquises, where there did not previously exist one peer of that order; such has been the prodigious increase in the number of peerages during the present reign! Unquestionably Mr. Pitt, in thus augmenting the numbers of the House of Lords, was not animated by the same intention as the Romans attributed to the first of the Cæsars, when he increased the Senate to nine hundred, or, as Suetonius expresses it, "Senatum supplevit." But it will be for our descendants to decide how far he has practically produced a similar effect on the constitution of Great Britain, with the pernicious consequence which flowed from the augmentation of the Roman Senate by Cæsar.*

Gibbon, in a note, adds to the passage as to the *noblesse* of France we have quoted. "The most ancient families claim the immemorial possession of arms and fiefs. Since the crusades, some, the most truly respectable, have been created by the king, for merit and services. The *recent and vulgar crowd* is derived from the multitude of venal offices without trust or dignity, which continually ennoble the wealthy plebeians."† The peers of Mr. Pitt's creation cannot trace their honours to a purer or higher source than the "recent and vulgar crowd" of French nobles of the reign of Louis XVI. By Burke's measure of 1783 for the reduction of the Civil List, various offices or nominal employments, which had become obsolete and destitute of any real functions and void of apparent utility, were suppressed, and a yearly sum, sufficient to "be a considerable object of national economy,"

* "Wraxall," vol. ii. p. 350, and conf. vol. iv. p. 14 note.

† *Ubi supra.*

was saved to the country. Wraxall comments on this measure and its result in a remarkable passage, showing the absence of public spirit in the members of the House of Commons of that day. The Sir Francis Wronghead of an earlier date had his successors among them.

In Burke's eagerness to diminish the supposed overgrown influence of the Crown, arising from the distribution of offices among members of the House of Commons, a greater injury has been probably sustained by the British Constitution. The minister deprived of the means of procuring parliamentary attendance and support by conferring places on his adherents, has in many instances been compelled to substitute a far higher remuneration, peerages. A review of Pitt's administration will form the strongest illustration of this remark.

Elsewhere Wraxall insinuates that peerages he names were the reward of loans made to Pitt, whose embarrassments every one knows. What follows will remind our readers of Mr. Grote's remark that Burke spent the latter part of his life in undoing all he had done in its earlier part.

I know on the best authority, that Burke himself lived to adopt the opinion, and, like other reformers or innovators, found reason to lament the effects of his own Bill. Being at Bath in a declining state of health, not long before his decease, I believe in 1797, the conversation turned on the great augmentation made by Pitt to the numbers of the House of Lords during the preceding thirteen years. "I fear," said Burke, "that I am partly accountable for such a disproportionate increase of honours, by having deprived the Crown and the Ministers of so many other sources of recompense or reward which were extinguished by my Bill of Reform.*

The total number of peers created in the long reign of George III. was 388. In 1831 the House of Lords rejected the first Reform Bill. Both parties used every means to bring up all available votes. The Bill was defeated by 199 votes to 158. A comparison of these figures with those of the division of 1788 shows that the members of the House had in the interval more than doubled in number. It is noteworthy that "of the Peers who were created before 1790, one hundred and four supported the Bill, and only four voted against it, and the Bill was thrown out mainly by the peers created by Mr. Pitt."†

Mr. Gladstone in his first Ministry created thirty-six peers in five years. Lord Beaconsfield in his six years' Ministry made forty-six peers. The present Ministry in the first three years of their career added sixteen new peers to the roll.‡ The House

* "Wraxall," vol. ii. p. 285-6.

† Lord Rosebery, "Reform of the House of Lords," p. 5.

‡ We take these figures from a not very accurate writer, M. Philippe Daryl. See his "Public Life in England," p. 151.

of Lords, including the Bishops, the three life peers, and the Scotch and Irish representatives, now contains more than 500 members. It cannot accurately be described as—though it often is so—"our ancient nobility." It is equally inaccurate, though common, to speak of the House of Lords as representing the property, more especially the landed property, of the country. For instance, a French writer affirms of the peers universally "that the family fortune is enormous, inalienable, and is constantly increasing."* Lord Rosebery describes the assembly which he adorns in these words: "There is too much receiving of rent in this House, and too little paying of rent. We represent too much one class; we see one side of the shield too much."† Even Lord Salisbury admits: "We belong too much to one class . . . those whose wealth and power depend upon the agricultural interest and landed property."‡ But a change in this state of things is silently going on. "The Settled Estates Act," carried by Earl Cairns, with the assent of the Lord Chancellor, and the similar legislation adopted for Scotland, mainly through the efforts of Lord Rosebery himself, have made it possible for any peer to alienate his estates, and we have the testimony of Lord Rosebery "that alienation of lands is going on at a rapid rate. The other day the *Times* published the largest number it had ever published, and why? Because it had eight columns of advertisements of land for sale. No one," adds the noble lord, "can shut his eyes to the fact that this must make a great change in this House."§ There are no doubt among the peers many great landowners and wealthy men, but a large number of the oldest titles are very moderately endowed, and of the many successful lawyers, soldiers and politicians, who of late years have been raised to the peerage, few are rich men. One thing is clear, that except a man possess wealth he is of little or no weight in the House of Lords. We know a Baron who sits as the sixteenth in lineal descent from the first holder of the title, and has therefore an unanswerable claim to be considered one of our ancient nobility; but the noble lord is unfortunately a poor man, his income is to be reckoned in hundreds, and very few of them. On the few occasions on which this Baron of ancient descent has risen to address his peers he could scarcely obtain a hearing, and was treated with cool insolence by such men as the present Lord Stratheden, whose grandfather was a Presbyterian minister, and the late Lord Overstone, whose grandfather began life as an Unitarian preacher and a manufacturer of flannel.

* "Public Life in England," p. 145.

† "Reform of the House of Lords," p. 5.

‡ Quoted by Lord Rosebery. *Ibid.* p. 18.

§ *Ibid.* p. 21.

This singular legislative body, which is not an assembly of nobles, landowners, or millionaires, but is made up of individuals of those classes, of successful ecclesiastics, lawyers, soldiers and politicians, and of others who, from motives of party convenience or party gratitude have been made peers, has gained the admiration of foreign politicians, and the admiration and the confidence of a large portion of the people of this country. The late M. de Montalembert, conversing with Henry Greville, descanted much on the folly of the Palmerston Government in trying to confer a life peerage on Sir James Parke, an ill-advised measure which seems to have originated with the late Prince Consort.* M. de Montalembert added: "It was inconceivable how the Government could be weak enough to weaken the institution of an hereditary peerage whilst every other Constitutional Government had failed in solving the problem of a 'Second House.'"† A much less distinguished and not very accurate Frenchman, whom we have already quoted, thinks that

In the Upper House there are scarcely thirty politicians worthy of the name. The rest compose the audience, and the inert voting mass. But these thirty politicians have been members of the Cabinet, or accustomed to business in the House of Commons during the lifetime of their fathers. They have political tastes, have been abroad in the diplomatic service, and are well informed upon European questions. So there exists some considerable talent among those who habitually speak. Therefore the interest which attaches to debates in the House of Lords, is generally confined to foreign or colonial topics—imperial topics as they call them in Great Britain. Here is its true rôle. In no other part of the world, as one will easily understand, do we find any politicians who have become so intimate with foreign statesmen, who have studied so closely and with so much effect great diplomatic questions, who have, in a word acquired such a valuable experience. The House of Lords may have, in the course of a session, one hundred colourless sittings; but it is seldom that it has not two or three of capital interest.‡

* "E. Ellice . . . believes the life peerage affair was originally concerted between Prince Albert and Granville, taken up by the Chancellor [Lord Cranworth], who, though an excellent man, had got the Government into various scrapes, owing to his unfitness for his office; and that Palmerston had agreed to it with great levity, and did not think it worth while to bring it before the Cabinet, although it was a question of great constitutional importance." Henry Greville's "Diary," 2nd series, p. 363, and see p. 306. Lord Campbell attributed the measure to the bad advice of Bethell [Lord Westbury]. See "Campbell's Life," vol. ii. p. 338.

† Henry Greville's "Diary," 2nd series, p. 315.

‡ Daryl, "Public Life in England," p. 147, 8; *conf.* Escott's "England," p. 358.

Mr. Escott, when he first published his "England," thought that even in this democratic age the House of Lords was gaining rather than losing power, and he further observes :—

The influence of the House of Lords upon the deliberations and the acts of Parliament is, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a very real thing, there can be no doubt; but it is not exercised in the old way, nor is it exercised in the only manner which some persons may imagine to be possible. . . . The real influence of their Lordships is invisible rather than visible; they prevent certain measures being introduced quite as much as they control them when introduced. Whatever may be the case with the country, the Conservative party are always sure to have an overwhelming majority amongst the peers. Hence it is always theoretically possible for the Upper House to reject any measure passed by the Lower House, which may offend the prejudices of Conservatism. A Liberal Cabinet, we may suppose, meditates the introduction of a Bill which is considered fatally to affect some great Conservative interest; their Lordships get wind of the proposal, and politely but firmly hint that it will not do—what is, or at least what may be the consequence? The measure is either shelved, or else watered down to such an extent that its drastic powers disappear.*

This state of things has been for some time gradually changing, and since the last General Election, even before the happening of the events of the last few months, the influence of the Lords has materially declined.

There is another and, we think, larger number of the people of this country who do not share these feelings of admiration of, and confidence in, the House of Lords, but who agree with this opinion of Professor Thorold Rogers :—

Except during a few years of Queen Anne's reign, when a standing quarrel with the Commons led it to reject the Occasional Conformity Bill, I cannot discover any period in which the House of Lords, in its legislative capacity, has effected any reform whatever for the English people. I am now speaking of those reforms which the wiser men of both traditional parties in Great Britain acknowledge to have been expedient or just or necessary.†

Again :

The protests of the Upper House before the Reform Bill, constitute a valuable body of State papers. . . . Of old the Lords had a policy, not perhaps always wise, but generally broad and intelligible. At the present time they confine themselves to petty hindrances, and apparently to petty spite.‡

* "England," pp. 336, 7.

† "Cobden and Modern Political Opinion," preface, p. 13.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 263.

Parenthetically we may observe that this remark was well illustrated in the last Session by the way in which the Lords, under the leadership of Lord Salisbury, treated "The Corrupt Practices (Municipal Elections) Bill." That measure had been carefully considered in the House of Commons, but the Conservative peers, having a majority of two present, could not resist the temptation to put the Government in a minority, and, without reason or excuse, inserted a clause limiting the operations of the Bill to one year.

We resume our quotations from Professor Rogers:—"There are those who think the Upper House utterly useless and recommend its abolition. There are those who consider that it has a useful function in checking rash legislation. There are those who cannot discover any service which it does beyond that of sustaining indefensible interests."* A survey of the actions of the House of Lords since the passing of the Great Reform Act will, we think, conclusively show the truth of the last stated opinion:—"You know," said Mr. Gladstone to his constituents, "the value we all set upon Municipal Institutions, the means of carrying on local self-government, and, to a great extent, the seed-plot within and upon which habits of political thought and capacity are formed throughout the country."† How did the Lords treat the Whig measure for Municipal Reform? The writer of "Fifty Years of the House of Lords" describes their treatment of it in language which we cannot hope to improve, and therefore transcribe:—

This great measure, which created anew the whole machinery of Municipal Government, narrowly escaped a defeat through a collision between the two Houses. . . . The Municipal Reform Bill, as it was sent down by the Lords to the Commons, was an entirely different measure from that which the Commons had sent up to the Lords. Not daring to reject outright a measure of reform which was not less obviously required by the necessities of the times than it was urgently demanded by the popular voice, the Peers allowed the Bill to pass its second reading and then eviscerated it in committee. The alterations which they effected afford a striking illustration of the extent to which their worships, while appearing to improve a measure, can transform it so utterly as to make it unrecognizable by its authors. The Commons proposed to establish the Municipal Government of our Boroughs on the broadest popular foundation. The householders were to elect the Councillors, by whom the whole government of the town, even to the nomination of its justices, was to be exercised. All

* "Cobden and Modern Political Opinion," preface, p. 263.

† Speech of August 30, 1884, p. 18; *conf.* Elcott's "England" c. v.: "Municipal Government," p. 54, *et seq.*

the old system was swept away at a stroke, and the new Corporations were left untrammelled to carry out the wishes of their constituents. Such was the Bill as it entered the House of Lords; such was not the Bill when it was sent back to the Commons. Unable to save the corrupt old system *en masse* from extinction, they endeavoured to snatch as many brands from the burning as they could. All the freemen were restored to the burgess roll, all the old town clerks were made irremovable, all the existing aldermen were secured the possession of seats in the new Town Councils for life, all the justices who sat on the bench in their corporate capacity were secured fixity of tenure. New aldermen were to be elected for life by the Town Councillors, to form a kind of municipal life peerage in the heart of each corporation. The right to nominate justices was taken away from the Councils, a high property qualification was insisted on for Councillors, and Non-conformist Councillors were excluded from any share in the exercise of Corporation Church patronages. The appearance of the Bill as it emerged from the Upper House created a storm of indignation throughout the country. Ministers were implored to reject it outright, by refusing even to consider the Lords' amendments. This course was strongly pressed upon the Government by Mr. Roebuck. Mr. O'Connell was equally defiant of the Lords, but he thought the best method was to make what concessions they could, and then dare the peers to throw out the Bill. His advice was taken. The Ministers refused to assent to the perpetuation of the town clerks and aldermen of the old system, they refused to enact the Test Act in relation to Church patronage, but they assented, with modifications, to the property qualification, which lasted down to the last Parliament, to the continuance of the freemen, to the loss of the right to nominate justices, and to the institution of aldermen for a term of years. Thus the alderman was saved from extinction by the House of Lords, which renewed the lease of his existence, and enabled him to secure to this day in Liverpool* and elsewhere, a Conservative majority in councils where, but for his presence, power would have passed into the hands of the Liberals.†

The House of Lords [says the same writer] has contributed but little to the constructive legislation of the last half-century. . . . With the exception of the three-cornered constituency it has hardly created anything since the Reform Act of 1832 but the alderman. The alderman may indeed be regarded as almost the solitary monument of the legislative genius of the Upper House.‡

No one can say that in this collision between the Houses the House of Lords showed wisdom or statesmanship, or came out of it with honour or dignity.

A statesmanlike and patriotic Legislature would have been specially anxious to take every possible means to prevent and

* In November, 1883, Liverpool, for the first time, elected a Liberal mayor.

† "Fifty Years of the House of Lords," p. 69 *et seq.*

‡ *Ibid.* p. 68.

[Vol. CXXII. No. CCXLIV.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. LXVI. No. II. G G

hinder the spread of corrupt practices in the constituencies created by the Reform Act. We use those words to denote as well those Borough constituencies, such, for example, as Gloucester, Northampton, and Bodmin, where the £10 householders were added to the old voters, as those Parliamentary Boroughs, such, for example, as Manchester, Marylebone, Rochdale, and Devonport, which were originated by the Act. This is what a wise and patriotic Legislature would have done, and therefore what the Lords did not do. What has been their conduct in this matter? In the former class of constituencies they contrived to save the freemen from political extinction. "Those constituencies thus inoculated with corruption by the express action of the Lords have never rid themselves of the taint." *

The reformed House of Commons passed a Bill disfranchising the boroughs of this class, which, at the first General Election under the Act, had exhibited the most glaring cases of corruption. The Lords rejected the Bill. The Commons also sent up a drastic Corrupt Practices Prevention Bill. The Lords referred it to a Select Committee, which emasculated the Bill, and, moreover, inserted "clauses giving the peers a right to appoint five of their members to sit with seven members of the House of Commons to try bribery cases under the presidency of a judge." † This impudent attempt of the peers to interfere in the trial of election petitions naturally provoked the resentment of the Commons, and the Bill lapsed. We must not linger over this subject, but content ourselves with referring our readers to "Fifty Years of the House of Lords." ‡ Its author gives the history for that period of the proceedings of the House in reference to electoral corruption, and the facts he states are more than enough to justify the conclusion to which he comes:—"That if corruption has eaten into our democratic institutions the aristocratic branch of our Legislature is largely responsible for the failure of all the remedies devised for its extirpation." §

In 1871 the Ballot Bill first came before the Lords. In debate the usual commonplaces "un-English," "dangerous innovation," and so forth, were repeated; but, in fact, the measure is a return to the ancient manner of voting in this country. Our present mode of voting, not very appropriately or accurately called the Ballot, is in fact anonymous voting. It is not, however, desirable to change the old familiar term. || The

* "Fifty Years of the House of Lords," p. 48.

† *Ibid.* p. 50.

‡ See c. iv. p. 43 *et seq.*

§ *Ibid.* p. 53.

|| The late Mr. Henry Berkeley, M.P., in a resolution, moved towards the close of his long and persistent advocacy of the ballot, substituted for that word the words "anonymous voting."

principle of anonymous voting is no novelty in England. In the Parliament of 1628, which Macaulay calls "the greatest of all parliaments that England had seen in her history," the Committee of Privileges in the case of the Yorkshire election resolved: "That if an elector or freeholder being by the sheriff upon the poll, demanded his name, shall refuse it, he is not disabled to be an elector." The ground of this resolution was the same as that on which Bentham, Grote, James Mill, Berkeley, Molesworth, and all other modern advocates of anonymous voting based their argument—viz., "That it might be inconvenient to electors to have their names set down, because notice might be taken of them to their prejudice,"* or, as two centuries later, a member for Yorkshire more tersely stated it, "There should be no record kept against any man how he votes."†

In 1871 the Lords rejected the Bill, but there were symptoms in the autumn of an agitation against them. In the Session of 1872, therefore, they, with more celerity than dignity, executed a retreat, and, all facts and arguments remaining the same as the year before, passed the Bill by 88 votes to 58. In Committee, however, the majority followed their usual tactics, and rendered the Bill useless by making, by 83 votes against 67, secret voting optional. The Commons remained firm, and again the Lords retreated and rescinded their former vote. They showed their animus against anonymous voting, by limiting the operation of the Bill to seven years.‡ The only effect of which has been to give Parliament the trouble of inserting the Act in the yearly measure for the continuance of expiring laws. "The same animus," says the work to which we are so much indebted, "showed itself the same year in the rejection outright of the proposal to elect School Boards by ballot. The majority, however, was small, and the vote a few years afterwards annulled by the Lords at the demand of a Conservative Government." A notable illustration indeed of what has been well said—that the use of a Conservative Government is that it can tell the Lords to say black is white and be sure of a servile obedient response. The worst enemies of the House of Lords could not wish it to appear in a light more unfavourable to its dignity, its prestige, and its reputation for statesmanship and usefulness, than it has shown itself in dealing with measures of electoral reform.

* *Commons Journal*, April 17, 1628. See the particulars of the Yorkshire Election in Forster's "Life of Sir John Eliot," vol. ii. p. 272.

† Richard Cobden.

‡ "Fifty Years of the House of Lords," p. 56; but if our memory be right the period was ten years.

But it is in measures affecting religious liberty and equality that the House of Lords have chiefly interposed those "petty hindrances," and showed that "petty spite," to which Professor Thorold Rogers refers. Take for instance the question of Jewish Emancipation. The first Bill for that purpose which passed the Reformed House of Commons was carried by a majority of 137 votes. The Lords rejected it by a majority of 50. After a struggle of twenty-five years the Lords submitted to what was dignified by the name of "a compromise." It was proposed that either House of Parliament should be enabled to meet the case of the Jews by a resolution to omit in their case from the oath the words "on the true faith of a Christian." The Lords passed the Bill for this purpose and sent it to the Commons, and at the same time returned the Bill directly admitting the Jews, and assigned as a reason for so doing that "it would be impious to admit a Jew to sit in a Christian assembly." Lord Campbell's somewhat coarse comment on the incongruity and absurdity of this proceeding is well known, but will bear repetition: "It was as much as to say to the Commons 'we know that we should be damned if we agreed to admit a Jew to sit amongst us, but we give you authority to allow Jews to sit among you, and if you please you may do so, and be damned to you.'"^{*} During the twenty-five years' conflict on the Parliamentary disabilities of the Jews, a Bill for admitting them to municipal corporations was rejected by the Lords in 1811, and passed by them in 1845,[†] for no other reason than in 1841 the measure was proposed by the Whig Ministry, and in 1845, a Conservative Ministry invited their lordships to say black is white, and they of course accepted the invitation.

A glaring instance of this "petty spite" was the rejection by the Lords for seven years of the Bill for relieving Dissenters from making the declaration in favour of the Establishment, on which the Lords at the repeal of "The Test and Corporation Acts" had insisted as a qualification for municipal office; and of which Lord Russell said, "it had kept out nobody, and its repeal could therefore admit nobody."[‡] In this case, as in those of the admission of Dissenters to Universities and the abolition of Church Rates, "a long fight came to a close by a complete surrender by the Lords of every position they had undertaken to defend."[§] In each case we may apply to the majority of the House what was said of Sir Robert Peel in reference to his con-

* "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. viii. p. 206.

† "Fifty Years of the House of Lords," p. 14.

‡ "Recollections and Suggestions," p. 58.

§ "Fifty Years of the House of Lords," c. v.; "Religious Equality," p. 57 *et seq.*; p. 62 *et seq.*

duct on the Catholic question and the Corn Laws. Either they foresaw the necessity of giving up their opposition to the measure or they did not. If they foresaw it, they were wanting in honesty when they persevered in their opposition. If they did not foresee it, they were wanting in wisdom, and are not fit to be entrusted with a veto on the measures passed by the representatives of the people.*

But it is Ireland which, during the last fifty years, has been the principal victim of the crimes and follies of the House of Lords, and to the majority of that House the disturbances and convulsions of that country within that period of time are mainly due. So far back as 1839, O'Connell told the House of Commons: "Though a majority in this House may be disposed to do us something like justice, all your efforts will be frustrated by the other branch of the Legislature," who, in dealing with Ireland, "treat everything of conciliation or justice with contumely and contempt."† "The Irishman," said Macaulay, "has been taught that from England nothing is to be got by reason, by entreaty, by patient endurance, but everything by intimidation."‡

In no part of the United Kingdom was it more desirable and necessary to create Municipal Government than in Ireland. A Municipal Corporation Bill for Ireland on the model of the English measure, passed the House of Commons in 1835 and each following year only to be rejected by the Lords. At length, in 1840, they passed it, but then only "in a mutilated form, with a higher franchise, differing from the franchise in England, so that the brand might still be left upon the country."§ And with the result "that nine-tenths of Irish borough householders outside Dublin remain to this day without that voice in the municipal government of their town which they enjoy as a matter of course when they migrate to an English or Scotch borough."|| Macaulay was guilty of no exaggeration when, in his great speech on Ireland in 1841, he said, "Every Bill passed by the advisers of the Crown for the benefit of Ireland was either rejected or mutilated."¶

We have not space available for the consideration of the long catalogue of woes inflicted on Ireland by the Tory majority in the House of Lords. We must, however, refer to their treat-

* See Lord Russell's "Recollections and Suggestions," p. 240, and Trevelyan's "Life of Macaulay," vol. ii. p. 455.

† Quoted in "Fifty Years of the House of Lords," p. 20-23.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 34.

§ Mr. Gladstone's speech of Aug. 30, p. 18.

|| "Fifty Years of the House of Lords," p. 29.

¶ "Miscellaneous Writings and Speeches," p. 648. Edition 1871.

ment of one question because it remains a question of practical politics.

In 1843, what was known as the Devon Commission, was appointed to inquire into the Irish Land Question, and after two years' inquiry it reported strongly in favour of legislation to secure the tenant compensation for his improvements. What followed, Mr. Gladstone shall relate in his own words:—

The question of Irish land was one on which an enlightened Conservative Government forty years ago perceived the necessity of making great changes, and it was hoped that, as a Conservative Government, it might perhaps persuade the majority of the House of Lords to listen to its voice. In the year 1845 Lord Derby, the father of the present Lord Derby, being then a member of the Government of Sir Robert Peel,* introduced a most important Bill into the House of Lords, for the purpose of giving compensation to Irish tenants for their improvements. And it is perfectly possible that if at this early date that mild and moderate measure had been passed, we to this hour never should have heard a word of the land question in Ireland. But what happened? Although Lord Derby spoke on the part of a Conservative Government, proprietary influence and class influences in the House of Lords were too strong for him, and he was compelled, most reluctantly compelled, to withdraw his Bill.†

And this, although the Commission had reported "that no single measure could be better calculated to allay discontent and to promote substantial improvements throughout the country."‡

Lord Aberdeen's Government, in 1853 and the following year, unsuccessfully attempted to induce the Lords to agree to a Tenant Compensation Bill for Ireland; to the principle of such a measure every leading statesman had given an avowed sanction, but a distinguished Conservative member, Sir J. Napier, regretfully admitted, "It is notorious that the House of Lords will pass no such measure, and that for a Government to propose it to them or pretend to support it is an imposture and a sham."§ It was not until twenty-five years had elapsed since the report of the Devon Commission that Mr. Gladstone, during his first administration, undertook to give legislative effect to its recommendation. "The Irish Land Act of 1870" was mutilated by the Lords in committee. Mr. Gladstone felt that their so-called amendments would, and were intended to do, more to mar than mend the measure, but he accepted most of them rather than

* It will be remembered that Mr. Gladstone was at that time a member of the Peel Government.

† Speech of Aug. 30, 1884, p. 18 *conf.*

‡ "Fifty Years of the House of Lords," p. 10.

§ Quoted in "Fifty Years of the House of Lords," p. 12.

sacrifice the Bill; experience showed the whole tendency of the Lords' amendments was in the wrong direction.*

Their next action in the Irish Land Question Mr. Gladstone shall describe: "In 1880 we passed through the House of Commons a Bill granting compensation for disturbance in Ireland, which, I believe, would have effectually checked and moderated the tremendous disturbances and convulsions of that country. That Bill was unfortunately lost in the House of Lords."† We quote with full internal assent and consent the remarks of the author to whom we are so much indebted. "To that vote can be traced the excessive exasperation of the tenants against their landlords, which enabled Mr. Parnell to make the Land League supreme in Ireland, and to intensify those feelings of national animosity which it has been the labour of generations to efface."‡

When, in 1845, Lord Derby abandoned his Irish Land Bill, Lord Brougham might have repeated to his peers the warning he gave them in the Reform debate of October, 1831. "Hear the parable of the Sybil: for it conveys a wise and wholesome moral;" and then, after applying the old legend to show that the consequence of rejecting the Reform Bill would be an increase in the popular demands, he concluded: "What may follow your course of obstinacy, if persisted in, I cannot take upon me to predict, nor do I wish to conjecture. But this I know full well, that sure as man is mortal, and to err is human, justice deferred enhances the price at which you must purchase safety and peace; nor can you expect to gather in another crop than they did, who went before you, if you persevere in their utterly abominable husbandry of sowing injustice and reaping rebellion."§

Mr. Gladstone accurately describes the consequences of the rejection of the Bill of 1845.

See the consequences that have flowed from that deplorable action. We are told that the influence of the House of Lords should be a corrective influence. Was that a corrective influence? Was that an influence for the purpose of moderating the action of a popular principle? No, it was a narrow view which declined and refused all just reforms, and the refusal of which, so far from leading to moderation, has led to the necessity for the adoption of vast changes in Ireland,

* "Fifty Years of the House of Lords," chap. i.: "The Irish Land Question."

† Speech of Aug. 30, p. 19.

‡ "Fifty Years of the House of Lords," p. 19.

§ Speech on Second Reading of Reform Bill, Oct. 7, 1831. Works, edition 1873, vol. x. p. 384.

which naturally are the causes of great complaint to the same class of persons who applauded the rejection of Lord Derby's efforts in 1845.*

We might much enlarge our list of the malfeasances and non-feasances of the House of Lords, but we have said enough to justify the conclusion which Mr. Gladstone tersely expressed: "I cannot say that the legislative action of the majority of the House of Lords has for the last fifty years been a benefit or a blessing to the country."†

We are reminded by Mr. Gladstone that "it is often said, and said by clever men, that the purpose of the House of Lords is to represent, not the fleeting opinions of the people, not the passion of the moment, but the permanent solid convictions of the people."‡ The real state of the case, according to a late distinguished statesman of moderate views and judicial habit of mind, Sir G. Cornewall Lewis, is this: "It might indeed have been expected that the House of Lords would have redeemed its adherence to the interests of its order by its exemption from popular errors and popular fanaticism. Unhappily this has not been the case; on the contrary, it seems to have sought to atone for its maintenance of the interests of the aristocracy by embracing the prejudices of the democracy. Thus it has too often happened that when the people have been right, the House of Lords has been oligarchical, and that where the people have been wrong the House of Lords has been democratic."§

The futile Ecclesiastical Titles Act is a remarkable illustration of the truth of this description. Speaking of the Lords' resistance to Catholic Emancipation, Parliamentary Reform, and Free Trade, the same accurate thinker remarked: "It speaks little for the wisdom of the leading statesmen who had made so long and so stubborn a fight in defence of the established institution, and rendered each of these three great settlements a capitulation to a victorious enemy rather than a grant of acknowledged right. In each case the Legislature had the appearance of passing a wholesome measure upon compulsion, not because it was wholesome, but because it could no longer be withheld."||

No reasonable man can doubt that the Franchise Bill will add another illustration to those given by Sir G. C. Lewis. With the experience of 1832 before them, it is singular the

* Speech of Aug. 30, p. 18, 19.

† *Ibid.* p. 17.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 16.

§ "Essays on Administrations, 1783 to 1830," p. 468.

|| *Ibid.* p. 461.

Conservative leaders of 1884 should have adopted tactics as unwise as Lord Lyndhurst's celebrated amendment of 1832, and inspired some of their supporters with consternation and alarm. The very words of Lord Cairns' amendment, as Earl Grey points out, "take away the only reason the peers have for rejecting the Bill."* Another distinguished member of their House, Lord Sherbrooke, thus expresses his view of their action :

The House of Lords have been suddenly converted ; they profess unbounded zeal for a cause which they have hitherto detested. Never was conviction more sudden : what they abhorred yesterday, they have embraced to-day. It would be ridiculous to pretend for a moment that this astonishing change is the result of real conviction. I should have thought that the precedent of 1832 would have been a sufficient warning. At that time it was believed that, had the peers remained intractable, a creation of peers might be resorted to, and the belief was very general that this had its effect in preventing a prolonged resistance. To me it seems almost incredible that statesmen should be found so rash as to draw down upon themselves even the threat or the possibility of so lamentable an occurrence.†

And yet Lord Sherbrooke, when in the House of Commons, had experience of the agility with which Conservatives change votes on the Franchise question. In the Committee on the Reform Bill of 1867, contrasting the Conservative policy of 1866, of rejecting a £6 franchise, with their policy of 1867, of proposing Household Suffrage, he said : "Just as we are told that the world woke one morning and wondered to find itself 'Arian,' the House have awakened and marvel to find themselves reformers." And on the third reading of the Bill, he thus taunted its Conservative supporters : "You remind me of the Bishop's exclamation to Clovis : *Adora quod combussisti, combure quod adorasti.*" Both these remarks are equally applicable to the recent proceedings of the Conservative majority in the House of Lords.

The two Houses are now in a deadlock. The Marquis of Salisbury protests against the doctrine that, "whenever the Ministers of the Crown and the House of Commons are agreed, the House of Lords is bound to yield ;" and expresses his hope that the Lords will never yield to that doctrine ; and Earl Granville "protests against the converse doctrine, that the House of

* Letter to the editor of the *Times*, as quoted in debate by Earl Granville : see "The Lords and the Franchise Bill," p. 99.

† Letter to an inhabitant of Manchester, published in several of the daily papers.

Commons is always to yield whenever the House of Lords thinks differently." *

We agree with Mr. Gladstone

that at any rate in such a case as this, in a representative country, when issue has been deliberately joined, the representative chamber ought to prevail, and must prevail. †

That the House of Lords ought not to challenge the nation upon a question like the extension of the franchise, and ought not to push its opinions to extremes; ‡ [and that] the worst foe of the hereditary principle is the man who places it in direct conflict, brow to brow, with the elective and representative principle. §

We commend to Lord Salisbury's serious attention the following weighty words of a former leader of the Lords, who certainly was free from all democratic tendencies. In moving the second reading of the Corn Law Repeal Bill (1846), which, like the Franchise Bill, had been recommended by the Speech from the Throne, and had passed the House of Commons by large majorities, the Duke of Wellington said :

This measure, my Lords, was recommended by the Speech from the Throne, and it has been passed by a majority of the House of Commons, consisting of more than half the members of that House. But my noble friend said that that vote is inconsistent with the original vote given by the same House of Commons on this same question, and inconsistent with the supposed views of the constituents by whom they were elected. But, my Lords, I think that is not a subject which this House can take into its consideration—for, first, we can have no accurate knowledge of the fact; and, secondly, whether it be the fact or not, this we know, that it is the House of Commons from which this Bill came to us. We know by the votes that it has been passed by a majority of the House of Commons; we know that it has been recommended by the Crown; and we know that if we should reject this Bill it is a Bill which has been agreed to by the other two branches of the Legislature, and that the House of Lords stands alone in rejecting this measure. Now, that, my Lords, is a situation in which I have frequently stated to your Lordships you ought not to stand. It is a position in which you cannot stand, because you are entirely powerless; without the House of Commons and the Crown the House of Lords can do nothing. You have vast influence on public opinion, you may have great confidence in your own principles, but without the Crown or the House of Commons you can do nothing—till the connection with the Crown and the House of Commons is revived, there is an end of the function of the House of Lords. ||

* Lords' debate, Aug. 5, 1884.

† P. 17.

‡ Speech of Aug. 30, p. 9.

§ II. 15.

|| We quote from the *Liverpool Daily Post*, July 29, 1884. The speech will be found in Hansard for 1846.

The Lords, fortunately for themselves and the country, listened to the Duke's wise counsels and passed the Bill. In the present depressed state of trade and manufactures, were the old corn and provision laws in force the agitation against the House of Lords would not be so moderate and good-tempered as it is now.

"The question," says M. Daryl, "is often asked if the House of Lords is likely to continue and to survive the approaching era of universal suffrage. That is a question which it would be premature to decide."* But the Lords themselves have forced us to consider it. Mr. Bright lately expressed his conviction "that the time is near, or has come, when the nation must decide the future position of the House of Lords."† And he has also reiterated the conviction to which he first gave utterance in 1858:—"We know, everybody knows, nobody knows better than the peers, that a house of hereditary legislators cannot be a permanent institution in a free country. For we believe that such an institution must, in the course of time, require essential modification."‡ So deeply rooted in his mind is this conviction that, when he visited Dunrobin Castle and saw the vacant spaces left in the walls for the cognizances of unborn dukes and duchesses, he inquired, with good-humoured sarcasm, whether the family really imagined it likely that these vacant spaces would be filled.§ A similar opinion to that of Mr. Bright had long before been come to by an equally far-seeing, and in the truest sense of the word, equally Conservative statesman—Lord Macaulay. "I am quite certain," he writes from India || to Mr. Ellis, "that in a few years the House of Lords must go after old Sarum and Gatton. What is now passing is mere skirmishing and manœuvring between two general actions. It seems to be of little consequence to the final result how these small operations turn out. When the grand battle comes to be fought, I have no doubt about the event." And this feeling grew so strong that he addressed to his friend, the third Marquis of Lansdowne, "a carefully reasoned letter—a State paper in all but form, urging the imminent perils that threatened a Constitution in which a reformed House of Commons found itself face to face with an unreformed House of Lords, and setting forth in detail a scheme for reconstructing the Upper Chamber on an election basis."¶

* "Public Life in England," p. 157-8.

† Message to a meeting at Middlesborough. See *Daily Telegraph*, July 28, 1884.

‡ "Speeches," popular edition, p. 293.

§ "Reminiscences," by Lord Ronald Gower, F.S.A., vol. i. p. 48.

|| *Ubi vide* post, no date is given, but apparently it was written 1835 or 1836.

¶ Trevelyan's "Life of Macaulay," vol. ii. p. 57, 58.

If Mr. Trevelyan can for a time escape from the pangs of that form of martyrdom which men call the Irish Secretaryship and give to the world this State paper of his uncle's, it would be a gift equally opportune and valuable.

The question of the abolition or reform of the House of Lords is now well within the range of practical politics. Spite of the present irritated feeling against that House we do not think the people are prepared for or desire its abolition. We are struck by the fact that at the recent yearly meeting of the Trades Union Congress, the Congress—if the report we have seen be correct*—unanimously agreed to a resolution expressing satisfaction with the Franchise Bill, and regret at its rejection, and assuring the Government of the hearty support of the Congress in any steps they may take to secure its passing, but the Congress rejected a Radical amendment in favour of the abolition of the House of Lords, while a Conservative amendment expressing regret that the Government failed to introduce a Redistribution Bill along with the Franchise Bill did not find a seconder. If not an universal, it is a very general truth, that a second chamber is found to be an essential part of Parliamentary institutions. It is so in America, not only in the Federal Government, but in each individual State. It is so in each of our great monarchical republics in Australia. On the Continent it is so, not only in Belgium and Italy, but also in Republican France. Writing in 1873, Professor Thorold Rogers expressed this opinion:—"No one would advise that the English nobility should be disfranchised utterly, should be debarred all political rights. It is better therefore to leave them where they are most harmless, and where, as events progress, they will wield less and less of real power. It may be hereafter necessary to limit the power of veto which they possess, and which they occasionally use vexatiously and factiously."† That necessity, we think, has now arisen. The additional resolution passed at the Franchise Demonstration at Manchester of July 26 expresses the general opinion, "That the power of veto on legislation hitherto exercised by the House of Lords is an intolerable anomaly, is a constant hindrance to good and necessary legislation, and ought to be abolished." Other means of escape from the present difficulty are suggested. Mr. Arthur Arnold‡ argues that the Queen should give Mr. Gladstone the same power of creating peers which in 1832 William IV. gave Earl Grey. Certainly the

* In the *Daily Telegraph*, Sept. 10, 1884, but the reports in that paper are often grossly unfair, still more often grossly inaccurate.

† "Cohden and Political Opinion," p. 267.

‡ *Fortnightly Review*, Aug. 1884.

Conservatives cannot reasonably object to this proposal. In the reign of Anne :—

On one occasion only did the House of Lords act directly counter to her views, and to those of the Ministry which enjoyed her complete confidence, and then the majority of the House of Lords was summarily swamped by the creation of twelve new peers. No other Ministry has dealt a blow at the independence of the Upper House of Parliament, or set a precedent for paralyzing the then majority, equivalent to the blow struck and the precedent set by the Tory Ministry which enjoyed the confidence of Queen Anne, whose own sympathies and action were in perfect accord with those of the uncompromising Tory party.*

Referring to this creation of peers, and to the Bill for limiting the number of the House of Lords, introduced in consequence of it, Lord Macaulay says :—

The theory of the English Constitution, according to many high authorities, was that three independent powers, the Sovereign, the Nobility, and the Commons, ought constantly to act as checks on each other. If this theory were sound, it seemed to follow that to put one of these powers under the absolute control of the other two, was absurd. But if the number of peers were unlimited, it could not be well denied that the Upper House was under the absolute control of the Crown and the Commons, and was indebted only to their moderation for any power which it might be suffered to retain.†

A sufficient creation of peers would of course remove the present dead-lock, but the objection to such a creation is, that, if once the precedent be set, each successive Ministry, whose measures may be defeated in the Upper House, will be justified in following the precedent, and creating a majority for their necessity until, to revive an old saying, "the House of Lords would have to meet on Salisbury Plain." Lord Lyndhurst‡ propounds a theory of a House of Lords that shall be at one and the same time hereditary and representative. This he would do by converting the English, Scotch, and Irish Peerages into one Electoral College, which should elect representatives out of their own body, and that these elected peers should be the House of Lords. The country's experience of the working of the representative principle in the case of the Irish and Scotch repre-

* Article "Bolingbroke," in the *Times*, Aug. 5, 1884, attributed by rumour to Mr. G. O. Trevelyan, M.P.

† "Life and Writings of Addison." Essays, edition 1874, p. 772. We understand Lord Macaulay to be narrating the opinion of the time on the question, not giving or even intimating his own.

‡ In the *Nineteenth Century* for August 1884.

sentative peers does not lead us to wish for its further extension. A House of Lords elected by the peers would only represent the interests, privileges, and prejudices of their class as strongly as, or more strongly than, the present House, and the altered state of things would be as bad or worse than the existing.*

The pressing and practical question, however, is not a general Reform of the House of Lords, but how to get the Houses out of the dead-lock into which they have been brought by Lord Salisbury. The best and simplest way would be not by direct legislation but, as in the case of the suspension of voting by proxy in the House of Lords,† by the tacit operation of what Dr. E. A. Freeman calls "that delicate system of understandings which forms our unwritten Constitution," the adoption of Mr. Bright's suggestion that the Lords should cease to exercise their veto on any measure sent to them for a second time by the Commons. If this suggestion be adopted, Mr. Bright will again vindicate the right he fairly claims to be considered a Conservative element in our politics.

We would respectfully call Lord Salisbury's attention to the letter written in 1845 by the Duke of Wellington to the late Earl of Derby, on his secession from the Peel Ministry in order to lead the opposition to the repeal of the corn laws. The Duke, deprecating the Earl's intended opposition, describes the manner in which he had led the Conservative majority in the Lords:—

For many years, indeed from the year 1830, when I retired from office, I have endeavoured to manage the House of Lords upon the principle on which I conceive that the institution exists in the Constitution of the country, that of Conservatism. I have invariably objected to all violent and extreme measures, which is not exactly the mode of acquiring influence in a political party in England, particularly one in opposition to Government. I have invariably supported Government in Parliament upon important occasions, and have always exercised my personal interest to prevent the mischief of anything like a difference or division between the two Houses, of which there are some remarkable instances, to which I will advert here, as they will tend to show you the nature of my management, and possibly, in some degree, account for the extraordinary power which I have for so many years exercised, without any apparent claim to it. Upon finding the difficulties in which the late King William was involved by a promise made to create peers—the number, I believe, indefinite—I determined myself, and I prevailed upon others, the number very large, to be absent from the House in the discussion of the last stages of the Reform Bill, after the negotiations had failed for the formation of a new Administration.

* See on this subject the remarks of Professor Thorold Rogers, in "Cobden and Political Opinion," p. 266 *et seq.*

† In 1868, see "Reform of the House of Lords," p. 5.

This course at the time gave great dissatisfaction to the party; notwithstanding that, I believe it saved the existence of the House of Lords at the time, and the Constitution of the country. Subsequently, throughout the period from 1835 to 1841, I prevailed upon the House of Lords to depart from many principles and systems which they, as well as I, had adopted and voted—on Irish tithes, Irish corporations, and other measures—much to the vexation and annoyance of many. But I recollect one particular measure, the union of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, in the early stages of which I had spoken in opposition to the measure, and had protested against it, and in the last stages of it I prevailed upon the House to agree to and pass it in order to avoid the injury to the public interests of a dispute between the Houses upon a question of such importance. Then I supported the measures of the Government, and upheld a servant of the Government, Captain Elliott, in China; all of which tended to weaken my influence with some of the party; others, possibly a majority, might have approved of the course I took. . . . Upon the important occasion and question now before the House, I propose to endeavour to induce them to avoid involving the country in the additional difficulties of a difference of opinion, possibly a dispute, between the House on a question in the decision of which it has been frequently asserted that their Lordships had a personal interest, which assertion, however false as affecting each of them personally, could not be denied as affecting the proprietors of land in general.*

This letter shows that the Duke, towards the close of his life, had attained some degree of that civil wisdom of which, according to his brother, the Marquis Wellesley, he had in his earlier days absolutely none. We commend the Duke's example and his wise counsels to the serious and careful consideration of the Marquis of Salisbury. It is not too late for him to take heed to his ways, and make for his party a safe if not an honourable or graceful retreat from the untenable position into which he has unfortunately and mischievously led them.†

* We quote from the *Liverpool Daily Post*, *ubi supra*. The letter will be found in "The Wellington Despatches."

† On the subject of this article *conf.* WESTMINSTER REVIEW, N.S., No. CVII., July, 1878: article, "The House of Lords," and No. CXXIV., article: "The Jubilee of the First Reform Act."

INDEPENDENT SECTION.

[Under the above title a limited portion of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW is occasionally set apart for the reception of able Articles, which, though harmonizing with the general spirit and aims of the Review, may contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it advocates. The object of the Editors, in introducing this department, is to facilitate the expression of opinion by men of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern both from the Editors and from each other.]

THE NON-CONTAGIOUSNESS, CAUSATION, AND
SCIENTIFIC TREATMENT OF CHOLERA.

1. *Diarrhœa and Cholera* : their Nature, Origin, and Treatment through the agency of the Nervous System. By JOHN CHAPMAN, M.D., M.R.C.P., M.R.C.S. Second Edition, enlarged. Svo. London : 1866.
2. *Cases of Diarrhœa and Cholera* treated successfully through the agency of the Nervous System, chiefly by means of the Spinal Ice-bag. By JOHN CHAPMAN. London : 1871.
3. *A System of Medicine*. Edited by J. RUSSELL REYNOLDS, M.D., F.R.S. London : 1870. Article on "Epidemic Cholera," by EDWARD GOODEVE, M.B.
4. *The Science and Practice of Medicine*. By WILLIAM AITKIN, M.D. Sixth Edition. London : 1872. Article, "Malignant Cholera."
5. *A History of Asiatic Cholera*. By C. MACNAMARA, F.C.U. London : 1876.
6. *Further Reports by Surgeon-General Hunter on the Cholera Epidemic in Egypt*. Presented to both Houses of Parliament. London : 1883.
7. *Bulletin de l'Académie de Médecine*. No. 30, Séance du Juillet 1884, et No. 35, Séance du 26 Août 1884. *Le Choléra de 1884—Toulon, Marseille*. Par M. JULES GUÉRIN.
8. *Cholera and its Bacillus*. By ROBERT KOCH, M.D. An Address delivered before the Imperial German Board of Health at Berlin. Translated from the *Deutsche Medicinische Wochenschrift* for the *British Medical Journal*, Nos. 1235 and 1236. London : 1884.

IN India, the so-called "home" and "source" of cholera, where it is generally believed to be non-contagious, its presence produces no panic; the healthy relatives or friends of the sick minister to their needs without fear of becoming infected; the

physicians and nurses, on whom they are dependent for treatment and care, have as little apprehension of danger, when attending to them, as they feel when attending to other patients. Victims of cholera are not isolated, but, on the contrary, it is even customary to treat them in the same wards in which sufferers from other diseases are treated, and without any evil result. The clothes of such patients are not burnt, or even fumigated; all persons are free to go in, or go out, of cholera districts without let or hindrance; and the practice of disinfecting passengers at railway stations and the establishment of *cordons-sanitaires* are alike unknown.

In Europe how widely different are the beliefs and consequent customs which prevail! The doctrine that cholera is contagious is everywhere held and taught authoritatively by physicians, it suffuses the whole medical press, is generally echoed by the lay press of every country, and is accepted without question as an article of faith by all European peoples. While the last great discovery of the proximate cause of cholera—the comma-shaped microbe of Dr. Koch—is already subsiding into the Lethe which, during the last fifty years, has engulfed hundreds of parasitic fungi which had played a like rôle, the hypothetical *cholera contagium* holds its own, and is spoken of undoubtingly as a zymotic (fermentative) agent, capable of multiplying “in a ratio at least as great” as that of small-pox; it is dogmatically affirmed to travel from one district or from one country to another; to proceed, as a general rule, along the lines of human intercourse and, especially, along the courses of rivers; to be sometimes favoured by the wind, but not infrequently to advance in opposition to it; and, most certainly, to avail itself of ships in order to pass from one country to another separated by sea. When cholera appears in any town or village its inhabitants are seized with panic and seek safety in the most precipitate flight; contact with victims of the disease is especially dreaded as if fraught with the utmost danger; they are rigorously isolated from the healthy; their clothes are burnt and, sometimes, also, even the things they may have handled,* or the carriage in which they may have been conveyed. *Cordons-sanitaires*, transgressors of which run the risk of being shot,† are often placed round the “infected”

* In the letter of the *Times*' correspondent published on the 12th ult., he says: “A friend of mine who has just returned from Naples, told me that he saw a fruit woman tumble off her seat in the Mercato, and as she was carried away a bonfire of her chair, stand, and fruit was made on the spot.” Railway carriages conveying passengers, who while in them were seized with cholera, were this year burnt at Spezia.

† At Spezia, the soldiers were ordered to shoot any one attempting to pass the cordon.—*Times*, Sept. 10, 1884.

districts; letters in transit are stopped and fumigated; if the rigour of the *cordon* is so far relaxed as to allow trains to pass the passengers are fumigated also; and, finally, in the hope of preventing the importation of the disease from one country to another, the several nations of Continental Europe enforce the useless and vexatious practice of quarantine. Every reflecting person who duly considers the wide difference here indicated between the beliefs and practices of India on the one hand, and those of Europe on the other, in respect to cholera, must be struck with astonishment, as it appears to me, by this marvellous discrepancy. And yet how few European physicians seem ever to consider it even, and how rarely any one of them is led to doubt the truthfulness of his own convictions, and to ask himself whether there be any real grounds for those precisely opposite convictions which prevail in India! At the sitting of the French Academy of Medicine, August 26 last, a report was read concerning a proposal to organize a Commission for the study of the phenomena of cholera. In this report occurs the following statement:—"This [proposed] inquiry, it must be borne in mind, is not inspired by a preconceived doctrinal idea;" and yet in this same report it is said that two of the principal objects of the Commission would be "to determine the length of the period of incubation of cholera, and whether it has been imported into the towns and villages of France, until then free from it, by man or by contaminated objects." It is evident from these words that the Commission of the French Academy of Medicine has started on its course of investigation already loaded with three assumptions—viz. (1) that cholera is the consequence of a specific poison; (2) that this poison is zymotic, and therefore has a period of incubation; and (3) that it is imported from without into towns and villages previously free from it! That a body of scientific men, while holding firmly to these assumptions as if they were proven verities, can complacently assure itself that it "is not inspired by a preconceived doctrinal idea," is at once an astounding example of self-delusion, and an instructive proof of the great depth and strength of the current of prejudice which has to be drained off before European physicians as a body will become able to investigate the nature of cholera in accordance with that scientific method now recognized as the only sure guide to truth.

I believe I am justified in stating that there is only one member of the French Academy of Medicine who, in studying the etiology of cholera, exemplifies the method just mentioned. In doing so he has so distinguished himself that, were I writing for French readers, they would know to whom I refer, even if I abstained from naming the indefatigable, eminent, and venerable

Jules Guérin, whom the Academy, influenced, probably, "by a pre-conceived doctrinal idea," excluded from the Commission now conducting its inquiry on the assumption that the questionable propositions named above are axiomatic truths. But, notwithstanding this assumption by the authoritative medical body which directs the thought and moulds the belief of France on medical subjects, I venture to re-open the question—Is cholera contagious? On the answers which are given to this question hang great practical consequences. All European Governments, advised by their several medical counsellors, answer it, through their accredited organs and by their actions, in the affirmative; the Government of India, also advised by its medical counsellors, whose minds are most informed by experience of the matter, and who therefore may fairly be presumed to be the most competent judges, answers it in the negative. In thus advising the Government of India, Anglo-Indian physicians rely exclusively on experience; for up to the present time no investigator of the nature of cholera, where it may be most continuously observed, has been able to reveal to us in what consists its essence and cause. Sir J. Fayrer says that, notwithstanding his long experience, he is "totally ignorant of the nature of the disease;" and Professor Goodeve remarks, "it must be confessed that we do not know what is the exciting cause of cholera." Believing myself able to explain the mystery, to show how every symptom of the disease is produced, to supply an intelligible *rationale* of the known facts connected with it, and to present decisive proofs, both implicit and explicit, that cholera is not contagious, it seems to me especially expedient at the present time that I should lay my conclusions before the public, together with an exposition of the facts and arguments on which they are based. Compared with the magnitude of the subject, that exposition will necessarily be extremely brief; and, inasmuch as many physiological and pathological facts which it would mention in detail, were it addressed to medical men, must here be either ignored or merely referred to, it will of course be very defective. I hope, however, that by using language as simple and untechnical as I can command, to render the argument I am about to expound easily apprehensible by the general reader.

It is often observed that our first impressions of persons with whom we become acquainted are the truest, and scarcely less often experience justifies the observation: when English physicians first became acquainted with cholera in India, where it presents itself in its most terrible aspects, and before they had formulated any theories concerning it, they were most deeply impressed by its spasmodic character; and hence, regarding the

nervous system as primarily affected, they designated the disease *cholera spasmodica*. Since then pathologists have made a wide circuit, searching in every other element of the body for the essential nature of the malady; but they have not found it, and I shall endeavour to show that those first impressions of Anglo-Indian physicians, which originated the name *cholera spasmodica*, were true—that, in fact, cholera is essentially a disease of the nervous system. But before making this attempt, I must premise a few words concerning the nervous system itself.

In man, as in all the higher animals, there are, indeed, two nervous systems—the cerebro-spinal and the sympathetic. The former comprises the brain and spinal cord, together with the forty-three pairs of nerves which are given off from them. It is by the intervention of cerebro-spinal nerves that our voluntary muscles are brought into action, that the various glands and glandlets throughout the body are made to secrete, and that the manifold impressions of all kinds which are made on the peripheral ends of our sensory nerves are conveyed to the nervous centres—the spinal cord and brain. The Sympathetic nervous system consists, chiefly, of a series of little masses of nervous matter called ganglia (knots), arranged along each side of the spinal column, and connected by intermediate nerve filaments so as to form two knotted cords. These extend from the upper part of the neck along the spinal column to its lowest extremity called the “coccyx.” This ganglionic system communicates with every pair of cerebro-spinal nerves as they emerge from the spinal cord, and also unites with cerebro-spinal nerves to form numerous “plexuses,” from which branches are distributed to all the organs contained in the thoracic, abdominal, and pelvic cavities.

A striking and especially interesting feature in the distribution of the force emanating from the Sympathetic is the great amount of it which is supplied to the heart and blood-vessels (chiefly arterial) throughout the body. Every tube of the arterial system, beginning with the heart and terminating in the minutest arterial twigs, is surrounded by delicate, clinging filaments from the sympathetic ganglia in much the same manner as ivy twines itself around the stems and branches of trees. The functions of this remarkable assemblage of ganglionic nerve-centres long remained a mystery, and, in many respects, remains a mystery still. But, happily, its chief function, at all events, has been revealed; were it not for this revelation the essential nature of cholera must have continued unknown and unknowable.

The great and lasting honour of discovering and of demonstrating the main function of the Sympathetic was reserved for

that profoundly sagacious and pre-eminent physiologist, the late Professor of Physiology at the Collège de France, Claude Bernard. Every artery is surrounded by a series of muscular rings so intimately joined together as to form a continuous muscular tube—called the muscular coat—which formerly was supposed by its elasticity to aid in propelling onwards the successive waves of blood originated by the heart. In 1851 Bernard proved that the involuntary muscles constituting the muscular coat of arteries are as thoroughly dominated by, and subservient to, nerve-force as are the muscles which are subject to mental control (those of our limbs, for example) and which execute our volitions; and that the nerve-force which governs these involuntary arterial muscles emanates from sympathetic centres, and is distributed to those muscles by sympathetic nerves. When endeavouring to find out in what way the nervous system contributes to the generation of animal heat, Bernard divided the sympathetic, or ganglionic, cord in the neck of a living rabbit. Immediately afterwards, on the side on which the nerve had been divided, the blood-vessels of the conjunctiva (the mucous membrane covering the front of the eye and lining the eyelids) and of the ear became visibly and greatly distended; the temperature of the face and head on the same side rose *seven degrees centigrade* (about 12° F.) above that of the sound side; sensibility was increased, and, generally, the phenomena of an increase of vital action presented themselves.

In 1852 Brown-Séquard, the distinguished compeer of Bernard, and now his successor as Professor of Physiology at the Collège de France, first, and afterwards Bernard and the English physician, Dr. Augustus Waller, galvanized the upper part of the severed ganglionic cord, and found that the effects produced by doing so were the reverse of those consequent on its section—the blood-vessels contracted, the quantity of blood was lessened, the temperature was lessened, and generally the phenomena of a decrease of vital action presented themselves. In fact, galvanization of the Sympathetic can produce contractions so vigorous of the blood-vessels subject to the part of the nerve galvanized as to suspend or arrest almost wholly the circulation of the blood in them. Owing to its wonderful power of contracting arteries, it can render the parts supplied by those it constricts pale and bloodless; it can retard or arrest textural nutrition, and, therefore, the organic functions; and, as by arresting textural nutrition, it arrests those chemical processes which form an essential part of the changes associated with that nutrition, and in consequence of which heat is evolved, it can cool the body to the extent even of rendering it nearly as cold as a corpse. Considering the last-named results of the action of the Sympathetic, Bernard named it the *Frigorific* nerve.

The foregoing very imperfect, because necessarily very brief, explanation in respect to the nervous system will, I hope, enable my readers to understand without difficulty the following exposition of the nature, or immediate cause, of cholera.

During the last half-century many students of cholera have ascribed it to disorder of the nervous system. In 1831, Dr. G. H. Bell, in his work, "*Cholera Asphyxia*," endeavoured to prove that the disease is due to a morbid state of the Sympathetic. Several other Anglo-Indian physicians, impressed especially by the spasmodic phenomena of the disease, ascribed it, as already mentioned, to disorder of the nervous system. In 1832 a French physician, Dr. L. Auzoux, published the doctrine "that cholera is to the great Sympathetic what epilepsy is to the brain." Dr. Davey, in his work on the "*Ganglionic Nervous System*," published in 1858, claims to have shown that cholera is due to a morbid state of that system. The eminent English physician, Sir William Gull, refers the symptoms of the disease to "an early and severe depression of the ganglionic nervous centres;" Dr. Copland, in his "*Medical Dictionary*," expresses a like opinion; and Dr. Goodeve, one of the most recent of the English authoritative writers on cholera, says that the state of the lungs and intestines implies that the nervous system is under a morbid influence. But though the authorities in favour of the hypothesis that, to a large extent at least, cholera is a disorder of the nervous system, are numerous and weighty, all of them ascribe the disorder exclusively to the action of the Sympathetic: the rôle of the cerebro-spinal system is wholly ignored, and while several of these pathologists are of opinion that the sympathetic nervous system is profoundly depressed or exhausted, no one of them explains in what consist the several links in the chain of causation between the alleged disorder of this nervous system and the manifold symptoms of the disease.

The doctrine which I believe affords a complete and consistent explanation of all the seemingly mysterious phenomena of cholera may be thus expressed: All the symptoms of cholera are due to simultaneous and abnormal superabundance of blood in, and excessively preternatural activity of, both the spinal cord and the sympathetic nervous centres.

In my work on Cholera, named at the head of this article, I have enumerated thirty-eight characteristic symptoms of the disease; and of these twenty-one are, as I clearly show, produced by morbidly excessive activity of the spinal cord. In the early stages of the disease *all* the secreting organs *are* preternaturally active: the renal, hepatic, pancreatic, mucous (including the intestinal), and sweat glands are pouring out their appropriate secretions

superabundantly. Now, all these functions are carried on by virtue of force conveyed, there are valid reasons for believing, through spinal nerves, from the spinal cord. The question—What is the immediate cause of the immense outpour from the stomach and bowels? is at once so important and so interesting that I shall venture to advert to it particularly. It is remarkable, as already intimated, that nearly every writer on cholera, when adverting to the state of the nervous centres related to the intestines, speaks of them as being profoundly depressed or exhausted, and considers that the proper functions of secretion are arrested. It is probable that the large amount of serous or watery effusion which occurs has concentrated attention upon itself, and, to the eyes of the majority of observers, has masked the important fact that the actual secretion of mucus is enormously increased. The large amount of whitish flocculent matter constituting the characteristic element of the so-called rice-water evacuations has, however, been the subject of elaborate and prolonged researches and discussions, and has given rise to a great diversity of opinion as to its essential nature. In my work on Cholera, I have reviewed the evidence adduced on this question, and have, I believe, demonstrated decisively that, so far from the nervous centres related to the intestines being, as they have been generally said to be, profoundly depressed or exhausted, they are, in fact, in a state of the most extreme and tumultuous activity. I must, however, content myself here by adducing but one witness in support of this statement; and his evidence may perhaps be held to be of special value, not only because he has been a careful observer of the nature of the choleraic discharges, but also because, having put forth a theory of cholera which differs widely from mine, he will probably be regarded as an impartial witness: I refer to Dr. George Johnson, who says,—

The flocculi in the rice-water stools consist almost entirely of *perfectly organized epithelial cells, most of them of large size*. Of this fact I have satisfied myself by repeated examinations of the discharges from different patients. The peculiar creamy viscid secretion, which sometimes nearly fills the small intestines after death, is almost entirely made up of the same *fully formed epithelium*. Now, it is obvious that this large amount of epithelium cannot be explained by the peeling away of one or two layers of cells from the surface of the mucous membranes—the result of a local irritation during life, or of maceration by the fluid contents of the bowel after death. *This abundant cell-formation can result only from a very active vital effort*.

In presence of the large array of facts pertaining to this question now accumulated, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion, that the whole glandular system of the alimentary canal is in a state of the most energetic, tumultuous activity; that the

development of gland cells, which are shed in quick succession, is extraordinarily exuberant; and that a very large proportion at least of the cells, and cell-detritus, as well as the whole of the superabundant mucus found in the evacuations and intestines after death, is the product of this excessive development from the vast extent of the glands and glandular surface in question. A recognition that the functions of this large body of secreting cells are thus enormously augmented and intensified, produces the conviction that the nervous influence distributed to the entire glandular surface must have been overwhelmingly energetic and intense; and this conviction becomes a certainty when we consider the thoroughly ascertained fact that during collapse the temperature within that part of the bowels to which the thermometer can be applied is higher than normal; in many cases it is 103° F., and in some cases as high, even, as 105° F. In instructive accord with these facts, the temperature in the groin is found to be about 2° F. higher than it is in the armpit. My discovery that the mucous membranes generally may have their functional activity increased by the application of heat along the spine, and lessened by cold along the same region,* while revealing how it is that, simultaneously with general spasmodic contraction of the arterial system, such immense outpourings from the mucous glands of the alimentary canal are possible and effected, prove conclusively that hyperæmia of the spinal cord is at once the proximate cause and complete explanation of this hitherto mysterious phenomenon.

Another important group of symptoms consists of morbid conditions of the muscular system. These are—abdominal griping; excessive contractions, or expulsive activity, of the stomach and bowels; excessive activity of the thoracic and abdominal muscles; excessive contraction of the urinary bladder; tremors; muscular twitchings; fixed and stony expression of the face; tonic hardness of some, or of many, of the voluntary muscles; tightness across the lower part of the chest; cramps and convulsions. Now all these morbid phenomena of the muscular system are exclusively due to over-activity of the spinal cord, which discharges its tumultuous excess of nerve-force through the spinal-motor nerves, on the muscles with which they are connected. The whole of the morbid conditions already mentioned consist of an excess of function of the organs implicated. Hence, for convenience of description I call them *positive* phenomena; and the nerves which are concerned in producing them I call *positive* motor nerves. To the excessive

* For evidence of the truth of this statement, the reader is referred to the introductory chapters in my works on "Sea-sickness" and "Cholera" respectively.

action of these nerves is also due the phenomenon often observable in cases of cholera—viz., the presence of albumen in the urine, the production of which is explained at page 101 of my work on “Diarrhoea and Cholera.”

On the other hand, there is a number of symptoms which are exclusively due to the excessive activity of the Sympathetic, and the character of which is accurately denoted by the word *deprivation*. All the symptoms in question are due to the fact that the affected organs are deprived of their wonted supply of blood. Hence I call this group of symptoms *negative*; and the Sympathetic which produces them the *negative* motor nerve. The first group of these symptoms are cerebral—viz., slight headache, deafness of various grades, ringing in the ears, dizziness, slight faintness, syncope, enfeeblement (but without perversion) of the mental faculties. These conditions are all clearly referable to the state of cerebral anæmia induced by the undue contraction of the brain-arteries caused by the constricting action of the Sympathetic.

As the disease advances, the arteries which supply the lachrymal and salivary glands, the liver and kidneys, become so powerfully constricted that blood ceases to flow to those organs, and hence their appropriate secretions become fearfully “conspicuous by their absence.” The negative character of the pulmonary group of symptoms is not less striking. The involuntary circular muscles, not only of the pulmonary blood-vessels, but of the bronchial tubes, are powerfully constricted. Hence the arrest, more or less complete, of the normal chemical changes which take place in the lungs, the shrinking of the lungs themselves, and the obvious consequences—short, struggling, and rapid respiration, enfeeblement of the voice, voicelessness, and cold breath—devoid, or all but devoid, of carbonic acid. Gradually the arteries of the skin become so contracted that the blood is shut off from the surface of the body, the result being the well-known and extremely characteristic group of symptoms called “Algidæ”—symptoms which include the shrunken, death-like aspect of the visage, the corrugated condition, dark colour (cyanosis), all but abolished sensibility, and corpse-like coldness of the skin. The fatally constricting energy of the violently excited Sympathetic finishes its work by depriving, first the voluntary, and then the involuntary muscles of their needful supply of blood—death consequently overtaking each in the same order of succession. And though the brain still lives, the patient, while possessing consciousness and more or less intellectual capacity, including the power of hearing and understanding what is going on around him, may yet be unable to give any sign that such is the case.

Finally, death overtakes the nervous system itself. As correctly stated by Professor Parkes: "two or three hours before death there is often some return of heat in the scalp and forehead, over the region of the heart or whole-chest; it may be also over the abdomen; the extremities are still icy cold, and the cholera visage is unaltered. This partial return of heat on the head and trunk is an immediate forerunner of death, and, as far as I have seen, is invariably a fatal sign; it is occasionally confined altogether to the cardiac region, and is sometimes astonishingly great." This remarkable phenomenon is immediately due to the relaxation of the various branches of the pulmonary artery, of the bronchial tubes, and of those systemic arteries distributed over those parts of the body which, during the disease, have continued most vital, and have therefore preserved the highest temperature. The blood has continued to pass through these arteries most copiously, and is thus prepared to effect their dilatation, and to flow through them in fuller currents than before, the moment the energetic stimulus from the negative motor nerves, which has kept them in a state of tonic spasm, declines or ceases. Now already, when the phenomenon in question presents itself, the ganglionic nervous centres presiding over the arteries just mentioned have begun to die. Their convulsive grasp of the blood-vessels and air-tubes, which has already proved fatal to the system generally, is being relaxed, and they themselves are sharing the fate which, through their agency, has overtaken the entire organism. A last but vain effort for life is made, however, by the structures, released at length from the deadly influence of their excessive energy. The normal attraction between the venous blood in the pulmonary arteries and the air in the air-cells generates movement of the blood through the pulmonary capillaries; it reaches the left heart, and is thence forced most copiously into those systemic arteries just indicated, and thence, finding its way to the starving tissues, the usual vital changes occur. Meanwhile, as a result of the renewed oxidation occurring in the lungs, and in the parts supplied by the newly relaxed systemic arteries, heat is evolved, and constitutes the phenomenon in question. But this local struggle for life is too late: its possibility depends on the presence of death in the nervous system, which, soon seizing on the brain itself, closes the scene. This local increase of temperature before death is a strong proof that the blood-vessels are healthy; that the structures are healthy, and suffer only from lack of nourishment; that the blood itself is free from poison; and that the disease is seated in the nervous system.

The increase or long persistence of heat in the body after death, which is a well-established fact, is merely the continuance

and extension over the whole body, after the death of the brain, of the series of actions commenced before death, and explained in the preceding paragraph. The whole sympathetic system having ceased its functions, the arteries throughout the body relax; the small supply of blood in them is drawn through the systemic capillaries; every particle of oxygen which it can yield up combines with the surrounding structures; and while there are elements to continue these changes, the temperature of the body is raised, maintained, or prevented from declining with the rapidity usual after death from almost all other diseases. The reflux of blood throughout the body denoted by the general increase or unusual persistence of its heat must inevitably result in lessening the bulk of any organ which may have been unduly distended with blood. Such an organ in choleraic collapse is the spleen, which is found unusually large during life, but which after death presents in respect to size no constant appearance. It seems to me probable that when the evacuations are extremely abundant, the spleen is less distended than in other cases, and that the great variations of size which it presents after death depend upon the amount of the evacuations, and the extent to which the post-mortem arterial relaxations result in a temporary renewal of textural vitality, which, of course, implies to the same extent a diffusion of the previously pent-up blood throughout the body.

Those post-mortem changes in the aspect of the skin, which in cases of cholera are especially notable, result from the chemical changes occurring, and caused as described in the preceding paragraph. The skin becomes lighter in colour, even when it has been especially dark, and has continued so for some time, because the oxydation of the blood changes it from blue to red, while the relaxation and partial dilatation of the terminal arteries cause the shrivelled aspect of the face, hands, and feet, partially or wholly, to disappear.

Those extraordinary and, to the ignorant, terrifying phenomena—post-mortem muscular contractions—have never, I believe, received a satisfactory explanation; but the hypothesis here expounded reveals the cause of them at once. The arteries supplying the muscles were vehemently contracted before death, but are now relaxed; immediately before death the muscles were deprived of blood, and therefore enfeebled to the utmost degree; after death, receiving a new supply of blood, their hungering constituent elements receive fresh nourishment; with it new strength, and, under the stimulus of the still hyperæmic spinal cord, which is the last to die, contract in the manner described. It seems to me that if the waning life of the blood in the spinal cord be equally distributed, those apparently

co-ordinated muscular movements sometimes observable are most likely to occur, and that when special segments of the cord retain their excitability longer than the rest, convulsive movements of one or of a few muscles only will result.

The early onset of rigor-mortis is a fact characteristic of cholera corpses, and is in extremely interesting accordance with the requirements of the hypothesis now expounded. When the Sympathetic of an animal is divided, and one part of it is excessively stimulated by means of galvanism, the arteries to which that part is distributed become, of course, strongly contracted, and in this manner a condition like to that which I affirm to exist in the arteries of a cholera patient in collapse is induced. Now, in such cases, rigor-mortis invariably supervenes in the part of the animal thus experimented upon far more rapidly than elsewhere; and the fact that the same condition comes on with extraordinary rapidity after death from choleraic collapse, is a striking proof that the arteries of patients in that state are powerfully constricted by nervous agency.

Additional evidence in support of the hypothesis in question is derived from the post-mortem appearances in cases of death during collapse. The distribution of the blood generally is always in the veins. "Arborescent venous congestion" is the prevailing epithet used to describe the aspect of the vascular system, the arteries being empty. This is the condition which the hypothesis presupposes. Whatever may be the amount of hyperæmia of the spinal cord and ganglionic nervous centres during life, it by no means follows that they will be found in the same condition after death. Indeed, what has already been stated concerning the change in them after death, and its results in the arterial system, proves that their vascular state is modified when death occurs. It is, however, said that the spinal cord is found extremely congested, and that the sympathetic centres examined by Mayer were disorganized. These statements need confirmation. But if the sympathetic ganglia were disorganized, the fact would imply that their functional activity had been intensified to the extent of inducing destructive inflammation, and, if so, this is the strongest fact which could be adduced in proof of the doctrine here propounded.

This brief exposition of the proximate cause of cholera may be fitly closed by a reference to the state of the blood of patients dying in collapse. It has been the object of a large amount of careful investigation by numerous observers, who, on the whole, concur in the conclusion that whatever differences in its constitution from that of normal blood are discoverable, are differences mainly due to the withdrawal from it of a large amount of its most fluid portion. There is no evidence that the blood is in

any other respects unhealthy. The truth of this remark is strikingly confirmed by the experiments of Professor Parkes, who proved not only that, by inflation of the lungs after death, the dark blood in them becomes vividly red, but that when it is taken out of the body, and exposed to the air in thin layers, it does the same. "It is certainly a very singular thing," he says, "that in cholera the blood should retain its power, out of the body, of acquiring a red colour when exposed to the air in thin layers, and yet in the body, that this change, as well as the changes leading to the production of heat, should be interrupted. *This certainly looks like obstruction only.*" These words which I have put in italics show how near the truth of the matter Professor Parkes stood: though the morbid processes to which the phenomena of cholera are due are usually supposed to consist of chemical changes wrought in the blood by an organic poison, all that we know of the state of that fluid tends to prove that it is essentially healthy, that the changes effected in it are merely changes in the relative amount of its constituents, and that those changes are consequences of purely physical or dynamic agencies.

So far as is practicable within the compass of this article I have now shown that all the symptoms of cholera are produced by a preternatural, tumultuous energy and activity of the nervous system—both cerebro-spinal and sympathetic; and that, though extremely numerous and various, they are completely accounted for by the operation of one and the same immediate cause. In concluding this part of the subject, I may observe that while the hypothesis now briefly expounded does not exclude the possibility of the existence of a cholera poison, germ, or microbe, it is self-sufficing, and that this fact renders it extremely improbable either that any such poison, germ, or microbe is causative of cholera, or that the disease is in any sense more infectious or contagious than is sunstroke or epilepsy. Sir Andrew Clark, in his critical analysis of my work on Cholera, remarked that I might happily have prefixed to it for motto the axiom of Sir Isaac Newton: "*Causas rerum naturalium non plures admitti debere, quam quæ et veræ sint et earum phænomenis explicandis sufficient:*" now the nervous system in the state described above affords a sufficient and complete explanation of the production of the phenomena in question; therefore, to recognize even the possibility of a blood-poison as the immediate cause of cholera would be, according to Newton, not only needless, but contrary to the dictates of a sound scientific method.

I now invite my readers to a consideration of the *Causes of Cholera*. They are numerous, and their operation is often simul-

taneous and complex. I believe, however, they may be so classed as to prove, so far as evidence of identity of causes will avail as proof, that summer diarrhoea and cholera are one and the same disease; for it appears indubitable that they both arise out of the same conditions, and are originated by the same influences. The phenomena of cholera are ascribable to proximate, to remote or predisposing, and to exciting causes. The term, *proximate cause*, is generally understood to denote that morbid condition of any given structure the presence of which entails the symptoms characteristic of the disease in question as an inevitable consequence. This immediate cause is therefore justly regarded as the essence of the disease; and hence the determination and description of its seat and character constitute pathology. The pathology of cholera having been already discussed, I have only to advert here to its *remote* or *predisposing* and *exciting* causes. These terms are, in my opinion, objectionable; for, in respect to the causes of cholera, at least, they are often interchangeable: thus, if the pathology of cholera explained above be correct, atmospheric heat may induce hyperæmia of the nervous centres, and so predispose them to excessive functional activity. If now the person in whom this change has occurred drinks freely of alcoholic liquors, or water containing a considerable proportion of organic matter, he may directly, through the stimulating influence of the alcohol on the nervous centres, or indirectly, through irritating the nerves of the alimentary mucous membrane by the bad water, so excite those centres as to produce cholera; and conversely, alcohol or bad water acting as stated on nervous centres not already predisposed to cholera, may render them hyperæmic, thus inducing in them a predisposition to the disease, and when this condition has been established in this manner, the supervention of great atmospheric heat may excite in them that excessive activity resulting in cholera. Hence it appears that what is a predisposing cause in one person may be an exciting cause in another, and *vice-versâ*. The various causes of cholera are, I believe, essentially the same as those productive of diarrhoea; but, whereas one only of the causes hereafter mentioned may very often be productive of diarrhoea, the sources of cholera are more frequently complex, and thus effect, by their co-operation, results which, acting singly, they would be unable to produce.

It has been stated by Dr. Farr, the eminent medical statistician, that diarrhoea is as constantly observed in English towns when the temperature rises above 60 degrees Fahrenheit as are bronchitis and catarrh when the temperature falls below 32 degrees. In like manner, of all the influences which conduce

to the development of cholera none is so potent as that of *Solar Heat*. This truth is made manifest by the following facts :—

During the epidemic of cholera in England in 1831–2 the total number of deaths from the disease was 30,924; but of these no less than 24,613 occurred during the five months, June, July, August, September, and October. Again, during the epidemic of 1848–9 the total number of deaths from cholera in England was 54,398, and of these 50,521 occurred during the five months, June, July, August, September, and October. The epidemic occurring this year in France and Italy has, so far, been restricted to the months just named. In Bengal the hot seasons are those of the worst cholera epidemics. Observations extending over a period of eight years prove that the most fatal cholera months for European troops are from April to September.

When cholera, in its fully developed form, prevails, and, generally, preceding its advent in any given place, diarrhœa (cholera in its initial stage) is much more frequent than usual in the same place. A great increase of diarrhœa preceded and accompanied the invasion of cholera in 1832, in 1848–9, and in 1865. From June 3, 1865, when the first case of cholera was reported in London, to November 25, when the disease disappeared, the number of deaths from diarrhœa was 3,137, the deaths from cholera being only 182. The temperature of that year was at its highest in England throughout the month of July, and during that month the deaths from both diarrhœa and cholera were much the most numerous—viz., 1,284 from diarrhœa, and 75 from cholera. Moreover, the annual mortality from diarrhœa, like that from cholera, is greater in hot than in temperate climates. In England for the seven years 1848–54, it was at the rate of 86 per million; but for European troops in Bengal during the fifteen years 1830–45, it was at the rate of 4,555 per million. In fact, diarrhœa is destructive of life, especially during periods when, and in regions where, cholera is rife, to an extent which will surprise every one who is not familiar with the facts of the matter. Within the period of twenty years 1847–66 there were two cholera epidemics in England. During that period diarrhœa and cholera destroyed 417,199 persons, and of this number about three-fourths, or 311,200, were destroyed by diarrhœa. During the year 1857 the deaths in England from cholera were 1,150; but those from diarrhœa were 21,189. During the summer months of the present year the deaths in Paris from cholera have not exceeded one or two a week, but the deaths from diarrhœa, chiefly infantile, *each week*, have been as follows :—In May, 56; in June, 67; in

July, 209; in August, 224; and in September (up to the 25th), 119. From the evidence here tendered it appears then that great solar heat is the chief cause of both cholera and diarrhœa; that when cholera prevails diarrhœa is increasingly prevalent, and that where cholera is endemic diarrhœa is endemic also.

Now, seeing that solar heat of a certain intensity induces cholera, and seeing that, as a rule liable to certain exceptions, the number of deaths from the disease increases and decreases with the rise and fall of the atmospheric temperature, we must conclude either that heat alone suffices to produce in the nervous centres, *directly*, that condition of superabundance of blood associated with great excitement which is the immediate cause of the phenomena of cholera, or that it produces that condition, *indirectly*, in some inscrutable way—for example, by originating a poison in the blood. I venture to affirm that the first of these hypotheses claims our preference, because of its simplicity, because it accords with all known facts in respect to the action of solar heat on the nervous system, and because it suffices to explain, by the agency of a known factor, the origination of the condition in question without the necessity of conjuring up an additional agent, the presence of which afterwards becomes much more embarrassing than helpful. The following facts are, indeed, thoroughly established: Summer diarrhœa is induced by heat; cholera is induced by heat; in the great majority of cases of cholera, especially those occurring in temperate climates, the initial stage of the disease consists of diarrhœa exactly like summer diarrhœa; summer diarrhœa is often associated with cramps and notable coolness of the skin very suggestive of cholera; and, indeed, in the United States summer diarrhœa, the victims of which are chiefly children, assumes the likeness of cholera to such an extent as to have obtained the name Cholera Infantum.

The opinion has been expressed by C. T. Kiërf, near Bergen, by Mr. Orton, in 1832, by Professor Parkes, who relates a case in support of his belief, and by Professor Aitken, who adopts it, that the diarrhœa which generally prevails during invasions of cholera is capable of infecting healthy persons with "true cholera;" but I doubt if any one except these gentlemen would affirm that the ordinary summer diarrhœa in Europe, the cholera infantum of the United States, and the endemic diarrhœa of India are the consequences of a blood poison or of microbes in the intestines. And yet, wherever cholera prevails, either summer diarrhœa develops into cholera or the symptoms of the initial stage of most cases of cholera are to all intents and purposes identical with those of summer diarrhœa. The question therefore arises: at what stage does the sufferer from summer

diarrhœa, or from the diarrhœa which is the prelude of cholera, become the victim of the alleged cholera poison or cholera microbe? I believe all physicians having practical acquaintance with cholera are of opinion that the progress of the disease may be arrested in a large proportion of cases if prompt treatment be resorted to during the initial stage of diarrhœa; but would this be possible if the disease is from its beginning the result of a poison or microbe? And if it is not, I again ask, at what stage of the disease, and how, does the poison, or microbe, enter or become developed in the patient? I would also ask, how it comes to pass, if cholera be the result of a microbe or blood poison, that many patients recover from the disease in a wonderfully short time. And how can we explain the well-known fact that mental emotion can exert so powerful an influence on the sufferer from cholera as rapidly to hasten either his death or his recovery? Fear is as little likely to render the alleged poison in the blood more intensely poisonous, or to increase the destructive power of the microscopic invaders of the alimentary canal, as is assurance of recovery to neutralize that poison or to paralyze those invaders. Mental emotion exerts no such influence on the progress and termination of those diseases which there are valid reasons for believing to be results of blood-poisoning—viz., typhoid fever, scarlet fever, or small-pox.

Wide Ranges of Temperature, along with a high temperature, are also peculiarly conducive to the development of cholera. In the thirty-sixth week of 1854, when cholera raged in London, and the deaths from all causes rose to their maximum (3,413), the maximum range of temperature was 38·1, and the average daily range was 30·9, *the greatest in the fifty-two weeks of that year.* Extensive observations in India prove most conclusively that, as a rule, when the range of temperature is greatest the deaths from cholera are much the most numerous. Now, is there anything in this remarkable and well-attested fact favouring the idea that cholera is the product of either microbes or a blood-poison? Is it conceivable that wide ranges of temperature can conduce to originate either one or the other? On the other hand, it is easy to understand how the dynamic influence of the cause in question produces an instability of circulation in, and therefore preternatural excitability of, the nervous centres—conditions alike conducive to the production of cholera.

Disturbances of Atmospheric Electricity are, it is believed, especially favourable conditions for the development of cholera. Many delicate, nervous women are painfully affected by such disturbances, which, according to the testimony of several

authoritative medical observers, exert a powerful influence in producing puerperal convulsions, and in causing that disease to assume an epidemic character. In proof of the great influence of these disturbances on the nervous system I may mention that, in Paris, after the last Revolution, when the hospitals were crowded with the wounded, a very severe thunderstorm came on, and that the mortality was greater in all the hospitals on the night of the storm than on any previous or subsequent occasion. I have become acquainted with several cases in which persons in the presence of thunderstorms become troubled with diarrhoea; and of all the symptoms produced by attacks of atmospheric electricity diarrhoea is the most frequent. Moreover, it has been thoroughly ascertained that nearly every symptom of cholera is observable in one or another of the patients struck by lightning. It is recorded that at St. Petersburg during a cholera epidemic the magnetic needle did not obey its usual natural attractions, and that a magnet which usually sustained a weight equal to about seventy-five pounds to the square inch gradually lost this power as the disease increased, until at last, when the disease was at its height, it had only the sustaining power of fifteen pounds. As the disease decreased the power of the magnet increased until it sustained its proper weight. A similar fact was observed in Ireland during the epidemic of 1849. That cholera often succeeds a severe thunderstorm is well known. It seems impossible to avoid recognizing the existence of a causal relation between facts of this kind and the origination of cholera; but while such facts enforce the conviction that atmospheric electricity, which has, at least, close affinities with nerve force, exerts, when in a state of perturbation, a powerful and pre-eminently exciting influence on the whole nervous system, they are far from either suggesting or countenancing the notion that that influence poisons the blood or generates microbes in the intestines.

It seems to me likely that when the mode of attack of cholera is gradual, when it is characterized by premonitory diarrhoea, and when it presents itself over a wide area, the main factor in its production is solar heat, which, as already shown, acts the most potently when the diurnal range of its intensity is especially great; and that when the mode of attack is sudden, concentrated, and intense, the main factor in its production is that form of solar force we call electricity. Reasons have been adduced for alleging that there is probably a causal relation between the periodical famines which have been wont to occur in India, and a special influence in those years in which sun-spots appear. At the recent meeting of the British Association at Montreal, in the course of a discussion

on the connection of sun-spots with terrestrial phenomena, Mr. E. D. Archibald stated that "in years of sun-spots the barometric pressure increases, *giving clear skies and great heat*;" and the Rev. S. J. Perry said that "there is a decided connection between solar spots and terrestrial magnetism, that he can foretell aurora, and that *the greatest magnetic disturbances occur when the largest spots are seen.*" Countenanced by these statements, the idea will not, perhaps, be considered far fetched, or, indeed, improbable, that those years in which cholera is *at once extensively and intensely* epidemic will be found to be sun-spot years. Certainly the subject is fraught with intense interest, and needs to be thoroughly investigated.

An especially remarkable and very interesting proof of the existence of a cosmical influence, rendering the atmosphere of those localities where cholera is epidemic unhealthy, is afforded by the fact that birds leave such places. The occasions have been so numerous and in so many different countries, that it is impossible to regard the coincidence as merely accidental. In 1848 birds of all kinds deserted the towns of St. Petersburg and Riga, and it was in that year that cholera broke out there. The same phenomenon was observed, and chronicled at the time, in Western Prussia in 1849, and in Hanover in 1850. In the little town of Przemyśl, in Galicia; all the jackdaws took flight from the streets into the country on September 26, 1872, and cholera broke out there two days afterwards. On November 30 these birds returned from their spontaneous quarantine, and by that time the last case of cholera had been recorded. In 1873 the disease appeared in Munich and Nuremberg, and not only the larger birds, but the sparrows and swallows, deserted both these towns. The inhabitants of Nuremberg looked with joy on the return of the sparrows, which occurred as soon as the cholera had disappeared from the town.* P. Hinckes Bird, Medical Officer of Health at Lytham, states that a physician, referring to the presence, about thirty years ago, of epidemic cholera in "a favourite sea-side resort," observed that the atmosphere appeared to be poisoned, for both the fishmonger and butcher told him that the fish and meat would not keep beyond a few hours; and, remarked one of them, casually, "Have you noticed that all the birds have left?" The physician added, "True enough, not one was to be seen or heard in the place, and the first sign of an improvement in the sad state of things was a return of the feathered songsters." A similar fact was observed at Scutari during an outbreak of cholera there.† "On the afternoon of July 23, 1883, at about

* The *Times* (quoted from the *Globe*), September 3, 1874.

† *Ibid.* September 8, 1874.

5.20, a marked change in the atmosphere took place" at Cairo, and on that day "birds seemed to have deserted the city, or, when still present, all signs of activity among them were suspended. On the night of the 23rd cholera appeared amongst our men at Kasr-en-Nil, the citadel, and at Abbasieh."* In the letter of the Marseilles correspondent of the *Times*, published August 2, 1884, occurs the following sentence:—"It is said that swallows desert a district afflicted with cholera, and it is certain that there are none just now in Marseilles." At a subsequent page I shall suggest an explanation of these remarkable migrations.

Mr. Glaisher, in his report on the Meteorology of London during the three cholera epidemics of 1832, of 1848-9, and of 1853-4, says:—"The three epidemics were attended with a particular state of atmosphere, characterized by a prevalent mist, thin in high places, dense in low. During the height of the epidemic, in all cases the reading of the barometer was remarkably high, and the atmosphere thick." On the day preceding the night when cholera broke out at Cairo last year, there was noticed in the atmosphere a haze "of a yellowish colour, suggesting the Arabic name for cholera, the translation of which means 'yellow air.'" It seems as if some men know, as well as birds do, when cholera threatens; for last year at Ramleh (Egypt), August 3, when the temperature was high, and the moisture in the air approached saturation point, "*Men who had served in India remarked that there was cholera in the air, and at 10.30 A.M. the first case was reported.*"

The Absence of Ozone in places where cholera prevails has often been observed. In 1855, at Strasbourg, the invasion of cholera coincided with a period of antozone, and the decline of the epidemic was accompanied by a return of the ozone; and in 1865 the same negative phenomenon was noticeable in England: in districts in which cholera prevailed not the smallest trace of ozone was discoverable by the test papers. This deficiency is likely, as I have elsewhere shown,† to facilitate that hyperæmia of the nervous centres which is the condition precedent of cholera, but in no sense helps us to conceive how the alleged cholera-poison is produced.

Lowness of Site is a condition remarkably favourable for the invasions of cholera. Dr. Farr, who has fully investigated this subject, observes: "The elevation of the soil in London has a more constant relation with the mortality from cholera in London than any other known element. The mortality from cholera is in the inverse ratio of the elevation. The mortality

* Brigade-Surgeon McDowell's Report to Surgeon-General Hunter.

† In my work on "Diarrhoea and Cholera," p. 152 et seq.

of the nineteen highest districts was at the rate of 88 in 10,000 and of the nineteen lowest districts 100 in 10,000." The deaths were at the rate per 10,000 as follows: In districts at an elevation of 20 feet, 102; at from 20 to 40 feet, 65; at from 40 to 60 feet, 34; at from 60 to 80 feet, 27; at from 80 to 100 feet, 22; at from 100 to 120 feet, 17; at from 340 to 360 feet, 7. "The most favoured seats of cholera all over the world," says Dr. Goodeve, "are places not high above the sea; along the banks of rivers, and the estuaries of great streams." This established fact—that in proportion to the lowness of site of any locality it, *ceteris paribus*, conduces to the presence of cholera—offers, in my opinion, a far more intelligible and satisfactory explanation of its frequency and of the extent of its ravages along the borders of rivers and the main lines of human traffic than does the common allegation that cholera "travels" or is propagated along these lines by contagious influence. Experience has long ago established the fact that in proportion as the air we breathe is pure it conduces to health, and that as a rule low sites are less healthy than those which are lofty. Moreover, students of cholera know that in proportion as the general health of individuals is impaired are they likely during the prevalence of cholera to become its victims. But in whatever manner and to whatever degree lowness of site may operate as a predisposing cause of cholera, this condition certainly cannot be regarded as a toxic cause, unless the lower strata of the atmosphere in low lying regions of the earth's surface are also, as a rule, to be regarded as poisonous.

Prolonged Marches of soldiers in India facilitate in a remarkable degree the development of cholera: it was proved by Dr. Balfour that of the native soldiers of the Madras army thirty-two died of cholera in cantonment and eighty-six when marching, to an average of 10,000 in strength. Moreover, it has been ascertained that the longer the marches the more frequent the attacks. Many facts of this kind are recorded. I have just been informed by a French physician that the marches of French soldiers in Algeria operate as an exciting cause of cholera to an extent appallingly impressive. But it is not only soldiers who are attacked on march: it is well known in India that people of all conditions who travel on foot are specially liable to be attacked, and that pilgrims, on their way through Lower Bengal and Orissa, strew the road to Juggernaut with their bones. Walking in hot weather, most especially when the back is exposed to the sun, induces in the spinal cord a condition of hyperæmia which is extended to the collateral ganglia of the Sympathetic, and thus a state of the nervous centres conducive to the onset of cholera is established.

Bad Food and Eating to Excess have often converted a tendency to cholera into its reality. Half-putrid fish, bad shell-fish, bad pickled pork, are known in several cases to have been followed by violent attacks of cholera. Dr. Carpenter mentions "an outbreak of cholera and choleraic diarrhoea among a number of school children who had eaten plentifully of spoiled oysters, and by which eleven of the sufferers lost their lives." It is recorded that immediately after the arrival of a cargo of bad oysters in New York diarrhoea and cholera prevailed to a great extent. Unripe fruit and crude vegetables, and even wholesome food eaten to excess, will operate as exciting causes of cholera when atmospheric conditions predispose to it. It has been observed that cholera seizures appear to be especially frequent in natives of India after a full meal. It is well known that her Majesty's 14th Regiment when at Berhampore was attacked with cholera after it had received an allotment of prize money. The disastrous effects of irritants of this kind have often been observed, but no one dreams that, while thus acting, they are capable of generating an infective poison in the blood.

Alcoholic Drinks are powerful aids in producing cholera. It was found that during the cholera epidemic of 1848-9 in England the deaths from cholera on Saturday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday were above, and on Thursday, Friday, and Sunday, below the average. The weekly wages are generally paid on the Saturdays, and the Mondays in London and other cities are days on which a certain proportion of the population indulge in intoxicating drinks. During the epidemic of 1865 the mortality in Berlin suddenly rose on certain days, and was clearly referable to excess in drinking. In 1866, Dr. Andrew Clark stated, in respect to the London Hospital, that "immediately after pay-day among workmen there was a great influx of cholera patients." When the epidemic of cholera broke out at Naples in the beginning of September, the *Pungolo*, a Neapolitan newspaper, attributed the increased number of cases to intemperate living on the 31st of August, which was a *fête* day.

Sudden manifestations of an increase of cholera cases as effects of even one day's excessive drinking are established facts, so that alcohol, whether taken habitually or only on special occasions, is proved to be capable of acting either as an exciting or predisposing cause of cholera. The blood poison, zymotic, and microbe theories of the disease afford no explanation of this fact. But just as in respect to opium, the pathological doctrine I have put forward at once explains and is confirmed by the fact in question, the special affinity of alcohol for the nervous centres, its great exciting influence on those centres, and its power of producing vomiting and purging in many cases, when taken in considerable

quantities, are well-ascertained facts; it therefore not only produces, in an especial degree, hyperæmia of the nervous centres, and thus, according to my doctrine, an especial predisposition to cholera, but often also two of its leading symptoms.

Opium is now generally admitted to exert great power in conducing to the development of choleraic collapse of a type peculiarly fatal. This is the conclusion of numerous and eminent authorities—men who have had a large experience of the treatment of cholera in India. Opium is often prescribed, and not infrequently with seeming advantage, during the stage of premonitory diarrhœa; but in a large proportion of cases, even in this stage, its failure to arrest the progress of the disease is signal. Referring to my assertion and explanation, in 1865, of the dangerousness of opium, Professor Maclean, of Netley Hospital, said “he could bear the strongest testimony, not only to the inefficacy, but to the very great danger in the use of opium in cholera.” Professor Goodeve and Dr. Macpherson have expressed themselves to the same effect; and the medical journals contain many reports of the power of opium to favour or induce the development of cholera after the disease has fairly set in. Now, opium is known to have a peculiar affinity for, and to exert a specific influence over, nervous tissue. Therefore, when co-operating with other causes, or when acting alone in the production of choleraic collapse, it does so, as will generally be admitted, by virtue of its great and peculiar power of modifying the vascular and functional condition of both the cerebro-spinal and sympathetic nervous centres. The pathology of cholera already expounded reveals for the first time the *modus operandi* of opium in developing the disease; while the admitted facts that opium has often induced collapse, that collapse so induced is more than ordinarily fatal, and that when reaction succeeds to it, that reaction is often unusually protracted and dangerous, constitute additional evidence of the truth of the pathology in question.

Purgative Medicines have acted as the exciting causes of many attacks of cholera. This assertion, considered in connection with what has just been said of the power of opium to do the same, will no doubt seem paradoxical; but that it is nevertheless true is proved beyond the possibility of doubt. Ample evidence to this effect is presented in my volume on “*Diarrhœa and Cholera*” (p. 164 *et seq.*); but I must content myself with mentioning several physicians, mostly Anglo-Indian, whose experience constrains them to testify to the truth of this statement—namely, Dr. Twining, Dr. Morehead, Dr. Macintosh, Dr. Painter, Dr. Durham, Sir Randal Martin, Dr. Macpherson, Dr. Barlow, and Professor Goodeve. In fact, that it is dangerous to take aperients when cholera is prevalent has become, as Dr. Macpherson says,

"the common doctrine of Europe, and the latest experience in France confirms it." The Medical Council of the London College of Physicians found that the treatment of cases in collapse by castor oil resulted in a mortality of 77.6 per cent. And yet Dr. George Johnson's great remedy for cholera is castor oil! As his high professional position lends importance to his advice, and therefore, in this case, makes it the more dangerous, it is necessary that this danger should be distinctly pointed out. "With regard to castor oil," writes Dr. Macnamara, "I was acting as house-physician to King's College Hospital, in 1854, when Dr. G. Johnson was treating his cholera patients on eliminative principles. I caught some of his enthusiasm on the subject, and came out to India the same year full of confidence and hope in castor oil.' . . . In the following year I was left at Bhangul-pore in charge of a field hospital. I was the only medical man in the place, when cholera burst out among the Europeans and natives under my care. I went boldly to work with castor oil, but it absolutely and completely failed; *the mortality from the disease was fearful*. I have since, on several occasions, tried castor oil in cholera, but I have now finally abandoned it, having never seen any benefit arise from its use." The *modus operandi* of purgative medicines is, I presume, now generally recognized as being through the agency of the nervous system, even in those cases in which the medicine enters the circulation. The enteric nervous centres are, in any case, unduly excited, become foci of an excessive afflux of blood, and thus preternaturally energetic. Now this is precisely one of the conditions which obtains during an attack of cholera, and which, when the causes already mentioned are exerting their influence, is likely to induce the disease. And, conversely, when, by the action of purgatives, the functions of the enteric nervous centres have become intensified, the hyperæmic condition of those centres only needs the co-operative influence of either excessive heat or some one of the other epidemic agencies to ensure the development of the disease. A consideration of the *modus operandi* of purgative medicines here indicated, in connection with the pathology of cholera already expounded, explains at once why, in cholera times, their use is so beset with danger, and how not unfrequently they become potent causes of the disease itself.

Painful Dentition.—The process of teething, which, by the excessive irritation of the dental nerves, and the consequent hyperæmia of the medulla-oblongata (the topmost part—which is within the skull—of what Marshall Hall called the "true spinal cord") in which they converge, is, in ordinary times, a most fruitful source of diarrhoea, and becomes in cholera times, and often in those summers when adults have a complete

immunity from cholera, a very active cause of the disease in children. My readers are now aware that many factors are concerned in the production of cholera. Sometimes several co-operate, sometimes not more than two, and sometimes the disease is engendered, there are reasons for believing, by one alone. Many of these factors can act as predisposing or exciting causes of cholera only when two or more act together. Many children pass through the ordeal of teething with but little pain, and without suffering grave consequences of any kind during any part of the year; and in temperate climates those children in whom dentition is decidedly painful, and the cause of more or less constitutional disturbance, generally escape any serious consequences from that process during the winter months. But during the summer months such children are in great danger. Their rapidly growing nervous systems, like those of children generally, are already suffused with blood to a maximum degree in order to supply material for their exuberant nutrition, and are therefore in a condition especially predisposing them to be easily wrought up to a pitch of morbid excitability; the painful dentition of which they are victims supervenes as an exciting cause of additional hyperæmia of the nervous tissue, and the high atmospheric temperature of the summer months co-operating with these causes suffices to induce that morbidly exalted state of circulation in, and tumultuous excitement of, the nervous centres which induces that fearfully fatal disease called in Europe infantile diarrhoea and in America cholera infantum.

Noxious Effluvia are powerfully co-operative with solar heat in the production of the disease. As Dr. Goodeve justly says: "In spite of exceptions, the places in which the air is most vitiated from privies, cesspools, drains, decaying animal and vegetable refuse, or from over-crowding and concentration of human emanations, are those in which cholera has generally been most fatal and most widely spread." The terminal branches of the sensory nerves spread over the large surface of the pulmonary mucous membrane, transmit directly to the nervous centres the unhealthy impressions made on them by foul emanations or noxious effluvia; and as the primary receptive surface of these impressions is especially great, the converging effects produced on those centres are great also, and hence the profoundly depressing influence through the myriad paths of reflex action exerted on the whole organism.

Impure Water is, probably, of all avoidable causes of cholera, the most common and the most baneful. In proof of its potency I shall mention only one experiment, which was performed several years ago on a large scale, and which was as free as possible from error. The population experimented on numbered

between 400,000 and 500,000. The Lambeth Water Company drew its supply from the Thames at Ditton, above the influence of the London sewage and tidal flux; the Southwark and Vauxhall Company drew its supply from the river near Vauxhall and Chelsea. The water of the Lambeth Company was tolerably pure; that of the Southwark and Vauxhall Company was very impure. The water of both companies was distributed in the same district at the same time and among the same class of people, the pipes of the two companies being laid pretty evenly in the same areas, in many places running side by side in the same streets, and the houses supplied being pretty equally distributed. The deaths in the houses supplied by the Lambeth Company were at the rate of thirty-seven, and in the houses supplied by the Southwark and Vauxhall Company at the rate of 130 to every 10,000 persons living. It thus appears that of the drinkers of the foul water about three and a-half times as many as those who drank the purer water died of cholera.

The explanation given above of the mode of action of noxious effluvia is precisely applicable to the mode of action of bad water in causing cholera, the difference being only that whereas noxious gases act on the terminal branches of the sensory nerves of the pulmonary mucous membrane, bad water acts chiefly on the terminal branches of the sensory nerves of the alimentary mucous membrane. I am well aware that noxious gases and bad water may be said with much reason to exert their pernicious influence by poisoning the blood. They are supposed to do so when they engender typhoid fever; but even typhoid fever is not contagious, and with respect to their action as causes of cholera it must be borne in mind that they can, and, therefore, probably do, operate chiefly in the manner explained above, and therefore as excitants of the nervous system in the same manner, and with the same result as are characteristic of all the other causes of cholera already passed in review; and this conclusion is justified by the consideration that inasmuch as those causes are proved to operate dynamically in either predisposing to, or in effecting the development of, cholera, so it is probable that noxious effluvia and impure water, when causative of cholera, operate in the same way.

Nocturnal influences favouring the advent of cholera have often attracted attention. It has been noted by many observers that cholera begins most frequently during the night, and especially between two and four o'clock in the morning. In my work on Cholera I have enumerated several circumstances, among others the fall of temperature during the early morning hours, which conduce to this result; but here I can only advert to that cause

which I regard as the most potent. I have elsewhere * adduced proofs that during normal and profound sleep there is a maximum afflux of blood in the automatic nervous centres, the brain being meanwhile anæmic. Now, during the hours immediately after midnight sleep is, as a rule, the most profound; and, meanwhile, the spinal cord and sympathetic nervous centres are in a state of hyperæmia. This condition, when excessive, is, as I have shown, the proximate cause of cholera; and, therefore, while it obtains in a lesser degree during sleep, those nervous centres are at that time susceptible, in a maximum degree, of those influences which originate cholera. Hence it is that this disease, as well as epilepsy, is most prone to surprise its victims in the night.

Fear, that especially potent cause of cholera, needs only to be named in order to suggest how exclusively it does its deadly work through the agency of the nervous system. There is an old and well-known story of an encounter outside an Eastern city between the plague-demon, when about to enter the city, and a citizen. The citizen asked the demon what he was going to do there, and the demon said he was going to slay three thousand people. When the demon came out of the city, the citizen taxed him with lying, for thirty thousand people had been slain. The demon replied, "But I only slew three thousand; fear slew the rest." This story contains a great truth, which is attested by many medical witnesses in India, Europe, and America. Innumerable observations prove that those persons who are depressed or alarmed are most likely to become victims of cholera, that in the presence of a cholera epidemic panic intensifies its force, and in many instances speedily develops simple diarrhœa into cholera itself, and that confidence proves both helpful in warding off an attack and in the struggle for life of patients already in actual danger. When at Southampton during the epidemic of 1865 I was fully assured by observations in several cases of the great influence which fear, on the one hand, and confidence, on the other, exerts on the progress and termination of the disease. Sir Thomas Watson, referring to diarrhœa, says, "A curious exciting cause is to be found in *mental emotions*, and especially the depressing passions, grief and, above all, fear. A sudden panic will operate on the bowels of some persons as surely as a black dose, and much more *speedily*." It is well known that many soldiers, especially young ones, are attacked with diarrhœa when going into battle. Several cases have been observed in which diarrhœa has occurred almost immediately after a railway colli-

* "Neuralgia and Kindred Diseases of the Nervous System: their Nature, Causes and Treatment." By John Chapman. London: 1873, p. 171.

sion.* In short, as pithily remarked by Dr. Forbes Winslow, "during an attack of cholera the patient who has the least fear of dying has, *cæteris paribus*, the best chance of living." Can these facts be accounted for by the organic poison or microbe hypothesis? It is impossible to answer this question except in the negative.

In cases of the kind here referred to, congestion of the nervous centres appears, physically speaking, to be the primary fact; but I apprehend that the order of causation is as follows:—Terrifying or exciting impressions, suddenly communicated, are conveyed to the sensory ganglia, and are thence distributed to the cellular structure constituting the cerebral convolutions; these are thrown into tumultuous excitement, which is propagated along the motor tracts with the rapidity of lightning down the whole spinal axis, and laterally to the ganglia of the sympathetic; these becoming suddenly swollen with blood, instantly act with intensely vehement energy, and diffuse their subtle stimulus in all directions. As the source of the powerful impressions which they have, in this case, received is cerebral, so the *chief* direction in which the vaso-motor impulses are reflected is towards the brain; hence, quick as thought, the cerebral arteries are contracted with preternatural energy, and thus, in extreme cases, the brain being rendered comparatively bloodless, the person is stunned as if by a blow, the face becomes pallid, cold sweat sometimes exuding from it, if consciousness is not abolished, mental power is still greatly enfeebled, the temperature of the surface of the body is lowered, the stomach and intestines are preternaturally stimulated, their mucous membrane exudes its appropriate secretion superabundantly, their peristaltic action becomes excessive, and thus diarrhœa and cholera, originating in mental emotion, are clearly due to the same *proximate cause* as that which, as I have endeavoured to show, is operative in all the other cases in which the predisposing or exciting causes of the disease are widely different.

Insanity has been found to be conducive to the development of cholera. A physician acquainted with the facts has informed me that when a certain lunatic asylum was within the sphere of a cholera epidemic, a much larger proportion of its inmates than of the population outside were struck down by the disease. This fact is in striking accord with the theory above expounded; for, evidently, the nervous systems of persons suffering from cerebral disorder are sure to be much more excitable, and much more prone therefore to become excited and

* "Injuries of the Spine and Spinal Cord, without apparent Mechanical Lesion." By H. W. Page. London: 1883, p. 162.

hyperæmic than are the nervous systems of persons in ordinary health.

The rapid survey now accomplished of the proximate, predisposing, and exciting causes of cholera, presents, I venture to affirm, a complete and satisfactory explanation of the genesis of the disease, of every individual symptom of it, and of every *post-mortem* phenomenon observable in the bodies of those to whom it has proved fatal. This characteristic will be admitted by all scientific thinkers to be a strong argument in favour of its truth. When, moreover, it is also found to afford a complete explanation of the mode of action of every force and influence known to become, directly or indirectly, causative of cholera, and when it is borne in mind that no other theory yet put forward affords any explanation whatever either of the essential nature of the disease, or how the known causes of it operate, the presumption that the *rationale* here expounded is strictly true amounts as nearly to certainty as is possible within a region in which mathematical proofs are not available. Now this theory implies in no sense whatever the existence of a cholera poison; and by accounting for every fact connected with the disease, not only without assuming the existence of such a poison, but in a manner which virtually negatives its existence, it presents evidence precisely as forcible as is that in proof of its own validity that cholera is originated and developed independently of any specific poison, microbe, or cholera germ, and that, therefore, *as causative of cholera*, they probably exist only in the imagination of certain pathologists and of those who too credulously accept their dicta.

If cholera is not produced by a blood-poison it is not likely to be contagious, and that it is not so experience of it affords convincing proofs.

During the cholera epidemic in Paris in 1831 over 55,000 persons were attacked, and of these over 18,000 died. Of the fatal cases only 164 were cases of persons whose duties or profession called them to nurse, or prescribe for, the sick; and these 164 formed part of over 2,000 persons thus employed. At St. Petersburg, of 58 persons employed in the hospitals only one had the disease. At Moscow, out of 376 persons attached to the hospitals only six were attacked. During the epidemic of 1866 in New York, 123 out of 800 inmates of the work-house died; but of the fourteen house physicians and surgeons who were employed in the institution, some of them being in constant attendance on the sick, not one suffered from the epidemic. Dr. Goodeve, late Professor of Medicine in the Medical College, and first physician to the hospital connected with that

college, at Calcutta, whose professional life has been mainly spent in India, states in his valuable paper on Cholera that "the majority of medical men in India, accustomed to see cholera year after year, to be in constant intercourse with the cholera sick, and to see the general immunity of hospital attendants and of themselves, doubt the contagiousness. . . . I should, as far as my own experience goes, say that cholera does not spread from the sick to the whole by any rapidly acting emanation." Dr. Morehead's observations support the view of the non-spreading of cholera in hospitals through contagion. They were carefully conducted through three epidemics in Bombay, and though he refrains from drawing positive conclusions, his facts are not in favour of contagion. Another important Indian authority, Sir Joseph Fayrer, states that "he had seen hundreds of cases of sporadic and epidemic cholera, but had seen nothing to make him believe there was anything of contagion in connection with the disease." Another and equally authoritative witness, Dr. J. R. Lewis, whose experience of cholera was also gained in India, says: "For fourteen years he had studied cholera, and had never seen anything to lead him to think it contagious. *It was the custom in India to treat cholera in the same wards as other diseases, and no evil resulted.*"

Surgeon-General J. M. Cunningham, Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India, states that "from the record of about 8,000 attendants on cases of cholera in India it is proved that they suffer no more than other people living in the same place. There is no danger in attendance on cholera cases." This statement is cited by Surgeon-General Hunter in his report on the cholera epidemic in Egypt, and he then adds:—

My personal experience of cholera in India is in accordance with the opinions above expressed. The professional staff, a large body of students and attendants, of the Medical College and Hospital, Fombay, who were more or less in frequent communication with cases of cholera, and many of whom were also engaged from time to time in performing *post-mortem* examinations, appeared to enjoy comparative immunity from the disease without any special precautions being taken. Experience gained during the recent epidemic in Egypt confirms still further these facts. It was no uncommon thing to hear from medical officers and others that their clothing and persons had been covered with the discharges from cholera patients, which had been allowed to become dry; yet no evil results followed. Circumstances rendered it necessary that the British officers serving with the Egyptian army should attend on the cholera sick, wash the bodies after death, according to Moslem usage, and afterwards bury them, and yet in no single instance, if I am correctly informed, did they contract the disease.

The recorded experiences of the epidemic of 1849 in England established the fact that the washers of large collections of linen soiled by cholera patients in many large hospitals did not suffer seriously in that year. An immense number of *post-mortem* examinations in cholera cases have been made in most places, the contents of the intestines being submitted to all kinds of examination, and, as is well known, without any evil consequences to the examiners. Professor Aitkin says: "During my experience as demonstrator of anatomy in the University of Glasgow, for a period of six years (including the severe epidemic of cholera there in 1848-49, and during which time almost all the subjects for dissection had died of cholera), not a single student suffered from cholera." The experience in Edinburgh was, according to Dr. Alison, precisely similar. "It is certain that the dissecting rooms there were supplied during the greater part of 1848-49, as they were in 1832, almost exclusively by cholera subjects, and in neither year was there a single case of the disease among the numerous students attending the rooms." In fact, the intentional inhalation of the emanations from the blood and evacuations of cholera patients have been followed by no evil results; and the attempts of the most varied kind which have been made to impart the disease by inoculation and by introducing its different products in every way into the system have been altogether without success. Dr. Koch has made experiments of feeding mice and other animals "on the dejecta of cholera patients and the contents of the intestines of cholera corpses. Although these experiments were constantly repeated with material from fresh cholera cases, our mice," he says, "remained healthy. We then made experiments on monkeys, cats, poultry, dogs, and various other animals, that we were able to get hold of; but we were never able to arrive at anything in animals similar to the cholera process." The significance of these negative results derives especial importance from the fact that animals do suffer from cholera. Various animals, including dogs, cats, hares, birds of different kinds, and even fish, thus suffered during an epidemic of cholera in Austria. It is expressly stated that the disorder affecting the animals was "too generally spread, and too closely connected with the epidemic character of cholera, to admit of its being traced to accidental causes, or its being considered unconnected with the prevailing constitution." When in 1832-3, cholera was epidemic in Edinburgh, horses and cattle suffered from diarrhoea and cramps; their blood became viscid, and the post-mortem appearances were similar to those observed in man. At Lucknow, in 1872, the horses of the 19th Bengal Native Cavalry suffered in the same way, and Surgeon-General J. Murray states that during a cholera epidemic at Agra in 1864,

his dog suffered from the rice-water evacuations characteristic of cholera, with which he is convinced the dog was affected. Birds suffer most*—a fact in interesting accord with, and alone explicable by, my hypothesis; for the circulation of the blood in them is more active, and it is more highly oxydized than it is in any other class of animals. Probably their peculiar susceptibility explains the often observed fact that they leave places where cholera is epidemic. Dr. Koch's microbe has attracted a great deal of attention, but according to the alleged discoveries of Drs. S. Maurin and Lange, it is only one of the organic phases of four successive transformations. They assert that the second of these "is the immediate agent in the causation of the disease, and that the bacilli, which in due course are derived from it, and consequently appear in the evacuations, are, as Koch found them, perfectly harmless as such.† But the most decisive quietus which Dr. Koch's comma-shaped bacillus, considered as the cause of cholera, has received, is from the hand of Surgeon-Major T. R. Lewis, Assistant-Professor of Pathology at the Army Medical School, Netley, who, as mentioned above, has worked at the subject with great assiduity for a long period, and whose observations were made during several years in India, and this year at Marseilles: referring to the various microscopic organisms found in choleraic dejecta, one kind predominating in some cases, and another in others, he says, "therefore, the selection of the comma-shaped bacilli as the *materies morbi* of cholera appears to be entirely arbitrary." He then adds these words, which are absolutely fatal to Dr. Koch's theory:—"Comma-like bacilli, identical in size, form, and in their reaction with aniline dyes, with those found in choleraic dejecta, are ordinarily present in the mouth of perfectly healthy persons."‡ Indeed, the more the subject is examined the more the reasons strengthen for disbelieving altogether that either Dr. Koch's body of other microbe can ever originate cholera. It is true that a *Leptotheca* has often been put forward, but only to be rejected. During the last forty years the notion has been from time to time entertained that cholera may be due to microscopic organisms in the air and water of the vicinities where the disease prevails, as well as in the evacuations of cholera patients. At the International Medical

* See "Notes on Cholera in relation to Animals." By Surgeon-General O. A. Gordon, M.D., C.B., in *The Medical Press*, Sept. 10, 1884.

† See article on "The Cholera Fungus," in *Medical Times and Gazette*, September 6, 1884.

‡ A Memorandum on the "Comma-shaped Bacillus," alleged to be the cause of Cholera. By Surgeon-Major Timothy Richards Lewis, M.B., Assistant-Professor of Pathology, Army Medical School. This masterly and important memorandum was published in the *Lancet*, September 20, 1884.

Conference on Cholera held at Weimar in 1867, the subject was fully discussed and evidence was adduced of the existence of swarms of microscopic, fungi-like bodies, in the evacuations of cholera patients. Since then like discoveries have often been made and published.

Dr. T. R. Lewis and Dr. D. Cunningham, medical officers attached to the Sanitary Commission in India, have conducted researches for the discovery of a specific organism in connection with cholera. Their inquiries and experiments, extending over a long period, afforded no evidence in favour of "the existence of a specific poison contained in cholera excreta peculiar to them alone, and giving rise to special phenomena." The researches, conducted jointly by these two physicians until 1878, were continued afterwards by Dr. Cunningham alone; and in a paper "On the Development of Certain Microscopic Organisms Occurring in the Intestinal Canal," he "shows that microscopic parasitic organisms are by no means uncommon in excrementitious matter; that they increase in numbers under known conditions; that certain parasitic forms are specially associated with particular forms of disease, *without holding any causal relation to them.*"

Messrs. Roux and Strauss, who last year were sent to Egypt by the French Government to investigate the cause of cholera, and who have since been to Toulon for the same purpose, have indeed found microbes or bacilli in the intestines of cholera patients. They report that in cases of very sudden death from the disease a bacillus, comma-like in shape, is constantly found in the mucus of the small intestine; but, as Dr. Strauss himself stated to the *Société de Biologie* on the 19th of August last, it is impossible to affirm that it is the cause of cholera, for it has been found in London water, in the dejections of dysenteric patients, and in the mucoid secretions of women enjoying ordinary health. ~~simultaneous~~ facts above mentioned seem to me to deprive Dr. Koc. ~~microbe~~ of whatever importance has been ascribed to it, and reviewing the result of all the researches hitherto made with a view to discover a specific kind of micro-organism as the cause of cholera, I am constrained to conclude that they are wholly negative.

The evidence already adduced in support of the proposition that cholera is not contagious might be indefinitely increased, but it amply suffices, as it seems to me, to prove that contagiousness is in no sense of the term a characteristic of cholera, and, in so far as it does so, to confirm implicitly the truth of the hypothesis above propounded. Facts, however, of another kind—viz., those illustrative of the mode of onset of the disease, point indubitably to the same conclusion.

The literature of cholera teems with evidence that when the
[Vol. CXXII. No. CCXLIV.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. LXVI. No. II. K K

disease appears in cities it very generally attacks individuals in different localities, who have had no communication with each other, either simultaneously or in very quick succession. As a general rule it gives warning of its approach in the shape of premonitory diarrhoea; but the suddenness and simultaneousness of its deadly onslaughts at different points far distant from each other are only too often most impressively manifested. When it appeared in Lord Hastings' camp in 1817, it destroyed 5,000 people within the first five days of its visitation. It broke out in Paris in 1832 on the same day, and, so to speak, at the same hour, in four different quarters; within eighteen days from its first appearance it had reached its climax, had invaded every quarter of the city, and had already destroyed 7,000 of the inhabitants. At Kurrachee, in 1846, according to the report of Mr. Thom, the disease suddenly burst forth in a few hours in every European regiment, whether in camp or in barracks, in every tent and in every house, and it was at its acme in forty-eight hours afterwards, when, instead of spreading further, it gradually and steadily declined. Dr. Wakefield, in his book on "Asiatic Cholera," says that, when in India, he, on several occasions, saw cholera present itself simultaneously in different parts of the same village, but exclusively along the course of a straight line passing through the locality. He also records that, about fifteen years ago, a dust storm, accompanied by rain and hail, burst over the fortress of Gwalior, which is 300 feet high, and which until then was free from cholera. The storm had scarcely ceased when the disease suddenly broke out at several different points of the fortress, and at places surrounding it on the rock. The actual outbreak of the epidemic now prevailing at Spezzia is alleged to have occurred immediately after a storm, and within a few hours afterwards to have destroyed the people by forties and fifties in different parts of the town.

The same distinctive feature of cholera—viz., its outbreak at the same time in different places remote from each other, was observed both in France and England during the epidemics of 1849, 1853-54 and 1865. Physicians in the United States, report the same phenomenon, which was especially noticeable at Memphis on the Mississippi as well as at New Orleans in 1848, and at Philadelphia in 1849. Notwithstanding the vast array of facts here adverted to—facts which prove absolutely that cholera may originate afresh and independently in any locality presenting conditions conducive to its development—believers in the existence of a specific poison as the cause of the disease persist in maintaining that that poison is generated in India, and that, directly or indirectly, it is imported from thence and diffused from time to time over different parts of the globe. Last year

the assertion was made, and was echoed and re-echoed by the continental newspapers, that the cholera epidemic which devastated Egypt was brought there by the steamer *Timor* from Bombay; and yet it was proved that there was no case of cholera on board either during the passage or when the steamer reached Port Said, and that cholera had existed in Egypt some months previous to the outbreak at Dametta on the 22nd of June. Again it was alleged that cholera was this year imported into Toulon; but the first result obtained and proclaimed by the commission of inquiry instituted by the government, was a conviction of the physical impossibility of assigning the origin of the outbreak of the epidemic to an importation of the disease, or of the germs of it, from without. Within the first twenty-four hours of the appearance of cholera at Toulon, there were five fatal cases, which occurred in different parts of the town distant from each other, the patients having had no communication with each other. On the 22nd there were thirteen deaths, says Dr. Bourgarel, "at the most opposite points and everywhere at the same time." In like manner "the first fifteen deaths from cholera this year at Marseilles took place, without exception, at fifteen different points, in fifteen different streets, and more or less distant the one from the other." In short, the more the history of the origin of cholera epidemics is studied the clearer and more assured becomes the conviction that the disease is not spread by means of contagion.

Moreover, epidemics of truly contagious diseases do not cease suddenly; but cholera often does so—just as it appears, so it sometimes disappears, suddenly after a storm. In India this fact has been observed. It has been known to cease there after a heavy fall of rain. It declined after a hurricane which took place in Madras in 1818. A regiment suffering severely from cholera in camp, on the march has been known to lose it when getting into barracks. Prof. Goodeve mentions that "H.M.'s 63rd Regiment suffered extremely during the greater part of its march from Poonah to Bellary, but entirely lost the disease in two or three days after getting into barracks in the unhealthy station of Bellary."

Again, it is well known that individuals who, while suffering from cholera, are removed to healthy situations, do not become centres of a new infection. Instances are adduced in opposition to this statement; but their force is lost in the overwhelming number of those which may be advanced in support of it.

There is no exaggeration in the statement that at least 30,000 inhabitants of Toulon and Marseilles fled from those two theatres of the epidemic; this large number of men and women were, according to the believers in the contagiousness and importability of cholera,

suffused with the choleraic principle, and ought to have carried it with them, and to have sown the germs of the disease as they went along. There were thus 30,000 experiments, the results of which we can now appreciate. Well, what has come of the dissemination of the cholera poison in every locality overrun, and now or recently inhabited by these fugitives? In fact, nothing: in no town, in no village, I do not say between Toulon, Marseilles and Paris, but in all the countries of Europe, has there been one new cholera focus, the origination of which can be attributed to a traveller from Toulon or Marseilles.

This important statement made to the Academy of Medicine by the eminent authority, Dr. Jules Guérin, is confirmed by Dr. Rochard, who, in his despatch of June 27 to the Minister of Marine, says:—"Up to the present time there is not a single case in the hospitals, not a single fact of transmission either in the surroundings of the patients, or in the town, or in the adjoining villages, where some of our cholera patients have gone to die."

Having now placed before my readers a body of evidence sufficient, I hope, to convince them that cholera is in no sense whatever due to a blood poison, or the importation of cholera germs, and is in no degree contagious, I proceed to consider the measures which should be adopted in order either to avert or to cure the disease.

The attainment of correct conceptions concerning the nature and causes of cholera is one thing, but to be duly armed in readiness to meet its attacks, and to know how, effectually, to resist them is quite another thing. The truth of the adage, "knowledge is power," may, however, be exemplified, I believe, in respect to cholera, as it is in all other spheres of human experience. Having learnt what are the several factors in the production of cholera, and what are their several powers, positive and comparative, when acting separately or conjointly, we have learnt that some of them are avoidable altogether, some of them partially avoidable, and that though the cosmical factors are not avoidable, their power for evil is reducible to a minimum by preventing any co-operation with them of one or more of those factors which are capable of being subjected to our control.

In a very large number of cases, cholera is induced by the conjoint operation of a cosmical cause, and of one or more of those which are avoidable, and would not be developed without their conjoint agency. When adverting to infantile diarrhoea, I showed that, as a rule, the disease is the product of at least three factors—viz., (1) extremely rapid growth, and, therefore, extreme vascularity of the nervous system; (2) irritation of the dental nerves; and (3) great solar heat. Youths, after the

advent of puberty, may cut their wisdom-teeth, and persons of any age may suffer extremely from dental disorders causing great constitutional disturbance, in the midst of an especially hot summer, but one of the three factors just mentioned—namely, extremely rapid growth of the nervous system—being absent, the other two are insufficient to produce fatal diarrhoea, which the three conjointly engender to an appalling extent. Or, again, if in the case of the child, either of the other two factors, dental irritation or summer heat, be absent, the two remaining are generally insufficient to engender the disease; but, of course they would suffice if the action of one or both were especially energetic. In like manner great summer heat, insufficient, however, to produce cholera in inhabitants of lofty positions, may easily produce it in persons dwelling in low lying regions; but abstract the factor, heat, and such persons may continue to occupy low sites with impunity. Prolonged marches, pilgrimages, and ordinary travelling on foot in temperate climates, do not induce cholera, because each of them is a feeble factor, and needs therefore the conjoint action of an especially powerful one in order to become effective: the summer heat of Europe is not sufficiently powerful, but that of India is, and hence the reason why these factors do not manifest themselves as causes of cholera in Europe, and why in India they do. Noxious effluvia, impure water, bad food, eating to excess, purgative medicines, opium, alcoholic drinks, and, above all, fear, are severally able, in combination with one or the other of the cosmical or epidemic forces, to engender cholera in temperate as well as in tropical climates; and it is obvious that if two or more of these endemic, or more or less avoidable factors, co-operate with a cosmical one, the cholera engendered will, in proportion to the number of factors which are co-operative, be the more rapidly developed, will be of a type increasingly severe, will be more fatal, and, in cases of recovery, will be recovered from with more difficulty.

The lesson inculcated by these considerations is easily learnt: in tropical climates, he who is intent on escaping cholera, must avoid *all* its endemic or avoidable causes during *every part* of the year; but in temperate climates a less rigorous discipline is consistent with comparative safety. Of course in proportion as climates increase in resemblance to those of the tropics, the statement just made respecting tropical climates becomes applicable to them. During winter in Central and Northern Europe, its inhabitants may inhale noxious effluvia, may drink water containing a considerable amount of organic matter, may eat bad food; may eat good food to excess, may take excessive quantities of alcoholic drinks, may even take opium or purgatives as freely as they please without inducing cholera; but during ordinary summers, to do

all or any of these things is attended with danger of developing the so-called "sporadic" or "European" cholera, and during unusually hot summers, especially if they are characterized by the presence of an "epidemic influence," is very likely to bring on what is called "Asiatic" cholera.

It is evident that some of the avoidable causes of cholera just mentioned are easily avoidable at any time; that some are more or less easily withstood, and that even gluttony and drunkenness, together with the several phases of indulgence in alcoholic drinks between drunkenness and temperance, may be to a considerable extent restrained. We know also that the evil effects of bad water may be to a great degree, if not wholly, neutralized by boiling and filtering it. A good deal also can no doubt be done by the inhabitants of even the least cleanly and healthy dwellings to free them from their impure air and sickly odours, and generally to render them healthier than they usually are.

I confess, however, that I have not much hope that the measures tending to avert attacks of cholera just indicated, are likely to be adopted to any notable extent by the present generation. The habit of drinking to excess, if once thoroughly established, is eradicable with great difficulty; and even the temporary arrest of that habit in the presence of danger can scarcely be expected from those classes of the community most prone to indulge in taking alcoholic beverages. Though the danger from drinking water containing organic matter may be minimized by boiling and filtering, it is probable that the cost of fuel for boiling it and of an effective filter would prevent the great majority of lower-class families from either boiling or filtering the water before they drink it; and their unwillingness to incur such an expense is likely to be strengthened by the consideration that cholera is but an occasional and comparatively rare visitor. Those inhabitants of inferior and more or less unhealthy neighbourhoods, who are acquainted with the causes of the unsanitary conditions which prevail, and who would be glad to co-operate in removing those causes, feel painfully that the work to be done exceeds their powers, and that unless the owners of the dwelling-houses in the locality will effect the needful improvements, those conditions must continue to be endured, at least until some governing power, municipal or otherwise, is constrained to intervene. In short, it seems to me that the general abolition of the abolishable causes of cholera will be one of the many general results of human improvement manifesting themselves simultaneously in numerous and different directions—physical, intellectual, and moral—as consequences of general and efficient education. Until then, those cosmical forces which determine the advent of cholera at different periods will continue pre-

eminently fatal to the generally intemperate, and especially to the intemperate drinkers of alcoholic liquors, to the drinkers of water containing a large amount of organic matter, and to the dwellers in localities unhealthy in consequence of defective drainage and other deleterious conditions already alluded to.

If cholera visits any place several times at more or less distant intervals, such repeated visits should, in my opinion, be regarded as indubitable evidence that that place is in urgent need of sanitary reform of some kind. Persons residing in it, or in the part of it in which cholera has declared itself, are partaking of its insalutary influences, and are therefore predisposing themselves to be easily acted on by one or other of the cosmical forces just mentioned. Now, while repudiating the doctrine that cholera is contagious, and consequently having no fear that the disease may be communicated by the sick to the healthy, I am strongly of opinion that persons ought not needlessly to expose themselves to such insalutary influences, especially when they are more than ordinarily dangerous; and therefore, that when cholera appears in such a place, every person not needed to tend the sick, and not constrained by other causes to remain, should leave it as speedily as possible. Of course, such persons can safely return, at least so far as cholera is concerned, as soon as the epidemic influence has completely ceased to operate.

It has been shown that mere lowness of site is itself conducive to the development of cholera, and hence the well-known fact that the disease is specially wont to manifest itself in towns or villages along the borders of rivers. When, by means of its herald, "summer diarrhoea," cholera threatens to invade such low positions, safety should be sought by moving to higher levels. Many of my readers will probably exclaim, "But to carry out these prescriptions will, as a rule, be extremely difficult, and in a large proportion of cases impossible!" I know it, but still can only rejoin, the inhabitants of such places who remain in them when cholera is hovering near them do so at the peril of their lives.

Having, in the foregoing remarks, indicated the lines of duty in respect to the removable or avoidable causes of cholera, I will now advert to certain causes wholly beyond human control, and not wholly within the reach of human comprehension. I refer to what I have designated the cosmical causes of cholera.

I have already said that there are reasons for believing that cholera may be originated by one factor alone. It is indeed probable that in certain cases heat and electricity are each sometimes solely operative in producing the disease, just as heat alone produces the disease called "sunstroke." Such cases are often what the French call *foudroyants*, and are known in India as *cholera-sicca*—cases characterized by the absence of

premonitory diarrhœa, and by the awful swiftness with which men seemingly in the full vigour of health are destroyed. "Thus at Kurrachee, in 1846, people are said to have died within less than one hour from the time they were seized." Many died within a few hours from the time of seizure, and in these cases, says Mr. Thom,

Vomiting and purging were not always present. Sudden collapse, ending in profuse sweating, were the most prominent symptoms—in fact, asphyxia had already taken place. It was often found that the pulse had ceased at the wrist, the eyes turned up, the voice hollow and feeble, before the natural hue had given way to that horrible lividity which is characteristic of the disease, so instantaneously was the power of life arrested.

Dr. Milroy states that at Teheran, in 1846, "those who were attacked dropped down suddenly in a state of lethargy, and died at the end of two or three hours without convulsions or vomiting, but from a complete stagnation of blood."* Although the majority of cases at Kurrachee in 1846 lasted longer than those just mentioned, yet the swiftness of onset, development and decline of the disease presented the likeness of a storm suddenly bursting over the city. I have already said that it seems to me not unlikely that when the mode of attack of cholera is gradual, is characterized by premonitory diarrhœa, and presents itself over a wide area, the main factor in its production is solar heat; and that when the mode of attack is sudden, concentrated and intense, the main factor in its production is that form of solar force we call electricity: now the question arises, whether in those cases in which cholera is seemingly due, either exclusively or mainly, to cosmical forces, anything can be done independently of medical aid to avert its attacks.

One very important duty in times when the diurnal range of temperature is great, as it is especially apt to be in September and October, is to take especial care that the body is kept thoroughly warm during the night. I believe many attacks would, by the observance of this simple precaution, be prevented. Then, in proportion as the disease seems to be due to solar heat, the utmost efforts should be made to ensure very free ventilation of every dwelling, to make constant use of cooling appliances of every available kind, including, especially, the daily use of cold baths, and, as far as possible, to migrate during the time of danger from low-lying to elevated ground, it being borne in

* It is worthy of remark that these two examples of extremely sudden attacks of cholera occurred in the same year—one in India and one in Persia; whether or not they both occurred at the same time of the year is a question of great interest, which, however, I am not now able to answer.

mind that the temperature becomes lower, and the air purer in proportion as the elevation increases. When, owing to the extreme suddenness and intensity of an outbreak of cholera, there is reason to believe its main cause to be rather electric than thermal, the affected area is likely to be comparatively limited and fairly defined. If so it will not be difficult for a large proportion of its inhabitants to protect themselves by leaving it for a time, and it is obvious that the more quickly they do so the more certain their safety. But during all outbreaks of cholera, however effective may be the protection afforded by flight from the region in which the disease presents itself, the great majority of people, being poor and constrained to earn their subsistence in the locality where they live, cannot leave it, and hence must face the enemy on his own chosen ground. Here, therefore, arises the question, what aid, if any, can medicine bring to the sufferer from cholera?

In attempting to form any estimate of the comparative value of different medicines used in the treatment of cholera, the following facts must always be borne in mind: the mortality of the disease differs—*first*, in different years; *second*, in different seasons of the year; and, *third*, during the different periods—the outset, development, and decline—of each epidemic. This last fact is well illustrated during the outbreak at Kurrachee. Of the

First.	100 patients admitted into hospital	79 died.
Second	"	" 66 "
Third	"	" 50 "
Fourth	"	" 49 "

The treatment all the time remained essentially the same. Moreover, the effects of medicines differ widely according to the stage of the disease in which they are given. During the premonitory stage and during reaction they are powerful for both good and evil; but during partial collapse they are absorbed only slightly, and during profound collapse scarcely at all. These considerations, as well as many others which I need not recapitulate, must be taken into account before an *accurate* appreciation of the statistical results of different methods of treatment can, if it ever can, be arrived at. The following returns of the Medical Council of the College of Physicians must, therefore, be accepted as an *approximative* estimate. It is, however, the best available, and probably sufficiently near the truth for practical purposes. When the different methods of treatment were applied in the various stages—from choleraic diarrhoea to profound collapse—the *general* percentage of deaths following each plan was as follows:—

Eliminants	71·7 per cent.
Stimulants	54 „
Alteratives, calomel and opium	36·2 „
Astringents, chalk and opium	20·3 „

But when the different methods of treatment were tested in their application to cases of collapse only, the results were as follows :—

Calomel and opium	59·2 per cent.
Calomel (large doses)	60·9 „
Salines	62·9 „
Chalk and opium	63·2 „
Calomel (small doses)	73·9 „
Castor oil	77·6 „
Sulphuric acid	78·9 „

It is obvious that in a very considerable proportion of the cases, from the treatment of which the first of the above statistical statements is generalized, the absorbent process was still very active; for otherwise the wide difference in the results of the different methods would not have been possible—differences ranging over 50 per cent. In the more advanced stages of the disease, or during collapse, the differences, according to the second statement, have a range of nearly 20 per cent.—a fact which indicates that absorption in a slight degree still goes on.

It will be observed that, according to the report just given, the average number of deaths in proportion to the number of cases treated is very great—viz., 45·5 per cent. of the cases varying in severity from choleraic diarrhoea to profound collapse, and 68·1 per cent. of the cases in complete collapse. Now, in my opinion, if the medicines given in the cases in question exerted any influence, it was, on the whole, an injurious one; and this opinion is strengthened by considering how especially high is the mortality following the use of eliminants and stimulants in the first group of cases, and of calomel, castor oil, and sulphuric acid in the second. It is evident that if the sufferers had been spared the use of those drugs, the proportion of fatal cases would have been less than it actually was. All experience of the treatment of cholera during the stage of collapse by means of drugs proves that they are useless. The numerous and careful experiments made at the London Hospital in 1866, in order to determine the comparative value of various drugs said to be curative of cholera, resulted in confirming the mournful conclusion arrived at during previous epidemics of the disease—viz., that no drug yet discovered exerts any appreciable power of rescuing patients from the state of choleraic collapse. This fact, like all others characteristic of cholera, is now for the first time rendered quite intelligible

by the hypothesis explained above; for whereas, according to that hypothesis, the automatic nervous centres are in a condition of intense hyperæmia, physicians are acquainted with no drug which has a distinctively ascertained power of abolishing that condition. But while, as it appears, drugs can do no good, they can do much harm, and the reason why they can do so is not difficult to understand.

When cholera has reached its most distinctively characteristic stage, designated *collapse*, the power of absorption by the alimentary mucous membrane exists, if at all, to so slight a degree that, even if drugs which are given are not ejected by the stomach, most of them, at all events, are likely to remain inert so long as the state of collapse continues. If the patient should survive that condition and reach the stage of reaction, the medicines previously administered may seriously interfere with Nature's efforts to emerge from that stage, or from the secondary fever which not infrequently supervenes. Moreover, as the essential nature of cholera has not been understood, and as the medical world is still disputing concerning its nature and causes, medicines have meanwhile been given either at random or without the guidance of any principle which has obtained extensive professional recognition. It appears from the above figures that the three drugs, the use of which has been attended with the greatest mortality, are calomel, castor oil, and sulphuric acid. Considering that purgatives are proved to be especially dangerous to cholera patients *in any stage* of the disease, we easily understand why calomel and castor oil co-operate so effectively, as they are shown to do, with the disease itself in bringing it to a fatal issue. The influence of sulphuric acid appears to be even more deadly than that of castor oil. This acid is supposed to act as an astringent; for this reason it is given in cases of hæmorrhage with the intention of restraining it, and for a like reason it has been given to sufferers from cholera in the hope of lessening the excretions; but to whatever extent it may act as an astringent generally, it will to that extent act as a contractor of the capillary blood-vessels and small bronchial tubes, and, therefore, if the pathology of cholera already explained be the true one, as an intensifier of the algide condition already established. From this point of view, the extremely dangerous influence of sulphuric acid on cholera patients is thoroughly intelligible.

The drugs which, in my opinion, might be given during the stage of collapse most safely and most expediently are bromide of potassium and bromide of ammonium. Bromide of potassium so affects the nervous tissue as to lessen, it is believed, its vital activity; and bromide of ammonium, while supposed to act somewhat similarly, seems also to counteract the tendency to

congestion and to facilitate the capillary circulation, especially in the nervous system. At all events, it is certain that in the treatment of the whole group of convulsive or spasmodic affections, the chief proximate cause of which is hyperæmia of the nervous centres morbidly operative, these drugs are more efficacious than any other of the vast number which have been tried. The conclusion is, therefore, reasonable, if the proximate cause of cholera be what I allege it to be, that the bromides of potassium and ammonium, which should be given together, will, in some cases, exert a beneficial, possibly a curative, influence on the disease; and this conclusion derives strength from actual experience, which attests that the use of these drugs in cases of diarrhœa is attended with decided benefit. I may add that in any case they are, of all known drugs, precisely those which are likely to work the least harm after reaction sets in.

It cannot, however, be too strongly impressed on the public mind that it is during the early phases of cholera—"summer diarrhœa," "premonitory diarrhœa," or "cholerine"—that medication can exert its beneficial influence most potently. So long as the skin of patients suffering from diarrhœa retains its normal warmth, both sulphuric acid and opium may be given with safety and often with signal benefit; but in cases in which the skin has already become abnormally cool, I do not venture to prescribe either of them. My chief reliance, if obliged to rely on drugs, is then on the bromides and such other medicines as, while tending to check the discharges, will neither constrict the blood-vessels nor increase, as opium would, the hyperæmia of the automatic nervous centres.

But even as means of combating the premonitory diarrhœa drugs very often fail utterly. This fact is attested by the enormous mortality due to diarrhœa, not only in those years in which cholera presents itself in its fully developed form, but every year; for during every summer infantile diarrhœa, which I affirm to be a form of cholera, is fearfully fatal. Indeed, whoever recognizes the truth of the doctrine concerning the essential nature and causation of cholera which I have explained, can scarcely be surprised by the great fatality of the several forms of the disease. It is evident that an effectual remedy for it must be one which can exert a great, and at the same time swiftly operative, sedative power over the spinal cord and the sympathetic nervous centres, without lessening the general vitality of the patient meanwhile. As already stated, no medicine yet known can do this; and even if it could, the sufferer from cholera would, probably, be unable to derive benefit from it, seeing that precisely when he most needs it his stomach most persistently rejects it.

Moreover, if the nature of the morbid processes constituting cholera is, as I have shown, wholly dynamic, it is in the highest degree probable that the most effective remedy of the disease will also be found to be dynamic. Now, in 1863, I discovered that the circulation in the sympathetic ganglia, as well as in the spinal cord, and consequently their energy, can be lessened by the application of ice, and can be increased by the application of heat, along the region of the spine. Since that time, my twenty years' experience of the reality of the discovery has been abundantly confirmed by the experience of other physicians in Great Britain, Ireland, France, Germany, the United States of America, and various parts of the British Colonial Empire. In my exposition of the nature of cholera, I divided all its symptoms, prior to the stage of reaction, into two groups, and explained how one group is produced by morbidly excessive activity of the spinal cord, and how the other is produced by a like condition of the ganglia of the Sympathetic. Now, if this explanation be true, and if the power of lessening the energy of those nervous centres, alleged to have been discovered by me, be a reality, the possibility of treating cholera both scientifically and successfully is at length within our reach. And this presumption is greatly strengthened by experience in the treatment of many other diseases which, though not severally but collectively, present symptoms like to those of cholera. I have proved that excessive sweating and excessive secretion by the mucous membranes—indeed secretion generally—can be restrained by a suitable application of ice along the spine; that vomiting, purging, cramps, and coldness of the surface of the body, when met with separately as symptoms of other diseases, are, in the majority of cases, capable of being subdued by the same method. I have demonstrated that the vomiting of all grades of severity incident to pregnancy, the vomiting symptomatic of various diseases, and especially the vomiting of sea-sickness, can be thus arrested. Indeed, when sea-sickness becomes very severe, it is often accompanied by diarrhoea, and assumes a remarkable likeness to mild forms of cholera; and a large amount of evidence has now been accumulated, and partly published,* proving that, in the great majority of cases, at all events, this disorder can now be remedied. A very severe form of it is presented in the case described by Dr. Lee of Philadelphia—a case which affords striking evidence that vomiting, tonic convulsions, cold sweat, and coldness of the surface of the

* See "Sea-sickness, and How to Prevent It." *An Explanation of its Nature and Successful Treatment through the Agency of the Nervous System, by Means of the Spinal Ice-bag.* With an introduction on "The General Principles of Neuro-Therapeutics." Second edition, 8vo, price 2s.

body are remediable by the spinal ice-bag. I repeat the doctor's words:—"The effects of its application were little short of miraculous. In three minutes the retching ceased, and the spasms were calmed. In a quarter of an hour the patient had fallen into a quiet sleep, and in half an hour her hands and feet were of natural warmth, and her face had regained its wonted colour." Now in this case several of the leading symptoms of cholera were present; and while the vomiting, tonic convulsions, and cold sweating were arrested by the sedative action of the ice on the spinal cord, a like action on what Claude Bernard rightly designated the "frigorific" nerve-centres, so lessened their energy as to enable the lady's hands and feet, within half an hour, to regain their natural warmth and her face its wonted colour. Surely these are the very results desiderated in the treatment of both diarrhoea and cholera.

I have already published a number of cases of diarrhoea, some of them advancing into the dangerous cold stage, some of them also marked by the presence of cramps, in which the results of the treatment in question proved quite as satisfactory as were those experienced by the sea-sick lady just mentioned. Several of these cases were treated by different physicians, who have been good enough to send me reports of their experience of the method in question. Judging from the experience now had by myself and others of that method, I do not hesitate to express my conviction that if in all cases of diarrhoea, whether "infantile diarrhoea," "summer diarrhoea," or "diarrhoea premonitory of cholera," that method of treatment were promptly and properly made use of, the terrible fatality now consequent on that disorder would soon become a thing of the past.

The following passages in small type concerning the Treatment of Diarrhoea and Cholera according to my method are extracted from my book of "Cases of Diarrhoea and Cholera":—

In every case of both diarrhoea and cholera a thorough search for every removable exciting cause of the disease should be instituted, and if any such cause be found, it should of course be removed.

Simple diarrhoea, that is, uncomplicated with any marked fall of the temperature of the body, or with vomiting or cramps, should be treated by applying the spinal ice-bag continuously until the symptoms are overcome, and for some time afterwards at increasingly longer intervals. This will generally be all that is necessary to effect a cure. Indeed, in many slight cases the application of one bag of ice completely suffices to stop the flux and to prevent its return.

Severe diarrhoea, sometimes called choleraic diarrhoea or choleric, is in fact a mild form of cholera, and should be treated exactly as that disease is directed to be treated in the following paragraphs.

Cholera.—The effective treatment of this formidable malady by my method implies that the physician practising it possesses accurate knowledge of the principles on which it is based, ability and tact to apply them correctly in each of the different cases—although presenting different physiological conditions differently combined, the exercise of the utmost possible watchfulness and untiring care, and the vigorous resolution to insure the doing of what needs to be done both *quickly* and *thoroughly*. While ice to the spine is duly applied, its action must be especially watched, and its application must be modified in accordance with the pathological changes observable. [The experience gained from the first trials of my method of treating cholera, strongly impressed each observer of those trials with this conviction. When, in 1865, Dr. Wiblin strongly commended my treatment, he added—"but all your injunctions must be strictly carried out." Dr. Lake observed, "as with all other remedies of power it requires to be used with discretion, and not continued too long." Dr. Griffin, after recovering from collapse his two cases which he afterwards lost at Freemantle, says that in consequence of their distance from him the application of the ice was continued too long. Mr. Bencraft, in his letter dated October 29, 1865, says—"I have no hesitation in recording my conviction that if applied in anything like reasonable time, the ice will save every life; but I also see that it must be carefully watched." Within the limits assigned to these directions, I cannot enter into the physiological and pathological reasons why ice applied along the spine of a cholera patient for a certain length of time may save life, and why if applied for a longer time it may endanger or even destroy it; I may observe here, however, that the same power which can reduce the amount of blood in the spinal cord and in the ganglia of the sympathetic from a state of hyperæmia to the normal state, may also be so used as to render those nervous centres anæmic, and that such a state is always attended with danger. It is therefore absolutely necessary to determine by careful observation of the symptoms when the ice has been applied long enough, when it needs to be re-applied, whether its application should be extended along the whole or along only a part of the spine, and if along only a part, which part.]

When about to apply the spinal ice-bag, it is of the utmost importance to select one of suitable size, in respect to both length and breadth. The spinal ice-bags 24 and 26 inches long are suitable for men, those 20 and 22 inches long for women, and, of course, those still shorter and narrower for children. The widths of the bags vary with their lengths. It is therefore necessary to secure one of right length in order to secure one of right width.

If the lungs are healthy, the ice may, as a general rule, be applied in the first instance along the whole spine, or rather—and this is what I always mean by the phrase "*the whole spine*"—from the upper part of the cervical to the middle of the lumbar region, and no lower. As soon as the whole of the ice in the bag is quite melted, the bag should be emptied, refilled with ice, and immediately re-applied. The applications should be continuous until the symptoms abate. If the circula-

tion in the head becomes thoroughly re-established first, the ice may then be omitted from the upper cell of the ice-bag. As soon as the vomiting ceases, and the chest and upper extremities have become warm again as a consequence of the re-establishment of their normal circulation, the ice may be restricted to the lower half of the spine until the alvine discharges cease also, and the lower extremities begin to become warm.

In cases in which collapse continues after both vomiting and purging have ceased, the medical attendant, guided by the special character of the symptoms in each case, must use the ice in such a manner as he judges most likely to subdue them. [At the Hôpital St.-Antoine, Paris, which I visited in 1865, there was an instructive case of this kind. An elderly woman, under the care of Dr. Buchet, had already been treated by the method he then practised, and which chiefly consisted in sponging the patient all over with water, and in then wrapping her up carefully, covering her with an abundance of blankets, and applying hot bottles to the limbs. The measures adopted wholly failed to recover the patient from collapse. She lay in a state of profound stupor: seemingly there was no cerebral action at all. The head was thrown backwards, the mouth was open; when addressed in a loud voice she gave no sign of consciousness; and she looked exactly as if dead. The head and upper extremities were as cold as those of a corpse; the lower extremities were, however, slightly warm. She was quite pulseless. There was neither vomiting nor purging, and no evidence of cramps. I applied ice to the upper half of the spine only, and altogether three bags of ice were used. The treatment began about ten o'clock in the morning, and was continued until about four o'clock in the afternoon. At this time, the temperature of the upper half of the body had increased very decidedly, the head became warm, the pulse perceptible, and the mental power had returned to such a degree that the woman answered questions intelligibly and easily. I restricted the ice to the upper half of the spine in this case for the following reasons:—First, because as the woman had been extremely drained by the discharges which had occurred in the previous stages of the disease, and therefore had but little blood in her body, I deemed it expedient in view of her peculiar condition to concentrate all the spasm-relaxing effects of the ice upon the head and chest; and second, because, inasmuch as there was some activity of circulation in the lower part of the body, it seemed to me that if I had placed ice along the whole spine, and had thus relaxed still further the arteries in the pelvis and lower extremities, the afflux of blood would have become still greater there, and my chances of recovering the cerebral circulation would have been less than they were by the method I actually pursued.]

Allay the extreme thirst during the stage of collapse by non-stimulating fluids. It is well to give the patient the choice of several beverages, and indeed to vary them as he may feel inclined, for it is of the utmost importance to secure the co-operation of mental influences, which are no insignificant aid in allaying sickness. Good beef-tea,

temptingly flavoured; arrowroot made with water, flavoured, *but only flavoured*, with brandy, and made thin, so that it may be easily drunk; *weak* tea and coffee, with but little milk while sickness still continues; lemonade and barley-water may each be given alternately or successively with advantage.

If the purging should subside before the vomiting, injections of beef-tea, or of arrowroot, or of a mixture of both, should be given frequently.

Strychnia, opium, and all drugs which act as nervine stimulants, should be scrupulously avoided. And this remark applies to *strong* solutions of coffee and tea.

It is impossible to state too emphatically that *in cases of cholera under treatment by my method the life of each patient depends in great measure on the nurse in attendance.* THE REMEDIAL POWER OF THE SPINAL ICE-BAG CAN ONLY BE EXERTED WHILE IT IS RIGHTLY APPLIED. IT MUST BE KEPT EXACTLY ALONG THE CENTRE OF THE SPINE: IF IT IS NOT IT WILL DO HARM, AND HAD BETTER NOT BE USED AT ALL. The only method of keeping it in its place which does not involve incessant watching on the part of the nurse, is that of employing the "Ice-bag Jacket," described at page 33 of my volume on "Diarrhœa and Cholera;" and even then in cases of extreme restlessness slight re-adjustment may be necessary occasionally. To insure the proper application of the bag; to keep each of its cells, when all are used, duly filled, and duly replenished, when needful, with ice; to keep the surface of the patient clean and dry; and duly to attend to the other and various wants of even one patient—all this is a considerable task, and one demanding for its adequate fulfilment considerable intelligence, a resolute will, and a strong sense of duty. I am painfully aware how difficult it is to secure these qualities in attendants on the sick, and how strong in the eyes of many will seem the objection to my method that its successful practice necessitates not only first-class nurses, but many more of them in proportion to the number of patients whom they attend than are usually provided in public hospitals. To this objection I can only reply: no easy method of curing cholera is yet known; drugs have been proved useless: and it behoves all whom the matter may concern, to ask themselves, "Is the life of the patient in question worth saving at the cost of providing the conditions mentioned?" If the answer is affirmative—then, as in cases of cholera, life is destroyed very swiftly, it will be well to insure those conditions not only completely, but *promptly*: an hour, half an hour, nay, a few minutes, lost in delay may seal the fate of the sufferer whose life might have been saved by *swift* as well as judicious action.

In my work on Cholera (p. 182 *et seq.*) I have advised the application of heat over the surface of the body generally, simultaneously with the application of ice along the spine, as well as the free use of hot drinks during the algid stage, and I have adduced what seemed to me strong reasons for these recom-

mendations; but since the date (1866) when the second edition of that work was published, my opinions on this matter, notwithstanding the seeming force of the reasons for those recommendations, has gradually become so far modified that I now feel by no means sure that it is expedient to act upon them. After long and anxious consideration of the subject, it appears to me that, bearing in mind the small amount of our knowledge and experience in the matter, we should act most judiciously in allowing ourselves to be guided by the instincts of our patients. Now it is certain that when in a state of collapse they crave an abundance of cold, or iced, water, and are glad to have lumps of ice in the mouth; and some physiological and pathological considerations seem to supply valid reasons why it is expedient to satisfy their longings: if the stomach be thus converted into a cold, or iced, water bag, the cold is brought into more immediate contact than it can be otherwise with the great accumulation of nervous centres, called the semi-lunar ganglion or solar plexus (which is behind the stomach), and therefore can exert a more direct influence than the spinal ice-bag can do in relaxing the arteries distributed to the abdominal and pelvic viscera. Moreover, seeing that the intestines are, as I have shown, in a state of intensely active congestion, bordering on inflammation, the temperature of the lowest part of them, and probably of the whole, being abnormally high, we have in this fact an emphatic indication that cold drinks, while supremely grateful to the patients, are likely to exert a beneficial influence. A case was communicated to the Paris Academy of Medicine, September 16, 1854, in which sucking lumps of ice, and the use of iced-water enemata, were attended with strikingly satisfactory results.

Cholera is chiefly a disease of hot climates, and when it is developed in temperate climates it is so during the months when the temperature is at its maximum. Now, seeing what a potent factor in the production of the disease solar heat is, I have been led to think that a part of the rational treatment of cholera may consist in placing the patient in conditions, so far as heat is concerned, as opposite as practicable to those which have induced the disease; therefore, seeing that during cholera epidemics the air, being generally very warm, is saturated with aqueous vapour, the excess of which renders breathing difficult, I have entertained the idea that by placing patients while in choleraic collapse in chambers, the atmospheric temperature of which has been reduced artificially to 60° or 50° Fahrenheit (or even lower according to the dictates of experience), we should, probably, assist powerfully in their recovery. Placing them in hot air baths, as was done at Scutari (but without the simultaneous use of the spinal ice-bag) failed signally; and I hope some one at least of the

large hospitals will establish cold air rooms in which the experiment in question may be fairly tried. As is well known, there is now no practical difficulty, except that of expense, in supplying such rooms, and therefore in thoroughly testing their therapeutical value as aids in the treatment of cholera. I believe they would be comparatively valueless without the simultaneous and persistent use of the spinal ice-bag; but seeing how *extremely* contracted the lungs are during collapse, and how the patients struggle for breath, I am led to think that cold used in the form of cold air chambers, while ice is being applied to the spine, may prove extremely helpful in the treatment of choleraic collapse.

Of course such cold air chambers could only be had in hospitals; but when they are not available cold can be applied externally in the form of cold affusions, followed by vigorous dry friction over the whole surface of the body several times a day. The use of cold as here suggested receives strong countenance from the experience of Dr. W. C. Seaman, Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals, who says, "I was advised by the late Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals, Dr. Archibald Stewart, to try the cold affusion which, he said, had been used with success in Bengal." He followed the advice in 1859, and he says, "certainly with some success, inasmuch as the cramps were much relieved by it, and reaction to some extent obtained." In 1865 theoretical considerations caused him to add to this treatment the administration of ten or fifteen grains of calomel at the beginning of it, and he seems to think this was helpful; but while not endorsing his opinion on this point, I am grateful to him for repeating the experiment of the cold affusions, and especially for reporting the result, which certainly seems to have been satisfactory. He says, "The patient almost invariably felt relief; the cramps were mitigated, and sometimes in cases of collapse the pulse could now be just felt. In about five minutes the bath was repeated as before, after which, even in the worst cases, the pulse could now generally be felt; the skin became warmer, and the patient would beg for another bath. With reaction, vomiting and purging gradually ceased. The cold affusion was used at least five or six times in each case; and, as a rule, after each application of it the pulse grew stronger and all symptoms improved."* In seeming confirmation of Dr. Seaman's experience, I am able to cite that of one of my patients, an English clergyman, who, when in Berlin some time ago, suffered from diarrhoea. He plunged head-foremost into a cold bath and then remained in it up to the neck during twenty minutes. He assured me that the diarrhoea quickly and com-

* "Cholera, its Etiology and Treatment." By W. C. Seaman, M.D. A letter published in the *Lancet*, July 19, 1884.

pletely ceased, and that he felt only "*the greatest comfort*" from the treatment. He has often treated threats of diarrhœa in like manner and with like success.

In my opinion the question whether it is wisest to apply heat or cold to the surface of the body generally while ice is being applied to the spine during collapse, is by no means settled. There seems *à priori* strong reasons in favour of both plans: those in favour of heat are fully stated in my book, and my patients recovered while the heat was used; those in favour of cold I have just given, and now it remains for experience on a large scale to dispel all doubt on the subject. Those physicians who have the opportunity of trying each plan have ample assurance in the facts I have mentioned that the use of cold in the manner described is neither dangerous nor disagreeable to the patients. It is especially worthy of remark that Dr. Seaman's choleraic patients "*would beg for another bath,*" and that my clerical friend suffering from diarrhœa "*felt only the greatest comfort*" from his cold plunge.

The foregoing directions wholly relate to the treatment of the incipient and algide stages of cholera. A large number of patients whose lives are prolonged through these stages sink during the period of reaction, the fever, feverishness, or local congestions of which need the most studious attention, in order that they may be prevented or remedied by the judicious use of heat to the appropriate part of the spine. I have already suggested that in cases where cerebral or pulmonary reaction has become established while vomiting, purging, or coldness of the lower parts of the body persists, the ice should be omitted from the upper segments of the spine. But cases occur in which purging, at all events, as well as coldness of the lower extremities, co-exists with a full reaction, merging into slight or severe congestion of the brain, and sometimes, though less frequently, of the lungs. In these cases it may not suffice merely to omit the ice from the upper half of the spine, but it may be necessary, while still controlling the purging by retaining the ice in the lumbar and lower dorsal regions, and while, by its agency, relaxing the vasic spasms of the lower extremities, to effect some contraction of the cerebral and perhaps pulmonary blood-vessels by the application of heat along the upper third, or upper half of the spine. To do this effectually, and at the same time not to overdo it, calls for the utmost discrimination and care—discrimination with reference to the controlling force needed, and care with respect to the temperature of the water used, and the length of time during which it is applied. The changes in the circulation which may be induced by the spinal water-bag are much more rapid than those inducible by the spinal ice-bag, therefore the action of the former must be watched even more carefully than that of the latter. If heat be applied in order to prevent or subdue cerebral congestion, the forehead and pupils of the patient must be scrupulously examined every

few minutes in order to ascertain whether the temperature of the former is falling, and whether the size of the latter is increasing: if so, the bag should be immediately removed, even though it may be desirable to apply it again a short time afterwards. The condition of the lungs may be ascertained not only by the feelings of the patient, by the sputa, and by the degree of ease with which he breathes, but of course much more surely by auscultation; and the use of heat must be determined by the symptoms. If there should be no special but only a general feverishness, or even a decided reactionary fever, this condition may be controlled by the application of heat along the whole spine. It may be stated as a general rule, that in proportion to the gentleness and slow graduation with which the fever, feverishness, or local congestion is controlled, the more satisfactory will be the result, and the less the chance of relapse. If, for example, in order to diminish cerebral hyperæmia, water of a high temperature in the spinal water-bag be applied along the upper third of the spine, the head will, in many cases, become rapidly and extremely, and it may be, in some cases of cholera, fatally cold. After such rapid and extreme contraction of the cerebral arteries, and the necessarily sudden removal of the spinal water-bag, there is danger of vigorous reaction. I advise that the temperature of the water used in these cases be the lowest consistent with slowly attaining the desired end. The vascular system of many patients may be influenced by water at 105° Fahr. It will, however, be found most available at 110°, and may range, particularly if the patient's body be well clothed with fat, to 115°, or even higher.

It must be well understood that the application of heat along the spine is capable of producing vomiting and purging after they have been thoroughly subdued by means of ice, and of causing the body again to become cold. It is impossible, therefore, to overstate the importance of the advice to use these agents only when they are absolutely needed, and to watch their effects with the utmost possible care. The intensity of the cold or heat which is applied, and the length of time it is used, must be judiciously determined and modified according to the exigencies of each case.

The chief things required by patients who have fairly passed through the algide and reactionary stages of cholera are good nursing and good nourishment. No medicine is absolutely necessary, unless to meet some special symptom; but I am of opinion that a gentle tonic is desirable, and that that tonic should consist of the citrate of iron and quinine. I cannot conclude these directions more appropriately than in the following words of Sir Ranald Martin, for it is impossible to over-estimate their importance:—"In cholera, in common with the last stages of violent fevers and dysenteries—as, in fact, in all cases of great exhaustion—the patient must always owe much to the horizontal position, and to careful and unremitting nursing. The most careful nursing and the most attentive watching of the patient are both of the utmost importance in this disease; and so easily is the balance of circulation fatally overturned, that a strict

attention to the recumbent posture is absolutely necessary to success. In no other diseases are these simple matters of so great importance to be attended to, and in the disease under special notice I have seen many a life apparently lost from inattention to them."

So far as I am aware, 41 cases of cholera have been partially or wholly treated by means of the spinal ice-bag; but of these 14 were so inadequately or so improperly treated that whoever is intent on forming a just estimate of the value of the remedial method in question must ignore them. Any one can verify the correctness of this assertion, for each of these 14 cases is reported in my book entitled "*Cases of Diarrhœa and Cholera*," where the numbers prefixed to them are as follows:—25, 27 to 32, 34 to 38, 40 and 41. But even of these 14 cases, defective as the treatment was, *eight were recovered from collapse*.

Of the 24 cases in which a cure was effected, 5 were in state of partial collapse, and 16 were in complete collapse, several being quite pulseless, so that of the whole of the cases 5 were recovered from partial and 26 from complete collapse. The important significance of this statement will be at once understood by all who bear in mind the fact already adverted to—viz., that no drug yet discovered exerts any appreciable power in rescuing patients from the state of choleraic collapse.

Dr. Griffin, of Southampton, who had the care of several of the patients above referred to, summed up the characteristic features of the treatment in question in the following pithy sentence:—"*It stops cramps, vomiting, and purging; it makes the patients warm, and it prolongs life.*" My discovery of the power of exerting a controlling influence over the nutrition and functions of all parts of the body, and my demonstration that in man, and in all animals having a highly differentiated nervous system, diseases, whether called structural or functional, of any part, are really, as a general rule, symptoms or expressions of disorder in that system, reveal and explain the as yet seeming wonder—viz., the stopping of cramps, vomiting, and purging, and the regeneration of animal heat by the application of ice along the spine, as well as the fact now thoroughly established and apparently not less wonderful—viz., that the reactionary fever which in a certain proportion of cases follows the collapse of cholera, is most effectively subdued by the appropriate application of heat along the same region. The more this method of treatment (not of cholera only, but of diseases generally), as well as the physiological principles on which it is based, is studied, the more thoroughly will it become recognized as truly scientific, and therefore as the dawn of a new era in pathology and therapeutics.

The general adoption of this treatment will necessarily be slow, because (1) the great body of the medical profession is still prac-

tically unacquainted with it, and only partially or vaguely acquainted with the neuro-physiology which underlies it; and (2) because people generally are horrified by a method of treatment which, in those cases in which it does, not prescribe the application of heat, prescribes the application of cold, by means of ice, along some part or the whole of the spine. People will only cease to be thus horrified in proportion as they are taught so much of neuro-physiology as will enable them to understand the vaso-motor (artery-contracting) functions of the great sympathetic ("frigorific") nerve, and therefore to understand the seeming paradox, but really simple truth—viz., that precisely those persons who suffer most from bodily cold are most needing treatment by the application of ice along the spine, may be most benefited by it, and may be rendered warm meanwhile. While this knowledge is growing, it will be chiefly those diseases for which there is no other known remedy, or none commanding trust, that will be treated according to the scientific principles and method here indicated: such diseases pre-eminently are epilepsy and the whole group of convulsive affections, the hitherto uncontrollable vomiting often associated with pregnancy, seasickness, and especially cholera of all grades of intensity. Of all diseases with which I am familiar, cholera is precisely the one in which the power of cold applied along the spine is most astonishingly manifested and is most astonishingly rapid in its action. This truth is attested in the following extracts from the reports of cases:—

CASE I.—The patient "agonized with cramps," suffering from extreme difficulty of breathing, and extremely anxious and restless, was laid on a spinal ice-bag, "*and within five minutes she was in a placid sleep.*"

CASE II.—Before treatment cramps were occurring continually; the patient "had not had five minutes' sleep at a time for them." She was purged "every ten minutes or oftener." Her skin was cool, her head decidedly cold. The spinal ice-bag was first applied at 11.45 A.M. She was immediately soothed. At 2.45 P.M. the cramps were reported to be much lessened, and during the three hours' interval the bowels had been moved but twice. Before 7.15 P.M. of the same day the cramps had wholly vanished, and she had become "very comfortably warm all over."

CASE III.—At 4 P.M. the patient was in complete collapse: "lips blue, whole surface of body cold, cramps violent, rice-water purging and vomiting." The spinal ice-bag was then ordered to be applied continuously. In six hours afterwards, when she was next visited, she was "decidedly improved,

markedly warmer, the cramps and sickness much lessened; *the cramps only recurred when the ice had melted and the spinal ice-bag had become warm.* The next morning the lips were red, the whole surface of the body quite warm, the cramps had recurred only once, *and again only when the bag had been allowed to become warm*; bowels moved but three times in the twelve hours; vomited only once.

CASE IV.—At midnight the girl was in complete collapse; “rice-water stools; purging and vomiting almost incessant; very cold all over, tongue especially so; pulse almost wholly imperceptible; very bad cramps; countenance deathlike.” Treatment was begun immediately. At nine o’clock the next morning she was already much better; she had vomited but once; was warm all over; the pulse was very distinct, 116; there were no cramps at all, and her countenance was “immensely improved.”

CASE V.—At 11 A.M. the man presented all the symptoms characteristic of choleraic collapse. A spinal ice-bag was then applied; within an hour “a favourable change in him was observable,” he was already becoming warm; and at 9 P.M. of the same day, though still sick, he was “much better, warm all over, a capital pulse, no cramps.”

CASE VII.—“A worse case of cholera,” says the reporter, Mr. Peterson, who had seen many in India (where this occurred), he had “never seen.” At 11 A.M. the man was suffering from “incessant vomiting and purging;” his extremities were “quite cold;” his pulse was “scarcely perceptible;” his voice “almost entirely gone;” he “was in great agony, and appeared to be sinking fast.” Ice was applied along the spine, and within half an hour “I could perceive,” says Mr. Peterson, a “change for the better. The cramps began to lessen visibly, and the involuntary purging to stop. He never vomited once after I applied the ice. I was much surprised, about half-past twelve, to find the pulse gradually getting stronger, and the legs and arms warmer. The warmth went on increasing until, at half-past one, his body, except where the ice was, became hot as in fever.”

CASE VIII.—At 9 A.M. the girl was completely collapsed, and was quite pulseless. The spinal ice-bag was applied continuously, and by 2 P.M. of the same day reaction was perfectly established, “a good pulse” being observable.

CASE IX.—At 1.30 P.M. the girl was suffering from vomiting, purging, and cramps, and was collapsed and livid. The spinal ice-bag was applied continuously; the cramps and vomiting speedily ceased. “By 5 A.M. the next day the purging had also ceased, and on the same evening she had “a good pulse,” and was “warm all over.”

CASE X.—At 10 A.M. the girl was suffering from vomiting, purging, and cramps, was quite collapsed, and quite pulseless. The spinal ice-bag was applied at that time, and continuously until 4 P.M., “when the countenance had become much less choleraic, and the vomiting, purging, and cramps were already greatly subdued.”

CASE XI.—The woman was attacked suddenly in my presence. She became deathly pale, strikingly cold, the lips turned livid, and the sweat exuding in large drops over her face and upper extremities. Her head was cold and she was quite pulseless. *In about five minutes after the spinal ice-bag was applied*, “her pulse became distinctly perceptible, slight colour returned to her face, and in a few minutes more she said, ‘I am better.’”

CASE XXIV.—“Was apparently hopeless.” The man was delirious owing to uræmic poisoning, caused by the prolonged arrest of the action of the kidneys. Within half an hour of the first application of the spinal ice-bag the patient was relieved, and, beginning at once to improve, continued to do so steadily until he had completely recovered.

That the foregoing summary of cases and results is not a pardonable exaggeration of facts due to the fervid enthusiasm of the writer, will probably be held proven by evidence to which I shall now venture to refer. Nearly the whole of the cases in question occurred at Southampton during the epidemic there in 1865 and 1866. Those medical men in Southampton who adopted or witnessed the treatment in question were neither using a remedy nor observing the effects of one originated by themselves, therefore their judgment of the value of that treatment was not likely to be either obscured or perverted. Now, at my request, they were good enough, in 1865, to express that judgment in letters from which the following passages are extracted:—

“I have now seen and treated, with Mr. Bencraft and Dr. Cheeseman, six cases of cholera, in the stage of collapse; and what I have witnessed and noted in these cases justifies me in stating that your treatment is superior to any other that I have hitherto seen practised or pursued by myself or others.”

“Were I seized with cholera I should give your mode of treatment a preference; indeed, I would submit to no other.”—JOHN WIBLIN, *Physician*.

“The five cases in which I had the good fortune of witnessing the application of the spinal ice-bags by you, have sufficiently convinced me of their utility in rousing the patients from collapse and removing the algide symptoms of cholera.”—G.

CHEESEMAM, *Physician and District Medical Officer to the Southampton Incorporation.*

"Dr. Chapman's treatment of cholera proved itself a remedy of very considerable power, restoring the heat, relieving the cramps, checking the vomiting and purging. Its use was followed by reaction from collapse, even in cases where the patient was quite pulseless.

"The treatment appears to have the great advantage of producing reaction from the state of collapse, leaving the patient free from the very large quantities of medicines which in other modes of cure so fatally hamper the treatment of the secondary fever."—**G. A. LAKE**, M.D., *Surgeon to the Royal South Hants Infirmary, &c., &c.*

"The power [of the treatment in question] to relieve the vomiting, purging, and cramps is almost marvellous, and its influence over the circulation, in restoring heat to the surface of the body, and in bringing back the pulse where nearly, and in some cases entirely, gone, must be seen in order to be properly appreciated.

"For my own part, I have such entire confidence in the method of treatment that, should any more cases of cholera come under my care, I shall without hesitation trust to it alone; and were I to be attacked with cholera I would insist on being, treated entirely by your method."—**HENRY BENCRAFT**, M.R.C.S.A., L.S.A., *Medical Officer to the Southampton Work-house.*

These extracts describe results which, in the present state of medical science, can be produced by no other means than those in question; and it is to be hoped, indeed it is evident, that when the people become acquainted with these facts, or with others like to them, and when, therefore, their horror at the idea of ice applied along the spine will have passed away, they will wish to profit by the lesson they have learnt, and will probably begin to do so by saving the thousands of young lives which, otherwise, will continue to be destroyed yearly by "summer" or "infantile" diarrhoea.

Having reviewed the results of the treatment which is the direct logical outcome of the pathological principles sketched in the first part of these pages, and having adduced the important evidence concerning these results from the several medical observers of them, whose names are given above, I appeal to all competent and impartial judges to pronounce whether, inasmuch as ice applied along the spine "stops the cramps, vomiting, and purging, makes the patients warm," and produces "reaction

from collapse, even in cases where the patient was quite pulseless," its action does or does not constitute a practical verification of the doctrine I have propounded—viz., that "the *proximate* cause of all the phenomena of cholera [before the stage of reaction] is hyperæmia, with consequent excessive action, of the spinal cord and of the sympathetic nervous system." What is the physiological action of ice? It is powerfully sedative. Obviously, therefore, if the exertion of a powerfully sedative influence over the spinal cord and collateral ganglia of the sympathetic nerve abolishes the phenomena of cholera, it must do so by lessening the circulation of blood in, and, consequently, the energy of, those nervous centres. But if it does this in cases of cholera, then it follows that the essential condition precedent of recovery from the disease is diminution of circulation in, and consequent energy of, those nervous centres, and therefore that the proximate cause of the disease (however that cause may have been established) consists in "hyperæmia of the spinal cord and of the sympathetic nervous system."

Moreover, if the symptoms were the consequence of a blood-poison, or of a microbe in the intestines, they, surely, could not be subdued with the rapidity exemplified in many of the cases above referred to by the use of a purely dynamic agent—the application of ice along the spine. It would, in my opinion, be just as rational to ascribe the several phenomena of sea-sickness to one or the other of those two alleged causes, as it is to maintain that either of them is capable of producing the multiform symptoms of cholera. As I have already said, the analogy between the two diseases is strikingly great. There are various predisposing causes, both of sea-sickness and of cholera, undoubtedly inherent in different individuals—otherwise of, say, 100 persons placed in the same locality and under the same circumstances in a cholera-stricken city, and of 100 persons on board the same ship, the whole would either become victims of cholera and of sea-sickness respectively, or the whole would escape. But we know that as a matter of fact, only a certain proportion suffer, and these in different degrees, while the rest are not affected at all. The ultimate cause of sea-sickness—motion—operates alike on the whole 100 passengers; but a certain number resist its influence. And in like manner the ultimate cause of cholera—whether thermal, electric, or (as I believe is most generally the case) thermo-electric, each of which is a correlative of motion and convertible into it—operates alike on all within the several foci of its energy; just as a certain number resist the influence of motion and remain free from sea-sickness, so a certain number resist the influence of heat or electricity, and, though dwelling in a cholera district, remain proof against cholera. The essential

likeness to each other of these two diseases is still more strikingly attested by the fact that they are both curable by one and the same method. Now, seeing that in very severe cases of sea-sickness, nearly all the symptoms of cholera, including even that of sudden onset, are manifested; seeing that the cause of sea-sickness is motion, and that the ultimate causes of cholera are heat and electricity, which, as physicists teach us, are modes of motion; seeing that the personal predisposition to each disease is analogous; seeing that each is a disorder of the nervous system; seeing that each is curable by acting in one and the same way on that system; and, seeing that we are absolutely certain that one of them, sea-sickness, is not the result of a blood poison, is not the result of a microbe, and is not contagious, we must, I think, conclude that the other is not less free from these characteristics, and not less a purely dynamic product than is sea-sickness itself.

I have now laid before my readers a view of the nature, causes, and treatment of cholera, which differs fundamentally from that generally accepted, and indeed from each and all previously promulgated. This distinctive feature may, perhaps, be regarded as *prima-facie* evidence by no means in its favour, and might be justly so regarded were not the pre-existing doctrines and practices mutually irreconcilable, or were any one of them capable of offering explanations, at once intelligible and consistent with each other, of the whole phenomena of cholera, and also capable of suggesting a method of treatment at once scientific and successful. But, as a matter of fact, the whole literature of cholera, exceptions excepted, is a literature of chaos: a chaos of conflicting doctrines, which severally seem capable of explaining some of the phenomena of the disease, but which fail signally to explain the whole; and consequently a chaos, not less confounding, but far more dangerous, of conflicting practices. On the other hand, the doctrine now submitted to the reader offers a simple and clear explanation of every symptom and every characteristic of cholera, and though these symptoms and characteristics are, in the aggregate, very numerous, and therefore necessitate numerous explanations, yet the whole of these are absolutely accordant with each other. While cholera is shown to be essentially a disease of the nervous system, the genesis of every symptom of the disease, or its mode of origin in that system is distinctly demonstrated; though the factors in the creation of that special condition of the nervous system, out of which they arise, are numerous and manifold, the hypothesis in question assigns to each predisposing or exciting cause its appropriate place and function, and fully reveals its special mode of action as a co-operative agent. The increase of

heat immediately before death, the increase and persistence of heat as well as the remarkable changes in the colour and aspect of the visage and general surface of the body, together with the not infrequent movements of the limbs after death, are simply and satisfactorily explained by the same hypothesis. It renders completely intelligible the established fact that cholera often arises suddenly in numerous localities, more or less distant from each other, at one and the same time, and that occasionally it ceases no less suddenly. While recognizing, and fully accounting for, the facts out of which the doctrines of a cholera-poison, of cholera-germs, of cholera-bacilli, and, therefore, of the contagiousness of cholera have arisen, the hypothesis now propounded at once repudiates and confutes those doctrines, and at the same time, by proving that cholera is a disorder the nature of which is exclusively dynamic, also proves that it cannot be contagious. In doing this it fully justifies Anglo-Indian physicians who, holding the disease to be non-contagious, treat patients suffering from it in hospital-wards along with those afflicted with other diseases; it explains the general immunity from cholera of the attendants of cholera patients, as well as of students who dissect cholera corpses; it explains why, notwithstanding that animals are really liable to cholera as human beings are, Dr. Koch could not induce the disease in them, however much he fed them with his comma-shaped microbes or with portions of intestines containing them; it also explains why quarantine in all its vexatious and misery-inflicting forms, the disinfection of travellers, and of goods and letters *in transitu* are utterly useless and indefensible as means of protection against cholera; it shows that the summer diarrhœa of Europe, the cholera infantum of the United States of America, the diarrhœa premonitory of cholera, cholera *nostras*, and "Asiatic" cholera are all mere varieties or grades of intensity of one and the same disease, that they are all alike due to the same *proximate* cause, and are controllable in one and the same way; and finally, it dictates a method of treatment which is approved alike by medical science and by common sense, which is thoroughly practicable, which is sanctioned by the experience of every physician who has adopted it, and which has been proved to be successful to a degree surpassing that of every other kind of treatment which has hitherto been tried.

JOHN CHAPMAN, M.D. .

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY.

THE Hibbert Lectures of 1884¹ are somewhat disappointing. Dr. Albert Réville treats his subject in too hurried and superficial a manner, owing partly to his gliding over dangerous places. In fact, he warns us (p. 5) that he "retains his own very marked preferences." He writes more as a religious person—a doctor of divinity, as he is—than as an unshackled critic of religions. Then the arrangement is rambling; there are repetitions; the subject is not well in hand. Add to this, the vague and slightly pompous manner of the preacher, who puts both facts and theories in the same authoritative condescending way, as though he were talking to children, and it must be said that this year's Lectures are by no means in the first rank.

Still the compilation is of much interest. We are brought face to face with two religions, developed in absolute independence of each other, and of all others of which we have records; and preserving their autonomy, just as Polynesia has preserved to this day the pre-historic mythology of civilized mankind. It cannot be too clearly understood that the severance of the Mexicans and Peruvians from the rest of the earth, up to their discovery by Cortes and Pizarro, was as complete as if they had been inhabitants of another planet. All attempts to prove an earlier intercourse with Europe or Asia have been failures, and the legend of the Apostle Thomas evangelizing America is acknowledged to be as baseless an illusion as Von Humboldt's theory that Buddhism must at some remote period or other have penetrated into Mexico.

Both religions have their objective development in Nature-worship, the predominant form of which was the adoration of the eternal and omnipresent Sun. We have in Mexico a god of rain and fecundity, called "the nourisher," who dwelt in the mountains, whence he sent his numerous offspring, the clouds. Lightning and thunder were among his attributes. There were also the cloud-serpent, whose name, Mixcoatl, survives as that of the waterspout; and the god of the winds, especially of the east fertilizing Atlantic wind, one of whose names, Hurakan, may have given us our word "hurricane," which certainly was brought by the Spaniard from the west. The cross surmounted his temples, and was a symbol of the cardinal points.²

¹ "The Native Religions of Mexico and Peru." By A. Réville, D.D., Professor of the Science of Religion at the Collège de France. (Williams & Norgate.

² An instance of M. A. Réville's haste is his specially attributing the Mexican cross to the temples of Quetzalcoatl the feathered serpent, the wind-god, on page 38; and to Tlaloc the rain-god, on page 72. But he then drops this inconvenient cross question, and never mentions it again.

In Peru we find star-worship; Venus the page of the sun, the Pleiades next in veneration, and the other stars revered as the moon's maids of honour. Comets, too, as in modern Europe, foreboded the wrath of the gods, and stones were worshipped, perhaps for meteoric reasons. But all this is ancillary to the central figure of the pantheon, which in Mexico counts 260 deities. The whole lives of the Mexicans and Peruvians were steeped and enveloped as truly in the worship as in the light of the Sun. He was animated and personified, and represented independently in both countries by a round human head encircled by diverging rays and flames, precisely what has long since descended in Europe to comic portraiture, except where it still survives in the "glory," the halo, of sacred Christian pictures.³ His great Mexican feasts were three: in May, at the return of flowers; in August, when the fruits of his influence had been gathered; and in December, when he reaches the lowest expression of his power—in the figurative language of mythology, "dies"—to arise and return again, like Osiris, Adonis, Atys, and the host of other solar transferees.⁴ The winter sun, called the "shining mirror," and brother of the summer sun or "humming-bird," was then worshipped. Peru, on the other hand, in its southern hemisphere, had its festival of the diminished, but thenceforth growing, sun in June. The spring feast was in September; and the third, the harvest festival, was in May. Our country parsons still keep up these feasts; and ladies who deck the churches little think they are but perpetuating the pious duties of the virgins of the Sun. There was a fourth feast in Peru, that of the height of summer, the festival of Power, when the thunder-god was joined in adoration with the supreme being. Eclipses were the cause of great terror, and were regarded as self-made; the Sun hiding his face from his people in his anger.⁵ Then the fire-god, "the lord Fire," "the old god," no doubt an outcome of Sun-worship, was venerated in every house. The supernal fire which had become contaminated by contact with earthly things, was extinguished once a year, and brought down anew from its heavenly source, by the friction of wood. At every meal "the first libation and the first morsel of bread were consecrated to him."⁶ Gold was sacred; perhaps, from its colour, looked upon as a part of the substance of the sun. A golden disk held

³ It is worthy of note that similar projecting golden rays surround the circular glazed disk of the "monstrance" in which the wafer, when converted into the deity Jesus by the priest's repetition of a formula, is displayed above the altar for worship in Roman Christian churches.

⁴ Bonwick's "Egyptian Belief," 1878, pp. vi., 169. A. S. Murray's "Manual of Mythology," 1876, p. 86.

⁵ A common idea in the Old Testament. "Your sins have hid his face from you," Is. lix. 2; "Thou hast hid thy face from us because of our iniquities," Is. lxiv. 7; "For all whose wickedness I have hid my face from this city," Jer. xxxiii. 5; and others too numerous to quote.

⁶ It was related of the Red Indians of Virginia, when discovered in the same century, that "before their dinners and suppers the better sort will take the first bit and cast it in the fire; which is all the grace they are known to use" (Captain John Smith's Works, in Arber's "English Scholar's Library," 1884, p. 77).

the human face already described. In the temples of the Sun, which opened to the east,⁷ the altar was surmounted by the golden disk of the Sun, so placed as to reflect his first morning rays, and give a self-produced effulgent image of the divinity in his holy of holies.⁸ The nuggets of gold found in the mountain soil were the tears of the sun, according to Peruvian folk-lore. Silver was equally sacred to the Moon, the sister of the Sun, and she had a disk of silver in her adjacent temple. Japanese lacquer-artists to the present day represent the moon by an inserted solid disk of polished silver. The Mexican priests never cut their hair; wearing the hair long was a distinctive sign of the favourites of the Sun, and was reserved in Peru for the Inca, his family, and the most exalted nobles. Here, as in the golden locks of Phœbus, the fancy portraits of Christ, the flowing hair of Kephalos, and the long hair of Hercules and Samson, we have the rays of the sun, which are shorn at its wintry downfall, but grow again in spring. The glowing humming-bird was the divine messenger of the Sun, and gave its name to, or took its name from, the summer sun. The Aztec tongue called it "sunbeam," and "Sun's hair." Like the dove of the holy spirit,⁹ our swallow, the plover among the Latin races, and the crow of the Red-skins, it was an emissary of the Sun, coming with the return of the propitious season.¹⁰ Eventually the humming-bird miraculously became incarnate in a pious widow, he

⁷ Even village houses generally looked eastward, so that their occupants might salute the supreme god as soon as he arose. The Roman Christian priest says mass facing the east, the congregation hearing it in a similar attitude; and we have had enough of late years in England of ritualistic wrangles about "the eastward position;" those who object to the priest turning his back on the people showing as complete an ignorance of the origin and significance of the practice as their opponents.

⁸ See note 3, *ante*. The parallel with Japanese Shintō would be startling if it were not a mere unit in the infinitude of such analogies of Sun-worship still surviving all over the globe; which owe their unconnected identity to the simple but all-important fact that they everywhere grew up in human minds out of the reverence for this one supreme and omnipresent god. In the penetralia of the Shintō temple at Ise is preserved and worshipped the circular mirror which was brought down from the Sun-goddess by her sublime grandson Hiko-ho no Ninigi no Mikoto, first divine sovereign of Japan, when he descended from heaven. These mirrors must be considerably more recent in the history of the races which adopted them than the discovery and working of metals; they imply a progress in manufacture and arts which should be measured by vast stretches of time. We find, for instance, the rekindling of the sacred fire in Peru after the arrest of the sun in the winter solstice, by means of a concave mirror, which brought the holy flames directly from the Sun-god. It may be noted as another odd coincidence that in Mexico the statue of Tezcatlipoca, or "Shining-Mirror," the Sun of the cold and sterile season, held a crystal mirror in which all the actions of men were reflected. He was dreaded as a stern god of judgment. In Japanese Buddhism there is the *jō-hari* mirror in hell, which reflects, for those who have to gaze on it, the good and evil deeds of life.

⁹ Matt. iii. 16, 17; Mark i. 10, 11; Luke iii. 22; John i. 32, 33. Ernest de Bunsen points out that the Samaritans had a brazen fiery dove. (The Holy Ghost also descends in the form of tongues of fire, Acts ii. 3.) Even in the Polynesian islands a bird is the emblem of the spirit of God.

¹⁰ The wren superstitions among the Celtic peasantry are also worthy of note.

spoke from her womb,¹¹ and, after accomplishing mighty feats, re-ascended into heaven, bearing his mother with him, where she was made goddess of flowers. The parallel with the Christian Mary, the annunciation, her assumption, and the consecration to her of the month of flowers, May, is remarkable, and a perfectly independent development. The ornamented Sun-columns all over Mexico were likewise statues, with the head in the centre, as may be seen at the useful Trocadéro Museum in Paris.¹² At the same time they were symbols of the fructifying power, thus giving a point of contact with stone and phallic worship. The Sun being the great deity of Peru, all the Mexicans were children of the Sun, like the powerful or righteous Hebrew; and the Incas were a family of priest-kings who reigned as descendants of the Sun. Before their time men lived in the utmost savagery, but the Sun at last took pity and sent them two of his children to alleviate their lot, and establish his worship. These were the son and daughter of the Sun and Moon—for the Moon was at once the sister and the wife of the Sun, as Juno was of Jove. They married and re-ascended into heaven, but left a son and daughter, who in their turn became man and wife, and thus originated the Incas, who always married in and in. Their origin explains why obeying the Incas was obeying God. He was actually worshipped, was approached barefoot and simply clad, and, as we cannot gaze on the Sun, was not to be looked at. The parallelism of the Japanese Shintō is truly striking. In the July number of this REVIEW (pp. 223–225) will be found some remarks upon this subject, and upon the divine solar origin of the unbroken line of the Mikados, which may here be supplemented. The present Emperor of Japan, Mutsuhito, is the first whose name has been mentioned in his lifetime. His life-name was called *imina*, “name to be avoided;” he was screened from public view; he was merely referred to as “the present mighty sovereign judge” (Konjō or Kinjō Kotei);¹³ he is to be implicitly obeyed. His real character is that of a god—we rely upon a work written in 1771 by an orthodox Shintōist.¹⁴ His supreme function in ancient times was to celebrate

¹¹ Compare Luke i. 41, 45. The other three Gospels say nothing of John's leaping in the womb for joy.

¹² We may indicate to those who cannot conveniently consult the more important works on Central America, some fairly good engravings in *Scribner's Monthly* for December, 1881. They include two sun-columns from Copan in Honduras, and are taken from Catherwood's drawings in J. L. Stephens's two valuable volumes, which, strangely enough, are not mentioned by M. Réville, although they rapidly went through twelve editions in 1841–2. The resemblance of the human forms in the sculptures at Palenque to those of some Egyptian gods and priests cannot escape the intelligent student. There is an excellent work, too, by F. A. Ober (Boston, Mass.: Estes & Lauriat, 1884), which is perhaps too recent for mention by M. Réville. It is illustrated from the photographs taken by Charnay, which were published at Mexico in 1866.

¹³ *Mi-Kado*—awful-gate, sublime-porte—is also a reverent and distant allusion to the worshipped personality. There are other similar titles; such as *Kinri*, forbidden-precincts; *Dairi*, grand-precincts; *Chōtei*, audience-hall; and others still, as *Tennō* (now the official title), heaven-sovereign, and *Tenshi*, son of heaven. All these are formed of Chinese words, except *Mikado*, which alone is pure Japanese.

¹⁴ Motowori Norinaga's “*Nawobi no Mitama*,” or *Essence of Truth*.

rites in honour of the gods on behalf of his people, and for that reason the art of government is in Japan called *matsurigoto*, which simply means "worshipping." Izanagi and Izanami, the pair of gods who descended from heaven to create Japan, and who are the parents of the deities of the Sun and Moon—the Sun-goddess being the ancestress of the Mikados—were elder brother and younger sister.¹⁵ And the word *imo* in the Japanese language originally meant both sister and wife, so that such unions must have been lawful in Japan as well as in Peru,¹⁶ and apparently for an identical reason. Beyond doubt, too, every Japanese is a descendant of the gods, and therefore of the Sun-goddess.¹⁷

Space would fail to completely comment upon the many other points in the Peruvian and Mexican religions which illustrate the natural and human origins of serpent-worship; of prayer, purification, baptism, and confession of sin; of fasting, asceticism, monks, and nuns; of sacrifice, and practices akin to circumcision (the infliction of pain being pleasant to God); of redemption and a Messiah; of communion with the deity by partaking of sacrificed victims who became unified with him, the communion thus first involving cannibalism, and being in places refined into a cercal eucharist and a mass-like ceremonial. All these existing, not back in the misty night of fabulous time, but as it were before our eyes, three hundred years ago, in the very height of a dominant, living Sun-worship. We should have liked, too, to have drawn a pair of pictures—first, of the never-ending holocausts of human victims slaughtered to the supreme and auxiliary native gods; and then another of the Christians and their inquisitors, who came upon the scene in 1571, and roasted the unfortunate half-savages alive, in tens and in hundreds, as an "act of faith" and a sacrifice to *their* God.¹⁸

Professor Francis Newman, "ignorant whether he may be spared to write another English book" ("absit longissime a vero!"), issues

¹⁵ The root *iza* in these names means "to invite," and refers to their inviting each other to the act of begetting, as is related in the legend. The names may be rendered "male who invites," and "female who invites;" and their epithets *Kamurogi* and *Kamuromi* mean progenitor and progenitrix (Hirata Atsutane's "Koashi Seibun," 1812).

¹⁶ This is still further proved by the fact that in later times marriage was allowed in Japan between children of different mothers but of the same father; which was the rule, too, among the Jews, and was permitted by Solon. It was practised in Persia in the time of Darius; and in Egyptian exoteric mythology, Isis and Osiris, Typhon and Nephthys were brothers and sisters. All these, too, are inseparably and intimately connected with Sun-worship. There are some remarks upon this subject in Coleridge's eighth lecture on Shakespeare and Milton (1811-12), spun out of his own brain, and singularly wide of the mark.

¹⁷ Hirata Atsutane's "Kodō tai-i," or Summary of the Ancient Way, 1811.

¹⁸ A widely known high-tory and high-church weekly Review mentioned this fact on August 9 last, and its regrettable comment was—"When the Spanish Inquisition came and rooted all this out, it was very well employed." The same article said: "Bernal Diaz del Castillo" [one of Cortes's lambs] "and others thought that the Aztec creeds and their ceremonies were the work of the devil, and really there is a great deal to be said for that opinion." In the eyes of the Rip Van Winkle type of theologian, disbelief in his devil is constructive "blasphemy."

one more of those handy popular publications which are doing so much to render rational views of theocratic creeds familiar to the intelligent of all classes.¹⁹ He rapidly and pointedly surveys the chief characteristics of Christianity immediately before and after Jesus, or Joshua, as his native name was. It is all in his lucid, dispassionate, simple style—so much more eloquent for truth than the rhapsodies or turgid declamation of too many Christian theological works. As to the vaunted monotheism of the Jews, he remarks:—

To us it may seem that to believe in a hundred gods, all morally perfect and among themselves harmonious, is consistent with the purest piety, and is far better than to believe in One God who indulges in petty passions (p. 91). James and Paul were both true Jews in glorifying Abraham's readiness to sacrifice his son on a supposed divine command. The respect which to the present day this monstrous fable receives²⁰ warns us how little depth there still is in religious thought (p. 105). No Jew could impute to Jehovah military weakness; but every Jew unawares imputed to him the moral weakness of fearing discredit with the heathen, if his chosen people be trampled down. It runs through the whole Hebrew literature that, however much that people may deserve chastisement, and get it, yet at last, for the glory of his own name, Jehovah must exalt them over his enemy (p. 14).

And then he employs this last consideration to show how intense the supplication was, in national misfortunes, that Jehovah would avenge his own dishonour and send them a Deliverer. Thence gradually was crystallized the idea of a Messiah, an anointed, the Greek Christos; who eventually became in Christianity the mediator. And the same tendency, after Jesus had been absorbed into the Trinity, made the worship of the Virgin and of dead saints popular. As to miracles:—

To accept marvellous tales on the word of writers who do not define their grounds of assurance, the date and names of their authorities, nor give to their own contemporaries any means of examining,—belongs to inexperience (p. 37). In the Acts, not only was Elymas the sorcerer struck blind by Paul's word, but a cripple is healed, an evil spirit is cast out; even napkins taken from Paul's body heal divers maladies. But Paul made no attempt to cure his fellow-labourer Epaphroditus when dangerously sick by his side, nor yet to relieve Trophimus whom he left at Miletus sick. So little can we trust the book of Acts concerning miracles (p. 95).

And Professor Newman gives from Tacitus a very remarkable passage about the popular expectation of miracles from Vespasian, at Alexandria, which we do not remember to have seen before adduced for this purpose:—

A certain man of the Alexandrian populace known to suffer from wasted eyes . . . kept imploring the prince to deign to spatter saliva on his cheeks and eyeballs.²¹

¹⁹ "Christianity in its Cradle." By F. W. Newman, once Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford; now Emeritus Professor of University College, London. Trübner & Co.

²⁰ This important indication of the divine origin of human sacrifices among the Jews, which still survives in the crucifixion, enables us to judge that much about them must have been "edited" out by the later compilers of the sacred books, in a period when other victims had taken the place of men, women, and children.

²¹ The reader may verify this. Tacitus wrote: "Ex plebe Alexandrina quidam, oculorum tabe notus . . . precabatur principem ut genas et oculorum orbes dignaretur respargere oris excremento." (Hist. iv. 81).

This serves to show how steeped that first century of our era was in the belief that miracles were workable. But why should we be surprised when we remember the touching for the king's-evil here at home? ²² What is the most important about the narrative in Tacitus is his assertion that the miracle of the instant cure of this blind man actually took place on the spot, at Vespasian's unwilling hand, as was attested by eye-witnesses in his own time. It may be safely said that not one single individual of the millions who adoringly believe the identical saliva miracles related of Jesus in the gospels known as John's (ix. 2, &c.) and Mark's (vii. 33, and viii. 23) would attach the faintest credit to Vespasian's miracle, for which we have the historically much less questionable authority of Tacitus. And so far they are right, for, as Carlyle said, "it is as certain as mathematics that no such thing ever has been or can be."

As to angels, demons, the devil (including diabolical possession and the consequent miracles), the last judgment, and a future state (including hell), it is pointed out that they did not come by "divine teaching," if thereby we mean Moses and the prophets. They were imbibed—and the historian of the Hebrew monarchy has a right to speak—by the Jewish race among nations whose superstitions its doctors despised. The "lying spirit" of Micaiah's vision (1 Kings xxii. 19, &c.) and the Satan of Job are base ministers of Jehovah, and cannot be identified with the Christian devil. The guardian angels of Gentile powers were degraded into demons of the air, just as the Indian devas are in heaven, and their philological counterparts the Persian daévas are in hell. The Sadducees always rejected these novelties, and all that can be said as to Joshua-Jesus is that, like the Pharisees and Essenes, he always presumed an after-life for man. The Pharisee's resurrection, too, probably meant not the re-animation of the body, but the passage of the soul into some other body; and, we may add, this involves the Pre-existence of the Buddhists. Indeed, the writer of John ix. 2 ("who did sin, this man or his parents, that he should be born blind?") manifestly held this Buddhist doctrine, and imputed a belief in it to Jesus and his disciples; being well warranted in so doing by Luke ix. 19, where the people say that Jesus was the beheaded John the Baptist, or Elijah, or one of the old prophets risen again; ²³ and it is further borne out from Matt. xvii. 13, where the disciples understood him to mean that John the Baptist actually was Elijah come again.²⁴

²² 92,107 persons came to be touched by Charles II., and in 1684, as Macaulay relates, many were trampled to death in their struggles to get to the king. The practice ceased in Anne's reign, and Dr. Johnson is said to have been the last person touched. Popular faith was getting worn out, and numbers of the poor who were not afflicted with the scrofulous evil, came for "the bit of gold"—the coin given to each from the privy purse (Barrington's "Observations on the Statutes," p. 107).

²³ Confirmed Matt. xiv. 2, and xvi. 14; and Mark vi. 14-16, and viii. 28; and also Luke ix. 7-9.

²⁴ This also is confirmed by Mark ix. 13, and Luke i. 17. Even St. Augustine was in doubt and trepidation on the subject of existence before conception. See

‘It is hard,’ says Professor Newman, “to point to anything in the teaching of Jesus at once new to Hebrew and Greek sages, and likewise in general estimate true.” He called his countrymen to free-thinking about their national institutions. His cardinal virtue, the renunciation of private property, was fundamental with the 400,000 Essenes, among whom all was a common stock, and so in travelling they needed no baggage, no wallet of provisions, no purse, no second coat, like the apostles in Matt. x. 9, 10; Mark vi. 8; and Luke ix. 3. The description of them by Josephus is almost that of Christian friars or American Shakers. At the same time, the human duty of industry cannot be gathered from the doctrine of Jesus; how could it, when he kept a dozen religious mendicants about him? To the history of the dogma of his deification, Professor Newman makes an important contribution in the comments upon the manner of Stephen’s death; stoning being reserved by the Jewish law for the crime of introducing a new god (Deut. xiii. 10). Perhaps Stephen was the prominent originator of the dogma taken up afterwards by Paul, who also was stoned like Stephen, and left for dead, probably on a similar accusation. Under Trajan, the Christians known to Pliny were supposed by him to chant a hymn to Christ as a god.

Paul justly comes in for many hard knocks. We may rest on his letters (except, of course, that to the Hebrews) with the same confidence as on those of our own contemporaries; and so such absurdities as his argument in Gal. iii. 16, about “seeds” and “seed,” directly against the correct view which he takes himself in Rom. ix. 7, are undoubtedly genuine. And so are his sneers in Gal. ii. 6 at Peter, James, and John, who were reputed to be somewhat, but whatever they were, it made no matter to him. And it is truly extraordinary that in his arrogant and forcibly Essene doctrine that a man had best not allow his daughter to marry (1 Cor. viii. 38), her wishes and judgment are not for a moment thought of. Upon this subject of the relation of the sexes in a civilized community, Professor Newman deliberately decides—and all the candid will agree—that a young Englishman will find Walter Scott and plenty of other non-religious modern writers more elevating and purifying than Paul.²⁵

the “Confessions,” i. 6, where he appeals to God to enlighten him; for neither his father, nor his mother, nor the experience of others, nor his own memory can. “Was I anywhere or anything?” he cries out—“*Evne alicubi aut aliquis?*” Wordsworth’s Ode—“Our birth is but a sleep, and a forgetting,” &c.—which is mere Platonism, will occur to many. Alger’s “Critical History of a Future Life” (New York: 1867) contains a history of the subject.

²⁵ What are we to say about Professor Newman’s novations in spelling in this little book? He grounds them upon good sense and convenience, and to those points the present remarks shall be confined. Why then, we ask, should *find* (p. 1) be spelled without the diæresis which is proposed for child and mild? If the final *e* mute is to be elided, why print *argüe* (p. 1)? If superfluous vowels are to be dropped, why retain *Pentateuch* when you write *decalog*? Can heaven become *heven* (p. 11) without a confusion of vowel-sound with *even* (p. 10)? Why write *lim* for *limb* (p. 20) and retain *dumb* (p. 19)? Of course the *b* in *dumb* could be defended philologically, but that is confessedly not the point. What is the object in printing that with an accent over the *ä* (pp. 10, 57)? How can *truble* and

A handy volume²⁸ conveniently prints in parallel columns the Gospel of Mark, and the connected passages in Matthew and Luke. It is practically an English version of the first part of Mr. Rushbrooke's Greek "Synopticon," omitting the colour-printing. Side by side with Luke vii. 37-39 are given the similar passages from Matthew, Mark, and John, which permit an easy verification of a remarkable statement of Professor Newman's. This has been called the century of historical rehabilitations, and it is now the turn of "the Magdalen."

Luke's account [says Professor Newman] is apparently a garbled remaking of Matthew and Mark's tale. . . . Their anonymous woman has no aspersion cast on her. Luke tries to outdo them by making her a notorious sinner, whose sin is forgiven because she has a personal love for Jesus, who is made to assert this in the least edifying style. . . . John (xii. 1, &c.) has identified the woman told of in Matthew (xxvi. 6, &c.) with Mary of *Bethany*. So careless are Christian readers that they infer Luke's woman to be Mary of *Magdala*, thereby blasting the good Magdalen's reputation down to this day.—"Christianity in its Cradle," pp. 50, 51.

We note with pleasure the admissions (even to the advanced school-boys, for whom the introduction is chiefly written) that "now we must be content to accept part of the letter of the Bible" (p. xxv.); that there was "a tradition earlier than any of our existing gospels" (p. v.)—here shown by heavier black type; and that, while "for the rest of the New Testament the days of emendation unsupported by MSS. may possibly be past, for this portion of it [the early traditional document] they are only beginning" (p. xxxix.). We can only wonder that a writer who says deliberately (p. xxiv.) that "there has been a distinct gain for the Christian religion from the uncertainty and variations of the text of the Christian books" (a statement in which we fully agree) cannot see that that statement really means—"if the books had been uniform and clear to all, it would have been worse for the religion founded on their confusion." Then again Dr. Abbott, calling the resurrection of Christ "the fundamental fact of Christianity," devoutly asks, "Who, is the great witness to it? It is the thirteenth apostle, the man who knew not Christ in the flesh, and could be no eye-witness to any of his deeds"—or, we may add, to his identity—"who was selected by Providence, &c." Can open-mouthed credulity much farther go? What are we

troublesome (p. 87) be phonetically defended Surely if a vowel is to be dropped from country it should be u and not o; and the odd-looking word sord (sword), according to the rule Professor Newman lays down, should be at least sörd. How are we to know that tuck and tuches (p. 15) are English words, and are not to be pronounced tuck and tukes, but are and mean touch and touches? Perhaps some of the instances here pointed out are due to misprints, for we find "awowing" on page 36 and "Titschendorf" on p. 70. But if so, it only shows the confusion that will take place if we are, from our now fairly fixed orthography, thrown back again centuries into a period when every man spelt as seemed right in his own eyes. And just think for a moment of the poor foreigner. Do not let us play tricks with the language which is clearly destined to be the dominant one of the world.

²⁸ "The Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels." By E. A. Abbott, D.D., and W. G. Rushbrooke, M.L. Macmillan.

to say to a writer on such subjects, who reveals to us in this way that he is incapable of the operations of reasoning? Perhaps the best way is to let him alone and "pass by on the other side."

A well-written and valuable contribution to theological history is Professor Bonet-Maury's book on the sources of Unitarianism,²⁷ in which it is shown that the dogma of divine impersonality is a conception formed by certain Spanish or Italian Protestants, and introduced by them into the Strangers' [or Foreigners'] Church in Austin Friars, towards the middle of the sixteenth century. It is also explained how the fusion was effected between Socinianism, the last fruit of the tree of Italian Protestantism, and the rational and universalist elements of Anglo-Saxon (?) Christians (p. 217). Dr. Martineau, in his sober preface, will not venture to pronounce whether or not the writer alights on the true solution of his problem; but in any case the book is of much interest, opening up quantities of old and uncommon lore to those who are occupied by such subjects. The book has a good index.

The next book on our table is a mass of incoherencies—as incoherent as sand—by a man who neither understands himself, nor anybody nor anything he writes about.²⁸ It opens with "Puzzles for Sceptics," one of which is: "How is it that faith is always anticipating the future, if man has no future?" (p. i.). How, indeed! How was it that Mr. Micawber was always expecting something to turn up, if nothing ever turned up? "Why do sceptics, who have great faith in physical science," find fault with us on account of our Common Faith?" (p. 2). But that is just what the sceptic does not do. He doubts and claims the right to doubt unlimited; but otherwise, it is in reality nothing whatever to him, save as a matter of surprise, how common, or uncommon, other people's faith may be. "Even Darwin and Spinoza condemn you [the puzzled sceptic], for they believed in God, though the former was weak enough to say he could not prove his

²⁷ "Early Sources of English Unitarian Christianity." By G. Bonet-Maury, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of France. Translated by E. P. Hall. With a Preface by James Martineau, LL.D., D.D. British and Foreign Unitarian Association.

²⁸ "The Mystery of the Universe our Common Faith." By J. W. Reynolds, M.A., Prebendary of St. Paul's. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

²⁹ We must here find room for some passages of Professor Newman's. "Truth alone can stand the strain of Time: Truth cannot rest on visions and dreams, nor on mere hearsay: Truth cannot be tested and established without much incredulity and criticism, which most religious teachers have unwisely condemned; which also all sham sciences dread. Jesus repels by rudeness or evasion the more educated inquirers who approach him; and then solemnly thanks God that he had hidden 'these things' from the wise and prudent, and revealed them to babes. Was he unaware that reasons are necessary to convince the wise and prudent? He demanded that his hearers should become babes; thus identifying Credulity with Faith. . . . While writing constantly concerning faith, Paul does not discern the great ambiguity of this word, which, in Greek as in English, means (1) fidelity, (2) trust, (3) belief in a proposition. In the two first senses it may be a moral virtue testing human character; in the third sense it cannot be a virtue. To believe when the particular proposition has no proof, may be rather called a vice."—"Christianity in the Cradle," pp. 61, 100, 102.

belief." If Mr. Reynolds were worth the trouble, we should ask him to give chapter and verse for this muddled statement about Darwin, and to justify the adjective *weak*. On the first page there stands the vapid remark, "Without faith there can be no greatly intellectual life;" and at page 369 we find the following greatly intellectual gem:—

Some have felt a difficulty with regard to the dress of our Lord as he appeared after his resurrection. A little reflection will show that the special outward forms in which he made himself known, or remained unknown, were not more necessarily connected with his glorified person than were his daily garments with his mortal body.

A very little reflection suffices to show that this crazy statement holds no more sense than the memorials on Mr. Dick's kites. We must not omit to give the "greatly intellectual" description of heaven on page 488:—

The whole future will be as a delicious feast. Creation will afford a magnificent banquet, spread by the good God for his children, with amplest conceivable provision for the most capacious and varied desires.

Mr. Reynolds is a City rector; he must here have had an alderman in his eye.

We have said so much recently about Luther's writings,³⁰ that we shall do little more now than mention a translation³¹ of his primary works, the German "Address to the Nobility," and the Latin treatises "Concerning Christian Liberty" and "On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church," together with the famous "Ninety-five Theses concerning Indulgences," the first of which contains the fanatic's demented creed, that "Our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, intended that the whole life of believers should be penitence." The real masculine vigour of Luther's pounding style seems to be fairly preserved. In one place he says, "I, for my part, detest divorce, and even prefer bigamy to it;" elsewhere, "I almost burst with anger when I think of the impious tyrannies of these reckless men [the priests], who mock and ruin the liberty and glory of the religion of Christ, by their frivolous and puerile triflings." There are two introductions, one theological, by Dr. Wace, and the other historical, by Professor Buckheim.

A lukewarm, vacillating, temporizing, misnamed book is Mr. Statham's.³² By way of frightening us from free-thought, he makes much of such points as these:—

When morality is supposed to be dependent on the Bible, will not morality be injured, and progress thrown back, if the authority of the Bible is called in question? (p. 140). The free-thinker is playing into the hands of Catholic ultramontaniam (p. 366). The wealthy and aristocratic families will, in the event of disestablishment, turn in large numbers to the Roman Catholic church (p. 164).

³⁰ WESTMINSTER REVIEW, January 1884.

³¹ "First Principles of the Reformation." London: John Murray.

³² "Free Thought and True Thought." By F. Reginald Statham. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

Such considerations, the hollowness of which is, besides, manifest, cannot possibly curb any man's freedom of thought; but they might induce the weaker-backed to conceal their thoughts, and so they merely serve to propagate, not "true-thought," but hypocrisy. We do not wonder that Mr. Statham, when his Edinburgh freethought congregation got rid of him, gave them the "final advice" to "go back to the churches they had left, and endeavour to give their old beliefs a new trial." He may take our word for it that, perhaps somewhat unknown to himself, he is purely and simply a mild old Tory. Indeed, as he winds up by declaring for "a sincere endeavour to popularize the national (that is, the established) church," he ought not any longer to sail under false colours.

The "Annual Review," compiled by the Professors of the Chicago Theological Seminary, is interesting and amusing.³³ The survey of the present state of theological parties in Germany would be positively valuable if it were not a mere skimming of the subject. A theological map, we are informed, would assign German Switzerland and North-west and South-west Germany to the liberal school; while in Northern, Central, and Southern Germany it would fix the rule of the old faith. The universities of Strassburg, Jena, Heidelberg, Giessen, and Göttingen are prevailingly liberal; those of Bonn, Berlin, Erlangen, Halle, Leipzig, and Tübingen are, on the whole, orthodox. We are glad to find that "not a few American evangelical preachers are almost or quite silent on the doctrine of future retribution," the cause most commonly assigned for this being "scepticism in the pew, and scepticism in the pulpit." As to pastoral theology, although we are told that the American "pastor, as a man, must stand behind his work" (p. 300), he seems to be considerably in front of it; laying down sound conductors with a wide orifice over the pulpit, and tubes along the aisles to the seats of the partially deaf, and even extending telephones to sick-rooms, miles from the church. From which we may conclude that American piety is chiefly of the ear, and depends on the pastor. There is too, in some churches, an invalid's room, a private box in fact, with a window opening close over the pulpit. For the social gatherings of the congregation there are church parlours, and church kitchens, we presume, for the purposes of theurgic tea. These go-ahead folk are rapidly getting back to the old *Agapæ*.

We trust the "International Sunday-school Lessons" spoken of in this book will have more success than Dr. Craik is willing to allow them here at home, in his recent book;³⁴ for the "average" English child, it would appear, repeats his catechism as follows:—

My duty toads God is to bleed in him, to fering and to loaf withold your arts withold my mine withold my sold and with my serath, to whirchp and

³³ "Current Discussions in Theology." By the Professors of Chicago Theological Seminary. Vol. II. Chicago: Revell. London: Trübner.

³⁴ "The State in its Relation to Education." By H. Craik, M.A., LL.D. Macmillan.

give thanks, to put my old trash in him, to call upon him to onner his old name and his world and to save him truly all the days of my life's end.

One of the most sensible things we have of late seen is the announcement that "the sound of the church-going bell is becoming (in Chicago) an echo dying into silence." Would we could say the same, though in less odd language, about London.

Another American Book³⁵ goes over the well-trodden ground of the life of Jesus. We have been unable to discern that the author says anything new, or anything that he points to as such. It is something new, however, at this date, to find such a book written from a rational and pious point of view without acknowledging indebtedness to any one else who has treated the subject except the reputed authors of the New Testament.—Yet another American book—"Travels in Faith"³⁶—is the egotistical record of the valueless speculations of a man who seems to have passed his life chiefly as a mariner. Devoid of literary skill, its only interest is to show how deep Rationalism is going.—Mr. R. Heber Newton's book³⁷ also comes across the Atlantic, and is noticeable only because the writer's bishop, taking part with a "disreputable panic" among his flock, stopped the parochial lectures which it reproduces. It is but rudimentary, and might just as well have been called "The Book of the Beginners."—We have also to acknowledge "The Gospel according to Paul," a ten-years-old essay by the Rev. E. M. Geldart (Swan Sonnenschein & Co.).

PHILOSOPHY.

WE may infer from Mr. Coupland's preface to this translation of the "Philosophy of the Unconscious" that his principal aim has been to help to familiarize English readers with a mode of speculation that takes account of the results of physical science, and yet is consistently ontological. Discontent, he says, is beginning to be felt with the purely scientific as well as with the theological attitude of mind; and Von Hartmann's philosophy seems to him of special importance, because, while appreciating the gains of scientific inquiry, "he is an unfaltering ontologist," and believes "that there is no peace for the intellect and heart until Religion, Philosophy, and Science are not merely 'reconciled,' but are seen to be one, as root, stem, and leaves

³⁵ "Jesus: His Opinions and Character." By a Layman. Boston: G. Ellis. London: Trübner.

³⁶ "Travels in Faith, from Tradition to Reason." By R. C. Adams. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

³⁷ "The Book of the Beginnings." By R. H. Newton, Rector of All Souls, New York City. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

¹ "Philosophy of the Unconscious." By Edward von Hartmann. Speculative Results according to the Inductive Method of Physical Science. Authorized Translation by William Chatterton Coupland, M.A., B.Sc. In three volumes. London: Trübner & Co. 1884.

are organic expressions of one same living tree." The leading conception of the Philosophy of the Unconscious has acquired new interest of late. It is now seen by many that some such conception as that of unconscious mental states is necessary if the idea of an evolution of consciousness is to become philosophically consistent. The section in the appendix (on the Physiology of the Nerve-centres, vol. iii., pp. 207-288), in which "the inner psychical aspect of the reflex process" is discussed, ought to be read by those who are disposed to rest satisfied with the theory of "conscious automatism" as ordinarily stated. It is there shown clearly how the idea of unconscious mental states gives consistency to the doctrine of the parallelism of all processes in mind and body. An objection that is likely to be often made to the assumption of unconscious will and representation as the cause of consciousness is replied to in a note to this section. The treatment of "the abstract conception of will as an ideal entity" is, Von Hartmann says, in reply to Dr. Maudsley, not essentially different from the mode of starting from general principles to which we are accustomed in physical science. Without "abstract ideas" of this kind, no explanation of anything is possible. "If Newton had had the same ghost-fear of the abstract idea of attraction which Maudsley has of that of will, he would never have been able to set up gravitation as a universal principle of matter." According to Von Hartmann, matter and mind alike have merely a derived reality. That from which both proceed is "the All-one Unconscious Spirit." In his conception of the Unconscious, Von Hartmann combines Schopenhauer's "Will" and Hegel's "Idea." Will and Idea (or Representation) he regards as two attributes of the unconscious, corresponding to the two attributes of Spinoza's one substance. Will is the principle of reality, and corresponds (though not perfectly) to Spinoza's attribute of extension. To the attribute of thought corresponds the "Idea." The real existence of the world, as distinguished from its latent existence as one of infinite possible ideas, was determined by an act of the Will; its mode of existence, on the other hand, was determined by the Idea. Creation was an irrational act of the Will (the "alogical" power); for Reason (or the Idea) sees that no possible world could be otherwise than miserable. But since the mode of existence of the world, though not the fact of its existence, is determined by the Idea, this world is "the best of all possible worlds." The world having once been created, the all-wise Unconscious proceeds to evolve consciousness (which is defined as "the possibility of the emancipation of the intellect from the will") in order that all actually existing things may return into their state as latent idea. This will take place when the illusion by which happiness seems to mankind attainable has been seen through. The duty of each individual is to aid in the process through which the unconscious is working towards this end; not, as Schopenhauer said, by a personal renunciation of "the will to live," by asceticism or by quietism, but by taking part in all those modes of activity that contribute to the progress of the race; for thus the greater part of mankind will the sooner see through the illusion and resolve to annihilate.

the world by a common act of annihilation of the Will which gives it its reality. Hartmann's practical philosophy is thus dependent on the union of "teleological optimism" with "endemonological pessimism." In accordance with this teleological view he contends that the theory of natural selection, even if we add to it Lamarck's theory of modification of organs by use and disuse, does not suffice to explain all the phenomena of evolution. We must assume an "unconscious teleology" in Nature, which makes use of natural selection and other mechanical processes as instruments, but often aims directly at ends that could not be attained through these processes alone. Although it must be remarked that Von Hartmann does not see how much can be explained by the Darwinian theory, some weight must yet be allowed to his criticisms of Darwin. Certain kinds of evolution, as Hartmann remarks, are only possible when the struggle for existence has been escaped from. He sees that that development from within, which constitutes the process of evolution in its highest form, must find explanation, or at least expression, in a complete formula of evolution. The idea of a "teleology of the Unconscious" has the merit of bringing into special prominence what is left unexpressed in theories based chiefly on the doctrine of survival of the fittest. It cannot, indeed, be accepted as final; but the author does not regard this as desirable. He expresses the belief that "the principle of the Unconscious, *when conceived in its generality*, may not improperly be regarded as a new point of view;" and this will scarcely be denied, for Hartmann's system is undoubtedly the first of which this point of view has been explicitly made the starting-point. It may then be expected to have many defects that are due to this fact alone. A greater defect is that it has the appearance of an artificial construction made from disparate parts, rather than of a growth from one central idea. But it must, nevertheless, from the impressiveness with which the idea of the Unconscious as the basis of conscious life is developed, have an important influence on the general movement of thought.

From the account of Vico's life and works that is given in Professor Flint's book,² the reader may form a clear idea of his philosophical doctrines in their general relations; at the same time the details are not sacrificed to the desire for clearness of outline. Vico's philosophy of history, as set forth chiefly in the *Scienza Nuova*, is, of course, the most important part of his work. His idea of a general human mind, the laws of which are to be discovered by the application of scientific method to the study of history, is an anticipation of one of the most influential ideas both of Comte and Hegel. But it is more than this, for, as Professor Flint points out, Vico has not been superseded by the later thinkers. His writings have at present much influence in Italy, and are beginning to have influence in France. An account of Vico's metaphysical doctrines has not been omitted, although Professor

² "Vico," By Robert Flint, Professor in the University of Edinburgh, Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, &c. Blackwood's Philosophical Classics. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood. 1884.

Flint does not himself think them of great value. He shows, however, that Vico had the idea of an active element in knowledge, of a creation by the mind, for example, in mathematics, of the truth which it afterwards contemplates. This also may be regarded as an anticipation of modern theories.

The idea of an activity of the mind in all knowing has a prominent place in "*Metaphysica Nova et Vetusta*" by Scotus Novanticus.³ The principal doctrines of this essay are that there is a volitional element in perception, and that "the Absoluto-infinite" is "the positive ground and prius of all possible determination, and consequently of all Perception." Perception is regarded as "the elementary act of Reason." From perception is distinguished Attuition " (the mental condition of the higher animals), which is not mere sensation, but in which, however, the mind is chiefly passive. "Totalities of Attuition separate and define themselves *on* the subject and *for* it; they are not separated or defined from each other *by* the subject, save in the restrictive sense of reflex action of the sensorium." The reason manifested first in perception "consists of only one faculty—viz., all-potent Will and the Form through which it effects itself." The "dualism" to which a return is made is a very modified dualism. The following passage may be taken as a summary of it:—"No one denies the fundamental unity of subject and object, inner and outer; to do so would be to set up two gods. As a matter of fact, however, the movement of creation exists in a diremption, and our business is done when we have exhausted our analysis of experience. Better to leave irreconcilables standing than involve ourselves in absurdities. Phenomenological metaphysics has simply to look and to record." Towards the end of the book the author's general view seems to pass into a kind of pantheism, though he himself regards it as theistic. Taking the book as a whole, there is much that is interesting in it. Even when the ideas of the author are not quite original, it is clear that they have been arrived at by independent thinking. But unfortunately he has often chosen to express them in a terminology that is more repellent than is necessary.

The style of the "*Elements of the Psychology of Cognition*," by the Rev. Robert Jardine,⁴ is sufficiently easy, but it is not possible to say much else in praise of it. The second edition is described as having been "revised and considerably improved." The first had been "written with considerable haste, in order to secure its publication within a certain limited time." The author adds in his preface to the second edition that "Attention is called to the vocabulary of philosophical terms at the close of the volume, which will be a valuable help to the uninitiated reader in becoming acquainted with the somewhat

³ "*Metaphysica Nova et Vetusta. A Return to Dualism.*" By Scotus Novanticus. London: Williams & Norgate. 1884.

⁴ "*The Elements of the Psychology of Cognition.*" By the Rev. Robert Jardine, B.D., D.Sc. Edin., ex-Principal of the General Assembly's College, Calcutta; Author of "*What to Believe*," &c. Second edition, revised and improved. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

uncommon phraseology, of philosophy." If for "the uninitiated reader" precision of definition is not necessary, this may be so. It is not, however, inaccuracy that is to be complained of, so much as a certain indefiniteness of thought which throughout the book makes the author take any commonplace for a refutation of a doctrine with which he does not agree and any string of commonplaces for a piece of psychological analysis.

"Mind in Matter"⁵ consists partly of what the author regards as arguments for theism and criticisms of the theories of various enemies of the faith. After he has "refuted" Darwin, Prof. Huxley, and the rest, he goes on to discuss inspiration, the Book of Genesis, the Exodus, the Law, the Prophets, and the New Testament. The following may serve as a specimen of his style and mode of argument:—"The varieties of life also convey important lessons. A lizard placed on the chair of a guest would indicate an intention to insult him. The existence of disgusting creatures may serve, among other purposes, as hints that the world was fitted up for a being for whom the Creator for some reason would lose respect" (pp. 118-9).

Dr. A. Mühry in the present work,⁶ which has reached a fifth edition, sets himself to prove that it is now possible to go beyond the elder limited views of purpose in Nature. Instead of taking the subjective we must take the objective point of view. When we have done this we shall find in astronomy more than in any other science support for a teleological view of the world. We shall see that mind is co-extensive with matter, and that everywhere the proof of the presence of mind is to be found in an attainment of ends that cannot be explained by merely mechanical causes. Dr. Mühry opposes the monistic system, the idealistic as well as the materialistic ones. His own view he does not call Dualism but "Dyoism." Dualism he regards as the true view as far as it goes, but as being only a statement of the relation between body and mind. "Dyoism" is the same view extended to the whole of Nature. The book is carefully written, and interesting criticisms of other philosophic doctrines are to be found in it; but it does not on the whole seem likely that this is to be, as the author contends, the view of the world in which science and philosophy will at length find their reconciliation.

⁵ "Mind in Matter. A Short Argument on Theism." By the Rev. James Tait. London: Charles Griffin & Co. 1884.

⁶ "Kritik und Darlegung der exacten Natur-Philosophie. Ein Beitrag zu der in der Gegenwart auf naturwissenschaftlichem Grunde sich vollführenden neuen Constituirung der Philosophie." Von Dr. Adolf Mühry. Fünfte sehr vermehrte Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1882.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS.

MR. HENRY CRAIK contributes "The State and Education"¹ to *The English Citizen* series, of which he is editor. He has done his task carefully and conscientiously, with an evident desire to present all views impartially, and in this we have perhaps a sufficient excuse for the uniform dulness which pervades his pages. A brief judicial summing up of the dreary contentions and unsatisfying compromises which mark the gradual advance of the interference of the State in the work of national elementary education in England could hardly be made light reading. But Mr. Craik's object is to inform rather than to please, and this he has accomplished very satisfactorily. His method is historical, and indeed it is the only method which can enable us to understand the variety of local school authorities in different districts, and the various relations of the Education Department to the authorities. The historical method has another advantage. Observation of the successive steps by which the system of State Education has grown up in England is most instructive to the student of the English national character, whether he studies it as politician or as sociologist. The process illustrates better than any other modern movement most of those national characteristics which are supposed to be typical of the English—the deep religious sentiment of the people, their sturdy defence of rights, their practical spirit of compromise. Looked at from another point of view, it illustrates the growth of a great central regulative State-organization, gradually extending its authority over all local agencies. It is from this point of view that Mr. Herbert Spencer sees and condemns it. In Mr. Craik's careful narrative we can watch the nation's conception of a great duty slowly but steadily assuming definiteness of shape, and density of substance; and we can trace the cautious, tentative, but never-ceasing advance towards its realization in action. One of the most remarkable things in this history is the way in which the State, through a committee of the Privy Council, stepped in and carried the work on to a comparatively advanced stage without any action on the part of the legislature further than the granting of whatever money was asked for.

Until the passing of Mr. Forster's Act in 1870,

if we except a comparatively unimportant Act creating the office of Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, the statute book was absolutely ignorant of a system which had involved an expenditure, from public funds alone, of more than £10,000,000 sterling, which was regulating the education of about one half of the children in the country, and which had introduced a new and strange element hitherto unknown to English life (p. 89).

It was only towards the very end of the last century that "the idea of some sort of scheme for popular education" appears to have entered any one's head; and the attention of the legislature was first turned to

¹ "The State in its Relation to Education." By Henry Craik, M.A. Oxon., LL.D. Glasgow. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

it in 1807, "when Mr. Whitbread introduced a bill for the establishment of parochial schools through the agency of local vestries, who were empowered to draw on the rates for the purpose;" thus anticipating by more than half a century the main feature of Mr. Forster's bill of 1870. The Lords threw out Mr. Whitbread's bill after it had passed the Commons, and no further steps were taken until Lord Brougham took up the work in 1816, when a select committee was appointed to inquire into the education of the poor in the metropolis. In 1820 he introduced an Education Bill, basing his proposals on a compulsory local rate. But now the religious difficulty presented itself. The dissenters were not satisfied with the safeguards contained in the Bill, and it was abandoned in consequence of their dissatisfaction. The need of doing something became, however, more evident every year, yet no satisfactory solution of the difficulty by means of legislation could be found.

When the beginning was actually made, it came without any such legislation, and as an almost unnoticed proposal of the Executive. In 1832 the sum of £20,000 for public education was placed in the estimates; it was passed by the Committee of Supply; and the first step was taken on that course from which the State has never since drawn back.

For the next six years the grant was continued annually, and administered by the Treasury, exclusively in aiding the building of school-houses, provided at least one-half the requisite funds were forthcoming from voluntary local sources. The next step taken was in 1839, when the vote was increased from £20,000 to £30,000, and a special department—a committee of the Privy Council—was created by order in Council to supervise the application of the grants. This was the beginning of the Education Department. During the next twenty years the Department did good work in collecting information through its inspectors as to the actual state of affairs, and by the encouragement of training colleges for teachers, and the institution of pupil-teachers, copied from the Dutch schools. "Meanwhile two phases of the work were hurrying on. On the one side the Education Department was doing what it could to improve method; on the other hand the country was advancing to a verdict upon the religious questions that faced her in any attempt to lay down principles." Between 1853 and 1858 several proposals were made to Parliament for settling the question; but all proved abortive, and nothing was effected beyond the creation of a Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education—a Minister responsible to the House of Commons for the disbursement of the rapidly increasing grant. In 1858 the Duke of Newcastle's commission on public education was appointed. Making use of the report of this commission, but by no means following all its recommendations, Mr. Lowe, as Vice-President of the Council, drew up the "Revised Code" in 1861, which introduced the principle of payment by results in future grants to schools. The merits of the Revised Code were fiercely discussed during the next few years, and the whole question was pretty thoroughly thrashed out, both inside and outside Parliament. At last, in 1870, the time for a settlement had, by

common consent, arrived, and Mr. Forster succeeded in passing his bill, by which at last the Department was armed with ample power to compel every district to supply sufficient school accommodation, and School Boards were empowered to compel attendance. "The main purpose of the Act," says Mr. Craik, "was to establish a fixed and statutory local authority where the casual efforts of local benevolence and zeal had failed." The Act was rendered more effective by the supplementary Acts of 1876 and 1880, by which compulsory powers for securing attendance were given to every district. Mr. Craik estimates the total expenditure on Elementary Education during the forty-three years from the establishment of the Education Committee in 1859 down to the year 1882, at £87,500,000. A chapter is devoted to tracing the growth of the education system in Scotland, which now stands on nearly the same level as in England, but slightly in advance. It is a pity that Mr. Craik has not included some account of the Irish system, which is quite different from the English and Scotch, and presents many highly interesting problems, some of which have been solved in a very instructive manner.

Twenty-four years ago Mr. Herbert Spencer, in an article in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW, foretold, speaking of Parliamentary Reform, that "increase of freedom in form would be followed by decrease of freedom in fact;" and he now announces that "the drift of legislation since that time has been of the kind anticipated." The liberties of individuals have been continually narrowed in a double way: 1. directly, by placing restraints on some actions and compelling others; 2. indirectly, by the imposition of heavier public burdens (chiefly rates and taxes) which lessen the portion of earnings that can be spent as the recipient pleases. Encouraged by the verification of his former prophecy, Mr. Spencer has been "prompted to set forth and emphasize kindred conclusions respecting the future." With this object were written the four articles which appeared in the *Contemporary Review* during the first half of the present year, and are now published in one volume together with a Postscript, under the title of "*The Man versus The State.*"¹ There is but one Herbert Spencer, and when he steps down from the lofty heights where he walks alone amid abstract principles, and proceeds to test by these principles the soundness of current legislation, students of politics watch the "demonstration" with eager and grateful attention. It does not, however, follow that we draw from it the same conclusions that Mr. Spencer does. In fact Mr. Spencer in his Postscript not only admits that the utmost effect to be expected from his teaching is that "here and there a solitary citizen may have his political creed modified" by it, but, strange to say, he goes on to show conclusively that the adoption of his principles would be disastrous. For what is the main principle inculcated in

¹ "*The Man versus The State.*" Containing "*The New Toryism,*" "*The Coming Slavery,*" "*The Sins of Legislators,*" and "*The Great Political Superstition.*" By Herbert Spencer. Reprinted from the *Contemporary Review*, with a Postscript. London: Williams & Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden. Edinburgh: 20, South Frederick Street. 1884.

"The Man *versus* The State"? It is that the action of the State should be rigidly restricted to its one proper function—namely, to secure to each citizen the fullest possible freedom for the exercise of his faculties compatible with the like freedom of every other citizen. But then in his Postscript he says the restriction of governmental power within these limits "is appropriate to the industrial type of society only; and while wholly incongruous with the militant, is partially incongruous with that semi-militant semi-industrial type, which now characterizes advanced nations." In other words, to legislate under the exclusive influence of Mr. Spencer's pet doctrine would be "partially incongruous." But further,

At every stage of social evolution there must exist substantial agreement between practices and beliefs—real beliefs, I mean, not nominal ones. Life can be carried on only by the harmonizing of thoughts and acts. Either the conduct required by circumstances must modify the beliefs to fit it, or else the changed beliefs must eventually modify the conduct.

Now our circumstances are admittedly those of the semi-militant type, and therefore, not only our conduct but our beliefs *must* be appropriate to the same type; and a change in our beliefs, if Mr. Spencer could bring it about, would result in a change of conduct that would render us *pro tanto* unable to maintain our social life against the aggressions of more militant societies. In fact, Mr. Spencer admits that "something like the present degree of subjection of the individual to the State, and something like the current political theory adapted to it, may remain needful in presence of existing international relations." And when he asserts that "it is by no means needful that this subjection should be made greater and the adapted theory strengthened," we venture to suggest that the necessity depends on those international relations which are not under our exclusive control, and may at any moment compel us, however reluctantly, to adopt retrograde measures appropriate to the militant rather than the industrial type. But even leaving out of account the necessity of maintaining ourselves against external aggression, there are reasons why we should not be in too great a hurry to complete the transition from a predominantly militant to a predominantly industrial type of national life. For "the way to the developed industrial type as we now know it, is through the militant type: which by discipline generates in long ages the power of continuous application, the willingness to act under direction (now no longer coercive but agreed to under contract), and the habit of achieving large results by organizations." And if the widespread misery of the poor be, as Mr. Spencer assures us, "in large measure" due to their lack of those cardinal virtues which such discipline and organization are alone able to create, it would seem that the militant elements in our social organization have not yet completed their work, and may be advantageously retained even in the interest of industrial development. The only alternative is that which Mr. Spencer seems to favour; namely, to let these undisciplined ones perish. We have noticed this short Postscript at some length because it materially

modifies and even contradicts the teaching of the preceding chapters ; for, in the latter, certain principles are laid down for the guidance of English legislators in the present and the immediate future, while in the Postscript it appears to be admitted that these principles are not adapted to our present state of society and may be considered as ideals far in advance of practicability. With the noble words of the concluding paragraph we are in perfect accord.

We can only very briefly indicate the aim of the principal articles. In the first, Mr. Spencer contends that the Liberals of the present day are essentially Tories of a new type, because they advocate measures the tendency of which is to bring back "co-operation under status," or compulsory co-operation in place of that voluntary co-operation, or "co-operation under contract," for which the older Liberals contended. They have lost the distinguishing characteristic of their political ancestors—the desire to diminish the coercive power of government, to maintain individual freedom *versus* State control, and are now foremost in devising new forms of interference with individual freedom. It is true "the State" is not the same now that it was then ; but the change is irrelevant, so far as Mr. Spencer's "paradox" is concerned. In the second article we have a really alarming picture of "the coming slavery." Having passed in review the numerous recent Acts which are tainted with a Socialistic element, either by reason of their interference with actions previously uncontrolled, or because they take the property of individuals (by means of rates and taxes) in order to confer gratis benefits on other individuals, he endeavours to establish the proposition that "all Socialism is slavery." His reasoning here is far from convincing. For, admitting that thorough-going Socialism, with its "armies of workers," does involve—not indeed slavery, but something akin to it, yet we deny that the "Socialistic changes" involved in recent legislation, if we except the Education Acts and one or two others which have given rise to popular agitations, involve even this quasi-slavery. Omitting such exceptional cases, these changes do not go beyond placing *restrictions* on certain actions and imposing pecuniary burdens in the shape of rates and taxes. But slavery in the ordinary sense implies something quite different. It implies unconditional compulsion as well as conditional restraint—positive and absolute, as well as negative and relative coercion. The slave is not only prohibited from doing certain things—all so-called free citizens are more or less "slaves" in that respect—but he is unconditionally compelled to do certain other things, and the degree of his slavery depends on the nature and amount of these unconditional positive coercions. Now, as we said, there is hardly a trace of this *positive* absolute, unconditional coercion in the legislation which Mr. Spencer condemns. Essay III. deals with those "sins of legislators" which "result from a lack of the study by which they are morally bound to prepare themselves," to wit, "a systematic study of natural causation as displayed among human beings socially aggregated." A prolific parent of legislative misdeeds is "the error that society is a manufacture, whereas it is a growth." The Essay concludes with an earnest exhortation to

legislators (1) to remember that the phenomena of society all have their origins in the phenomena of individual human life, which again have their roots in vital phenomena at large; (2) to compare the methods of growth of different societies one with another; and (3) to study that mass of guiding information yielded by the records of legislation in our own and other countries. The fourth and final article is a bold and powerful attack upon "the great political superstition," the belief in the divine right of parliaments, which in the last analysis resolves itself into the doctrine of the unlimited right of the majority to coerce the minority. Contrary to the doctrine generally accepted in England, though not in Germany, Mr. Spencer maintains "that there are such things in social matters as abstract rights," and that a minority in any society has such a right to immunity from coercion in all matters not concerning the fulfilment of the objects for which the individual members of that society may be held to have voluntarily combined. But then comes the difficulty of determining what those objects are. As the result of his examination of this question "it turns out that those co-operations in which all can voluntarily unite, and in the carrying on of which the will of the majority is rightly supreme, are co-operations for maintaining the conditions requisite to individual and social life"—i.e., co-operations for defence of the society against external invaders, and of each citizen against internal invaders, from murderers down to those who inflict nuisances on their neighbours. Subordination of the individual, or of a minority, to the will of the majority is legitimate to the extent required for the carrying on of such co-operation, but no further. "The function of Liberalism in the past was that of putting a limit to the powers of kings. The function of true Liberalism in the future will be that of putting a limit to the powers of Parliament."

Passing from Mr. Herbert Spencer's cheerless pages, we turn next to the genial teaching of one who, himself a very young man, and the centre of a group of young social reformers at Oxford, was fairly typical of the younger and more hopeful school of scientific economists who believe that the great founders of their science overlooked important truths which, if duly recognized, would go far to harmonize political science with the aspirations of humanity. A volume of the late Arnold Toynbee's lectures, addresses,³ and other fragments, are introduced to us by the Master of Balliol, with a graceful memoir of the author—"a slight tribute to a dearly-beloved friend,

Too little, and too lately known."

Dr. Jowett mentions as one of the most interesting things about Arnold Toynbee, "his unlikeness to anybody else." His boyhood was certainly unlike an ordinary English school-boy's. He was never at a public school, and "at eighteen years of age, having no one to

³ "Lectures on the Industrial Revolution in England." Popular Addresses, Notes, and other Fragments. By the late Arnold Toynbee, Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford. Together with a Short Memoir by B. Jowett, Master of Balliol College, Oxford. London: Rivingtons, Waterloo Place. 1884.

advise him, he formed for himself the singular resolution of reading alone at a retired village on the sea coast." Here he spent a year studying and pondering over the social and religious problems which had already attracted his attention; and here he made up his mind that the aim of his life should be "the pursuit of truth for its own sake." When he entered the University two years later, and became a member of Balliol College, his health appears to have been greatly broken. "An hour or two in the day of serious study was as great a strain as his faculties could bear. Yet few persons ever spent four years at Oxford with more profit to themselves and others." His influence over his contemporaries appears to have been very great. After taking his degree he was appointed tutor to the Indian civilians, and devoted himself chiefly to the study of political economy. The last years of his life were directed to two objects—the re-construction of political economy, with a view to bringing its teaching into harmony with the facts of the present day; and the reform of the Church. Recognizing the benefits which the elder generation of English economists had conferred upon mankind, he yet believed that "the old political economy was but half the truth, and in practice had turned out to be the reverse of the truth. . . . The older school of economists had shown the danger of government interference; the new was to show when and how governments *ought* to interfere." As to Church reformation, "the ideal he had before his mind was the union of the whole nation, or at least of the intelligent classes, in one body for a common purpose," and this was to be realized by the abolition of subscription and the admission of the laity to the government of the Church. "In estimating his writings, we should not forget that he died at the age of thirty." We have, indeed, scarcely materials for estimating his merits as a writer, for with the exception of an unfinished Essay on Ricardo, a chapter on the Disappearance of the Yeomanry, and a short paper on the Education of Co-operators, there is nothing in this volume direct from his pen. The rest of the book has been prepared, since his death, from his own notes and those of some of his hearers. Nevertheless, we have found the perusal of these pages a real pleasure. There is indeed nothing very new or striking in them; no profound analysis of economic doctrines; no enunciation of new and startling theories. But doctrines at which the orthodox would have shuddered a few years ago, and which have found their way, in spite of the orthodox, into recent legislation, are stated boldly yet moderately, and shown to be by no means so untenable as they were once thought to be. "The transparent sincerity," which was the secret of his influence over those who came into personal contact with him, is seen in every line. The sweetness of his nature, and a keen insight into past political conditions, deprive his gravest censures of their sting, and he leaves in his reader's minds a hopeful impression of the tendency of recent developments of democracy. His own attitude is most clearly defined in his lecture "Are Radicals Socialists?"

The Radical creed as I understand it is this :—We have not abandoned our

old belief in liberty, justice, and self-help, but we say that under certain conditions the people cannot help themselves, and that then they should be helped by the State representing directly the whole people. In giving this State help we make three conditions—first, the matter must be one of primary social importance; next, it must be proved to be practicable; thirdly, the State interference must not diminish self-reliance.

About one-half of the book consists of lectures delivered at Oxford in 1881–82, on the economic history of England between 1760 and 1840. They present us with a full and carefully drawn picture of England in its economic aspects at the former of these dates, and then proceed to sketch the gradually altering conditions of industries, and the influences successively exerted by the teachings of Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, and Mill. The lectures close with a hopeful view of the prospects of the working classes. The unfinished Essay on Ricardo contains many suggestive thoughts, but it cannot be taken as representing Toynbee's latest opinions, for we are told that he threw it aside because he was dissatisfied with it. He probably found himself involved in difficulties which he did not clearly see his way through. The rest of the book consists of addresses to popular audiences, chiefly of workmen in the northern towns. One admirable feature of the historical and critical portions of the book is the copious references to authorities in the foot-notes. These alone would make the book a valuable guide to earnest students. On the whole this volume reflects very fairly the attitude of the most enlightened of the advanced Radicals of the day, men who are as far removed from State Socialists of the school of Marx as from the advocates of uncontrolled competition, of which Mr. Herbert Spencer is the great champion.

On the burning practical question of the housing of the poor, we have two small publications of very unequal merit. Mr. Henry Soley's proposals for founding "village communities"⁴ have, so far as we know, the merit of originality. If they have any other merit we cannot discover it. Yet the author is evidently a well-meaning man, and his advocacy of co-operative farming shows that he has intelligence. The other publication to which we alluded is issued by a committee on which Miss Octavia Hill and several other noble labourers in the same field sit. "What to do and how to do it,"⁵ is a really useful guide to those who are "engaged or willing to be engaged with the conflict against squalor, dirt, and overcrowding." It points out that there are everywhere persons and organizations who exist simply for the purpose of carrying out the not inconsiderable administrative powers conferred on them by Parliament, and it explains who these persons and organizations are, and how they are to be set in motion in each case. The multiplicity of local authorities and the difficulty of defining the nature and limitations of their

⁴ "Re-housing of the Industrial Classes; or, Village Communities *v.* Town Rookeries." By Rev. H. Soley. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1884.

⁵ "What to Do, and How to Do it." A Manual of the Law affecting the Housing and Sanitary condition of Londoners, with Special Reference to the Dwellings of the Poor. Issued by the Sanitary Laws Enforcement Society. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1, Paternoster Square. 1884.

respective jurisdictions, coupled with the confusion which successive Acts of Parliament have created, render a guide-book like the present an invaluable assistance to those many potential social reformers who would be up and doing if only they knew how and where to commence.

"Hard Battles for Life and Usefulness"⁶ hardly belongs to our section, as it is chiefly autobiographical. The author's work, however, lay chiefly among the London poor, and his book therefore contains a record of experiences which social reformers may like to consult.

"Art and Socialism,"⁷ like everything that Mr. Wm. Morris writes, is pretty sure to find a wide circle of readers amongst those who love a pure and delicate literary style, provided they are sufficiently broad in their sympathies not to be repelled by the impression of unreality which his eloquent denunciations of "commerce" leave in the reader's mind. Mr. Morris does not pretend to examine the problems of Socialism, or to discuss the possibility of solving them. Taking for granted that Socialism, as advocated by the Democratic Federation, is feasible; and ignoring the questions "how?" and "at what cost?" he dwells upon the beautiful influence it would exert upon the art of the people, by which he means the feeling for art, which ought to be, as once it was, connected with and expressing itself through their daily labour. But even if we make Mr. Morris a present of all his assumptions, and grant also the conclusions he draws from them respecting the art of the people, it is none the less obvious that the higher forms of art, as well as of originality and initiative in every department of thought and work, would be absolutely killed by the crushing out of all individualism, which is the aim of Mr. Morris and his friends of the Democratic Federation.

Mr. David Anderson's lively sketches⁸ give one as true and vivid an impression of what is to be seen and heard inside "the House" as it would be possible to get without repeatedly undergoing the discomforts of "the Strangers' Gallery." The book contains both less and more than might be supposed from its title. It does not relate the famous "scenes" of former parliaments, but only those of the present, all of which the author has himself witnessed. On the other hand, it is not confined to "scenes." We have an excellent picture of the House as it is on any ordinary night, and we have rapid but very happy little character sketches of the "men of light and leading" done

⁶ "Hard Battles for Life and Usefulness." An Autobiographic Record. Also a Review of the Roots and Remedies of London Misery. By the Rev. J. Inghes Hillocks, Author of "Life Story," &c. With an Introduction by the Rev. Walter C. Smith, D.D. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Paternoster Square. 1884.

⁷ "Art and Socialism." A Lecture delivered (January 23, 1884) before the Secular Society of Leicester. By William Morris, Author of "The Earthly Paradise," &c. London: W. Reeves, 185, Fleet Street. London and Manchester: Heywoods.

⁸ "Scenes in the Commons." By David Anderson. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1, Paternoster Square. 1884.

with remarkable impartiality. Of course Parnellism and obstruction are touched upon. The whole history of "the Bradlaugh scandal" is given at considerable length, as are also the Challengel-Lacour incident, the twenty-two and the forty-one hours' sittings, and the suspension of the thirty-five Parnellite members. The latter, the most dramatic of all the "scenes," is related with great spirit, and if we could quote a specimen of Mr. Anderson's style, we would choose the passage in which he relates Mr. Dillon's suspension (p. 260).

Mr. Justin H. McCarthy bids fair to prove no unworthy successor of his father's literary reputation—at least, in the department of modern history. There is more than an ordinary family likeness between the father's "History of Our Own Times" and the son's "England under Gladstone." They are constructed on exactly similar lines, and if we omit occasional lapses into vapid moralizing, or crude and shallow criticism, the work now before us might be mistaken for the continuation of Mr. Justin McCarthy's. When we have said this, it is implied that the book is an eminently readable *résumé* of the events of the last four years. By far the largest portion of the book is occupied with the proceedings of Parliament, and in this he necessarily trespasses on Mr. Anderson's preserves. The literary, economical, social, and many other important aspects of "England," the author does not concern himself with. Sometimes Mr. McCarthy drags in events which, however interesting in themselves, have no connection whatever with English history, as, for instance, the assassination of President Garfield. We are not inclined to complain of the large space occupied with Irish affairs. It would be interesting to be admitted to the private opinions of Mr. Parnell and his party on the memorable events with which their names are associated, and we might expect to find some indications of them in the narrative given by the son of Mr. Parnell's parliamentary lieutenant; but the expectation is disappointed. Allowing for the natural bias a McCarthy may be expected to be influenced by, "England under Gladstone" is remarkably fair, and even conciliatory. It is enlivened by numerous allusions to classical and modern literature. Perhaps the best things in it are the personal sketches—for instance, those of Mr. Labouchere (p. 41) and Lord Lytton (pp. 59-60).

In our last number we had the pleasure of reviewing Mr. Bourinot's valuable work on the Canadian Parliament, in which he deals incidentally but clearly with the relative powers of the general and local legislatures. On the latter subject we have this quarter, from another Canadian author, a "Treatise,"¹⁰ sadly different from Mr. Bourinot's in tone and style. The object of this "Treatise," as modestly described by its author, is to "overcome and remove" the

⁹ "England under Gladstone, 1880-1884." By Justin Huntly McCarthy. London: Chatto & Windus, Piccadilly. 1884.

¹⁰ "A Law Treatise on the Constitutional Powers of Parliament, and of the Local Legislatures under the British North America Act, 1867." By J. Travia, Esq., LL.B., of the New Brunswick Bar, &c. Saint John, N.B.: Printed by the Sun Publishing Co., Canterbury Street. 1884.

"confusion and contradiction" which have grown up in connection with the constitutional law of Canada, and "to bring order out of chaos." A hasty glance at the Treatise left us under the impression, confirmed by further perusal, that Mr. Travis' criticisms are not entitled to much more respect than he has himself shown for the judicial decisions which he takes exception to. How much this is may be gathered from a few specimens. Thus he "exposes" the "silly reasoning" of the "absurd dissenting judgment" of one judge; in a judgment, delivered by the Chief Justice, "there is a great amount of stilted nonsense;" certain other judgments are "so utterly absurd" that he has elsewhere "pointed out, very plainly, the transparent fallacies with which they abounded;" and in another place he points out how a rule for which he has been contending has been "persistently . . . denied or misunderstood . . . by judges, who, though overflowing with pretension, are so ignorant of law that," &c. It is plain that if Mr. Travis is a competent critic, the Canadian judicial bench is in a very sad way, and Canadian suitors are much to be pitied. Moreover pity for our colonial brethren must give place to the more selfish feeling of alarm for ourselves when we come across the following:—

THE PRIVY COUNCIL JUDGMENTS FURTHER CRITICISED.

It is almost painful (a kind of, as *Byron* would call it, "pleasing pain"), in the excessively ridiculous aspect in which their views are presented, to follow them further. Their ignorance (to be perfectly candid and strictly just); actual, stupid, stolid, ignorance, of the matter they are examining, when we consider that *that* is our highest, authoritative Appellate Court, is positively painful!

This is indeed "perfectly candid" if not "strictly just."

The Report of the Intercolonial Trades Union Congress¹¹ held last April in Melbourne shows that the leaders of labour in Australia have a very fair insight into the practical working of industrial arrangements under the so-called "Capitalist régime." If they cling obstinately to some darling economic errors we must remember they are mechanics and artisans, not experts in the science of political economy. We confess to a feeling of sympathy with many of their grievances—notably the unregulated competition of Chinese labour, which, though now in its infancy, threatens eventually to leave no place for European working men, and to hand over Australia to capitalist employers and Chinese employés.

It is impossible to deny the zeal and industry of a writer who in the course of twelve months examines no less than "three thousand works, dealing more or less directly with the alcohol question,"¹² and

¹¹ "The Second Intercolonial Trades Union Congress." An Official Report of the Debates. With an Introductory Preface by the Editor, *Hamilton Mackinnon*. Published by Authority of the Trades' Hall Council. Melbourne: Walker May & Co., 9, Mackillop Street. 1884.

¹² "The Foundation of Death: a Study of the Drink Question." By *Axel Gustafson*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1, Paternoster Square. 1884.

adds to them another of his own composition which summarizes the whole three thousand. Of course Mr. Gustafson writes as an ardent advocate, not as an impartial judge. His book can therefore only be regarded as a treasury of facts and opinions in support of one side of the question. Without professing acquaintance with the whole 8,000 pre-existing works on this question it is tolerably safe to assume that no one of them contains so weighty, so apparently overwhelming, a mass of evidence in support of the indictment against the misuse of alcohol. We do not pledge our adherence to Mr. Gustafson's proposals, but we may be permitted to thank him in the name of all who recognize the magnitude of the evil against which his efforts are directed. The bibliography, consisting almost wholly of books consulted by the author in preparing his book, is very complete though not claiming to be exhaustive.

"Towards the Mountains of the Moon"¹³ is neither a work of fiction, nor a treatise on lunar astronomy, nor yet a contribution towards the solution of the geographical problem of the identity of the mountains so named in ancient maps of Africa. It is simply a pleasantly written account of a journey undertaken by a lady, with her husband and another gentleman, to a mission station in East Africa; and "the real object of mentioning these much confounded mountains by way of title" is, we are told, to warn good people against rashly concluding that it was fit for "Sunday reading." Why any such warning should be necessary we have not been able to discover. There is not, we believe, a single improper thought or expression in the whole of Mrs. Pringle's narrative. Those who have studied their *Times* with due attention will recollect a report in that paper in March, 1881, relating to the Blantyre Mission, which was sent out by the Church of Scotland in 1876. A few years later rumours reached this country that "the relations between the missionaries and the natives were not quite satisfactory." It was decided to send out commissioners to investigate the matter. The Rev. Dr. Rankin and Mr. Pringle were chosen for this office, and Mrs. Pringle courageously determined to accompany her husband as far as possible on the road, and eventually, in spite of the great difficulty and discomfort of the journey, went the whole way to Blantyre. Concerning the business on which the commissioners were sent out, Mrs. Pringle is purposely silent. So scrupulous is she on this point that no names of the persons connected with it are mentioned. Dr. Rankin is always called "the D.D.," and others are indicated by their initials. But everything else of interest that occurred on the journey or during their stay of six or seven weeks at Blantyre, is intelligently described, and one gets a very good notion of the kind of work the Mission was doing there four years ago. The report to which we have alluded gives reason for believing that affairs are more satisfactory now. Starting in July, 1880, they went by Brindisi and the Red Sea to Zanzibar, and thence to the Portuguese

¹³ "Towards the Mountains of the Moon." A Journey in East Africa. By M. A. Pringle. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1884.

Settlement of Quilimane. The rest of the journey was by river—the Quaqua, the Zambesi, and the Shire—in boats rowed by natives, good-humoured and hard-working fellows, but too often drunk. They met with no serious mishaps, though they had plenty of annoyances not only from rats and mosquitos, but from the more trying difficulties and uncertainties of procuring boats and crews, and of managing them when got. However, in spite of these trials of patience and the risks from fever and wild animals, they reached their destination in September. Mrs. Pringle is an intelligent observer, and gives a great deal of information in a pleasant way about the sayings and doings of the black people she came in contact with. Her book is emphatically one for the general reader, and though it has little of scientific value, it has the merit of giving at first hand a cultivated lady's experiences and impressions of a journey through lands and under conditions which few ladies have found themselves in, and still fewer have written about.

M. Piassetsky's diary of his travels in Mongolia and China¹⁴ is as disappointing to the reader as the journey itself appears to have been to the author. We get utterly wearied by the repetition of trivial disconnected details of what the worthy doctor observed and said. Of course, in a journey which occupied a year and a half, during which the Chinese Empire was traversed from side to side, many interesting places were visited; and materials for an interesting book are not wanting in the volumes before us. But M. Piassetsky makes everything commonplace, and his defects are aggravated by being translated. Whatever freshness there may be about the original, this English translation is as dull a record of petty incidents as we have ever waded through. Nevertheless, those who have the perseverance to plod through these two volumes will get a good many valuable glimpses of the external appearance of life in China, and will not fail to note some marked traits of character, creditable on the whole, to the civilization of the Celestial Empire. At a moment when China is commencing a war against France, the issues of which cannot be discerned, all information bearing on the people of the Empire will be welcome to Europeans. But why has M. Piassetsky omitted to give us some explanation of the nature and objects of the mission; its intended route, and the capacity in which he joined it? Possibly the Russian censor objected to allowing the public into such secrets; but the translator, at least, was free to tell us what he knew. Yet Mr. (or is it Miss?) J. Gordon-Cumming has done absolutely nothing to help us beyond supplying a fairly good translation, without note or comment. There is neither preface, nor index, nor map. We plunge headlong into the journey, and are lost at the very start in the deserts of Mongolia. The author appears to have been a medical man, a collector of natural history and botanical specimens, and an artist. The exercise of the writer's knowledge and skill in these different departments was no doubt

¹⁴ "Russian Travellers in Mongolia and China." By P. Piassetsky. Translated by J. Gordon-Cumming. In Two vols. London: Chapman & Hall, Limited. 1884.

agreeable to himself and profitable to the expedition, but his readers are not much the wiser for his knowledge. There is indeed singularly little of scientific value in these pages. How far the general dullness of the book is due to the uncomfortable relations existing between the commander of the expedition and the other members of it we do not know; but the author cannot refrain from relieving his pent-up feelings on the last page of his diary. Speaking of the termination of their journey he says:—

It was like emancipation from slavery to most of us. Discipline is, of course, necessary, but we had been far from imagining that our journey would take the form of a military expedition rather than that of a voyage of discovery through this almost unknown country. Our education and knowledge of the world had led us to suppose that it would be carried out in a friendly spirit, and that we should all daily exchange our views on the work to be done, and our opinion on what we had observed. The reader may have seen how mistaken we were.

The latest contribution from Mr. Charles Marvin's¹⁵ fluent pen has for its ostensible object a description of the wonderful oil-bearing districts on the Caspian, and the new petroleum industry which has grown up there with such astonishing rapidity in the last few years. Readers who are acquainted with the author's previous works will not be surprised to find that Mr. Marvin sees in the oil-wells of Baku a menace to our Indian Empire, as well as to our coal-trade in the Black Sea and perhaps elsewhere. Petroleum, doubtless, has a great future, but it would not be difficult to show that Mr. Marvin greatly over-estimates the importance of what he calls "the kerosin factor in the Central Asian question." The book undoubtedly contains much information and carefully selected statistics (not elsewhere accessible to English readers) and sufficiently striking to attract the attention of both the political and the commercial world. The journey from London to Baku occupies the first ten chapters. The author has a keen eye for the commercial and political importance of places on the Black Sea, and to this we owe some useful information and shrewd observations about Odessa, the Crimea, Batoum, and Tiflis. The next seven chapters deal with the natural characteristics and the trade of that marvellous district to which the author has given the sensational name which appears on his title-page. Baku, which "was ten years ago a sleepy Russian town, is now a thriving city. There is more building activity visible at Baku than in any other place in the Russian Empire. It possesses more shipping of its own than Odessa or Cronstadt." The cause of these and many other great changes at Baku is of course the impetus lately given to the development of the ancient but little worked deposits of petroleum. In 1872 the monopoly of these deposits, which had been granted by the Russian Government to a merchant named Meerzoeff, was abolished, and, profiting by the

¹⁵ "The Region of the Eternal Fire: an Account of a Journey to the Petroleum Region of the Caspian in 1883." By Charles Marvin, late Special Correspondent of the *Morning Post* in the Caspian region; Author of "The Russians at Merv and Herat," &c. London: W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, S.W. 1884.

example of the Americans, a number of companies bought or rented plots and commenced sinking wells. These have proved richer than the wildest expectations of their promoters—a single well of the 400 having produced more oil in a day than the whole 25,000 American wells all put together. The oil spouts out in fountains, sometimes 200 feet high, eighteen inches thick, yielding in one case at least the enormous amount of 2,000,000 gallons in twenty-four hours. The supply shows no sign of diminishing, and only about three out of an estimated total of 1,200 square miles of oil-bearing country in the Aspheron Peninsula have as yet been tapped. "Cistern-steamers" and railway "tank-cars" distribute the refined kerosine all over the river, canal, and railway systems of Russia, and Baku oil is even finding its way into Germany. But the commercial aspect of kerosine, it is easy to see, interests the author chiefly because of its connection with Russia's power in Central Asia. Mr. Marvin seems to have a genius for unearthing secret diplomatic transactions. By a curious accident he came across a jeweller at Kertch who stated that he had acted as interpreter to a secret political mission despatched to Cabul in 1882—a mission which no one in England appears to have heard anything of. Mr. Marvin believes this story to be true, and, if it be, Russia has a survey of the direct road from Herat to Cabul, while we have nothing of the kind. An appendix gives the late General Skobeloff's project for invading India, and Mr. Marvin's views on the same question. There are a number of illustrations and maps, some of which are "Issued [sic] to Parliament and the Press by Charles Marvin"!

There are two very remarkable things about Mr. Mitford's "*Land March from England to Ceylon Forty Years Ago*,"¹⁶ both suggested by the title. The first is the nature of the journey recorded, whether we consider its unusual length, or the little known countries through which it lay. The second is that what is now given for the first time to the public was written so long ago; for it ought to be observed that Mr. Mitford has very wisely given us the facts and observations as he recorded them in letters written on the journey, and not his present recollections of them. Why they have never been permitted to see the light before, we are not informed. A whole generation of readers has passed away who, had they known what Mr. Mitford was withholding from them, would no doubt have protested against the modesty or indolence, or whatever it was that caused this long silence. Mr. Mitford himself presumably cared little for the fame his exploit entitled him to, and it is not for us of a younger generation, who are the gainers, to complain. A journey of 7,000 miles on horseback through Turkey (European and Asiatic), Persia, Khorassan, Afghanistan, and India, most of it without any companion, would be no slight achievement at the present day. Forty years ago it was perilous in

¹⁶ "A Land March from England to Ceylon Forty Years Ago, through Dalmatia, Montenegro, Turkey, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Assyria, Persia, Afghanistan, Scinde, and India, of which 7,000 miles on Horseback." Illustrated with Original Sketches. By Edward Ledwich Mitford, F.R.G.S., Ceylon Civil Service (retired). Two vols. London: W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, S.W. 1884.

the extreme. Yet Mr. Mitford undertook it apparently for the pure love of travel, and accomplished it without hurt or even serious inconvenience, save for a fever brought on by heat and bad water. It is clear that he ran many risks, especially from the marauding Turcomans who infested the district between the Caspian and Herat, and carried off many an unlucky victim to slavery in Khiva. The most interesting parts of the narrative are naturally those which deal with the most uncomfortable portions of the journey—namely, Persia, and particularly Khorassan. He was detained in Persia for some time by the Vizier on suspicion of being a spy, and had the good luck (?) to accompany the Shah's army for a short time. An amusing account of the Shah's "regular" army on the march will be found at p. 362, Vol. I. As for the Shah's subjects, Mr. Mitford fully endorses the worst that previous travellers had reported of them. "The present Persians are the vilest race that ever were collected into a nation; to give their character in detail, I should have to submit to the revolting task of enumerating every vice that disgraces humanity" (p. 355, Vol. I.). The chapter on Khorassan is quite thrilling. The sketch and description of the extraordinary village of Lasjird (p. 17, Vol. II.) is worth looking at. Fatigue, intense heat, and brackish water made him very ill soon after quitting Teheran, and it was with great difficulty that he struggled on to Mushed—a distance of 500 miles—where, the excitement of danger and the necessity for exertion no longer existing, he broke down, and for three weeks "fever took uncontrolled possession of its victim." Fortunately he was well received by the governor of the place, and still more fortunately he had the rare good luck to be placed under the care of a Mussulman Georgian, and not a Persian, who watched over him "with more than fraternal solicitude," and for whom the patient in return conceived the warmest affection. The rest of the journey to India *via* Herat and Candahar is full of interest, but we cannot stop to comment on it. In India and Ceylon we are among scenes and people already familiar to us. There are some interesting original sketches, and a capital route map for the whole journey, as well as two smaller ones for the route from Mushed to Herat, and from Herat to Kandahar. Briefly, the book is not unworthy of the "March," and the march was one which Englishmen will think of with some pride.

Lady Martin's little book, "Our Maoris,"¹⁷ carries us back almost as far as Mr. Mitford's "Land March Forty Years Ago." But there is an important difference; for Lady Martin does not even profess to give us anything more than reminiscences "gathered from diaries." In 1842 Lady Martin went out to join her husband, the first Chief-Justice of New Zealand, and amongst her fellow-passengers was Bishop Selwyn. Lady Martin tells "a good deal about his work, in which we may be sure he was ably supported by her and her husband's influence.

¹⁷ "Our Maoris." By Lady Martin. Published under the Direction of the Committee of General Literature and Education, appointed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. London: Northumberland Avenue, Charing Cross, W.C. Brighton and New York.

We get very favourable impressions of the Maoris; but she tells us "the grand breed of chiefs, such as we knew in the first years of our residence in New Zealand, is fast passing away." Many curious legends are preserved in this unpretending but pleasant and instructive little book.

"Fair Italy"¹⁸ is one of those insipid tourists' records which we owe to the egotism and ignorance of the Britisher abroad. Mr. Devereux very properly felt that there would be presumption in his attempting to say anything fresh of "the land of song and cradle of the arts." But, unfortunately for us, he recently discovered that "what was once a conglomeration of petty rival states is now one constitutionally governed kingdom;" and in this remarkable discovery he perceived a reason for overcoming his natural modesty. He has, however, another string to his bow, in case any exacting reader might think this reason insufficient. "To be truly candid" he confesses that, while humbly trusting that he has made his little book "both interesting and instructive, one of his chief reasons for putting pen to paper has been to make an effort, however feeble, to expose the deadly evils of the plague-spot of this paradise, Monte Carlo." This, we regret to say, appears to us slightly disingenuous. For out of a total of 337 pages, only 10 pages are even nominally devoted to the task so magniloquently described. This damning "exposure," after all, consists only of a brief and rather tame account of what he saw at the gaming saloons in one short stroll through them, and a few feeble remarks upon the "deadly evils" which he has heard tell of, and knows only at second or third hand. For the rest we have the usual commonplaces about olive groves, orange blossoms, tables d'hôte and frogs.

Dr. Adolf Bastian's "Universal Outlines of Ethnology"¹⁹ is a stiff bit of reading, and carries us into psychological as well as ethnological fields of thought. It is impossible for us to treat it here in a manner befitting its profundity. It is a work of importance which students of ethnology should make themselves acquainted with.

The valuable statistics issued annually by the Italian Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce are particularly interesting this quarter.²⁰ They relate to births, deaths, and marriages, to emigration,

¹⁸ "Fair Italy, The Riviera, and Monte Carlo." Comprising a Tour through North and South Italy and Sicily, with a short account of Malta. By W. Cope Devereux, R.N., F.R.G.S., Author of "A Cruise in the *Gorgon* in the Suppression of the Slave Trade." London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1, Paternoster Square. 1884.

¹⁹ "Allgemeine Grundzüge der Ethnologie." Von Prof. Dr. Adolf Bastian Prolegomena zur Begründung einer Naturwissenschaftlichen Psychologie auf dem Material des Völkergedankens. Berlin: Verlag von Dieterich Reimer. Reimer & Hoefer. 1884.

²⁰ "Popolazione. Monumento dello Stato Civile. Anno XXI.—1882. Introduzione." Roma: Tipografia Bodoniana. 1883.

"Statistica della Emigrazione Italiana. Anno 1883. Introduzione." Roma: Tipografia della Camera dei Deputati. 1884.

"Statistica dell' Istruzione Secondaria e Superiore, per l'Anno Scolastico 1881-82. Introduzione." Roma: Tipografia Elzeviriana. 1884.

which is growing in importance, and to instruction, secondary and superior.

The "Year-book of Scientific and Learned Societies"²¹ meets a want, and is therefore sure of a welcome.

We regret that we are not able to notice more particularly the following publications which we have received:—"Proportional Representation, and How to Apply It." By a Scotch Liberal. (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1884); "The Educational Franchise, with Observations on its Application in Italy and Belgium." By James Hargreaves, F.C.S., F.A.S. (Widnes: Thos. S. Swale, Victoria Road, 1884); "Suggestions for Establishing Cheap Popular and Educational Museums of Scientific and Art Collections, &c." By Thomas Laurie, Educational Publisher and Agent for the Science and Art Department. (London: Paternoster Row); "Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute. Vol. XV. 1883-4." (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, Crown Buildings, 188, Fleet Street, 1884); "Touraine with Normandy and Brittany: their Celtic Monuments, Ancient Castles, Pleasant Watering-places, and Rocky Islands. Illustrated with fourteen Maps and fifteen Plans. Eighth Edition." C. B. Black. (Edinburgh: Adam & Chas. Black); "The Handbook of Jamaica for 1884-5, comprising Historical, Statistical, and General Information concerning the Island." Compiled from Official and other reliable Records. Published by Authority. By A. C. Sinclair, of the Government Printing Establishment, and Laurence R. Fyfe, of the Colonial Secretary's Office. (London: Edward Stanford, 55, Charing Cross. Jamaica: Government Printing Establishment, 79, Duke Street, Kingston, 1884); "Hazen's Complete Spelling Book for all Grades of Public and Private Schools. Containing three parts adapted to Primary, Intermediate, Grammar and High Schools." By M. W. Hazen, M.A. (Boston, New York and Chicago: Ginn, Heath & Co., 1884). "Blackwood's Educational Series. Edited by Professor Meiklejohn. Standard Readers I. and II." (London and Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1884); "Die Öffentlichen Volksschulen der Hauptstadt Buda-Pest in den Schuljahren 1873-74, 1874-75, 1875-76 und 1876-77." Von Joseph Körösi, Director des Communal-Statistischen Bureaus, &c. (Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht, 1884); the Same for the years 1877-1881; "Relazione A.S.E. Il Presidente del Consiglio Ministro dell'Interno. Sui lavori della Commissione della sua Istituzione avventa col regio decreto del 3 Giugno 1880 fino al 25 Gennaio 1884." (Roma: Tipografia Eredi Botta, 1884); "The Congo Treaty." By Thomas Tomlinson, M.A., Christ Church, Oxford, of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-law. (London: Edward Stanford, 55, Charing Cross, 1884).

²¹ "Year Book of the Scientific and Learned Societies of Great Britain and Ireland: giving an Account of their Origin, Constitution, and Working." Compiled from official sources. With Appendix, comprising a List of the Leading Scientific Societies throughout the World. First Annual Issue. London: Charles Griffin & Co., Exeter Street, Strand. 1884.

SCIENCE.

PROFESSOR TILDEN'S "Introduction to Chemical Philosophy"¹ is one of the best text-books for teaching the elements of chemistry. It is always a question whether the physics of chemistry may not better be learned as a department of physics; and further, whether it may not be better to commence the study of chemistry with the discussion of fact rather than a study of its laws. Certainly it would have seemed to us better that the old method should have been followed, by which theoretical considerations were introduced gradually as knowledge made such discussions convenient. But granting that Dr. Tilden's book is not an elementary treatise, and is only to be used, as used by himself, for advanced classes of boys, we have no hesitation in commending it as conveying in clear and brief form the philosophy to which all chemical investigations lead up. The book is divided into five sections. The first section has chapters devoted to the constitution of matter, fusion and solution, liquid diffusion and dialysis, evaporation and ebullition, diffusion and dialysis of gases, relation of gases to temperature and pressure, and spectra. Section two treats of elements and compounds, laws of chemical combination, chemical equations, and classification of reactions, chemical compounds, nomenclature, and the theories of chemical attraction and combustion. The third section is devoted to equivalents and atomic weights, molecular weights and formulæ, dissociation, types, atomicity, unsaturated compounds, and isomerism. The fourth section treats of the classification of the elements, and the fifth section gives the classification of compounds, chiefly as acids, bases, salts, derivatives of ammonia and carbon compounds. Each section extends to about fifty pages, though the fourth is somewhat longer. Exercises are appended to each section.

The Blow-pipe² was probably more used in the earlier days of geology and mineralogy than at the present day, but it is still in constant use as far as it is not superseded by other methods of chemical analysis. Lieut.-Colonel Ross has an enthusiasm for the blow-pipe, and would have it displace other instruments for research. In science, all partisanship, even the advocacy of favourite methods, is liable to cripple investigation. Mr. Ross's book has also literary faults of construction; but waiving these matters, it contains a large amount of excellent information, well illustrated by original woodcuts. It would be almost hopeless to attempt to give any adequate analysis of the

¹ "Introduction to the Study of Chemical Philosophy. The Principles of Theoretical and Systematic Chemistry." By William A. Tilden, D.Sc. Lond., F.R.S. Third Edition. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1882.

² "The Blow-pipe in Chemistry, Mineralogy, and Geology. Containing all known Methods of Anhydrous Analysis, many Working Examples, and Instructions for making Apparatus." By Lieut.-Colonel W. A. Ross, R.A. (retired), F.G.S. With one hundred and twenty illustrations by the Author. London: Crosby Lockwood & Co. 1884.

volume, which is occupied so much with details of a practical character, but we may state that among the subjects discussed are manufacture of blowing apparatus, pyrological lamps, supports and apparatus, structure and management of pyrocones, pyrological reagents, analysis of minerals, the theory of the behaviour of boric acid as a reagent, with examples of qualitative analysis, as worked out by the late Mr. Hustler at Freiburg, and by the author. There are numerous tables of reactions, which occasionally take a pictorial form.

Mr. John Harris writes on "Some Propositions of Geometry."³ The dedication apparently departs from the usual custom, and is in the following words, which are printed within a circle:—"To the great author of the circle, this endeavour to add something of value to the science of form and magnitude, as bequeathed to us by the philosophers of the ancient civilization, is most reverently inscribed." A preface deals with what are regarded as defects in Euclid's definition of the point and the line. There is an introduction in which some amusing fireworks are discharged at mathematicians, but mathematics and mathematicians will be about as much affected by these felicitations as is Cleopatra's Needle by the remarks of the disappointed traveller. A few pages, which are essentially definitions, are entitled the science of form and magnitude; they deal with points, lines, extension, solids, circles, angles, and triangles. The synopsis of contents informs us that the first part, comprising forty-five propositions and an appendix, treats of propositions in elementary geometry; the second part is the tri-section and poly-section of the angle; the third part, the quadratrix and lunar analysis of the circle; the fourth part, duplication of the cube; and the fifth part, quadrature of the circle. All necessary plates are given to make the author's views clear, and no pains have been spared in printing the book. It will be welcomed by all who have found profit in Mr. Harris's previous writings, but the subjects are such as to make us regret that he should have indulged them with this pleasure.

The Annual Report of the Department of Mines of New South Wales⁴ is taken up, as usual, chiefly with detailed reports by the wardens, and mining registrars and inspectors in several parts of the colony; but there is also a good deal of information of more general interest concerning the different kinds of mineral produce, and the relative yield of metals and of coal as compared with previous years. Appendixes give sections of a good many borings. The volume is not of less interest than usual to those who are directly connected with the colony, but its interest to the general public is not so great as in some previous years. We should be glad to see the same enlightened policy of geological and geographical survey which is doing so much to open out the western territories of the United States, introduced in

³ "Some Propositions in Geometry." In *Five Parts*. By John Harris. London: Wertheimer, Lea & Co. 1884.

⁴ "Annual Report of the Department of Mines, New South Wales, for the Year 1883." Printed in accordance with resolutions of both Houses of Parliament. Sydney: 1884. London: Trübner & Co.

Australia, in the interest of the several colonies. The Report of the Department of Mines appeals chiefly to the capitalist who devotes himself to mining industry; but there are many other classes whose interest in the Australian colonies are not satisfied by the information at their command, and which only Government departments can supply.

The Geological Society of France,⁵ unlike the Society of London, has the excellent habit of visiting during the vacation some interesting portion of their country, where excursions are organized for the day-time, with discussions for the evening; and there are certain formal readings of papers, so that every one contributes in a practical way to the advancement of knowledge. We have had the pleasure of sharing in some of these gatherings, and can only say that for hard work they have no parallel in this country. When the meeting is over, the report is drawn up and published as a portion of the ordinary bulletin of the Society. In 1882 the meeting was at Foix, in the department of Ariège. The Report now before us gives, first, the members present; secondly, a list of publications relating to the district, and a list of persons possessing collections of fossils. Then succeeds the programme for the nine days' work. It would be impossible to give an account of the many important communications from M. Hébert and the other eminent French geologists who took part in the meeting. There is an excellent geological map of the district by M. de Lacvivier, and many sections of the strata. M. Hébert at the close of the meeting summarized the work done in a concluding address. An appendix gives some further short papers by that gentleman.

Mr. Curruthers, of Cuttack in Orissa,⁶ is so impressed with the doctrine of evolution as to be impatient with chemists for not having reduced their elements to a more simple form. "If matter is eternal, which I cannot believe, are we," he asks, "to suppose that there are sixty or seventy of these eternal things?" and "are we to suppose that a creator of matter called into being one by one all these elementary forms, and some of them in such minute proportion to the immense masses of others, that the reason for their existence becomes as great a mystery as their creation?" The author then sets forth his views concerning the nature, weight, and expansion of gases, and ultimately arrives at the following astounding conclusion:—"Until we know more, it is well to contemplate the possibility of water being the only simple in the world, and the original matter of the universe." Yet this is not a comic publication, and it contains no reference to the doctrines of total abstiners.

We have received from the Geological Survey of India⁷ a number of their Records which describes several matters of geological interest. First, there is a note by Mr. R. D. Oldham on the earthquake of the

⁵ "Bulletin de la Société Géologique de France." Troisième Série. Tome dixième (Réunion extraordinaire à Foix et Table des Matières). Planches XIII. à XVI. Paris: Au Siège de la Société. London: Trübner & Co.

⁶ "The Unity of Matter. Being Thoughts on the Nature, Weight, and Expansion of Gases." By G. T. Carruthers, M.A.

⁷ "Records of the Geological Survey of India." Vol. XVII. Part II. 1884.

last day of 1881, which was felt over an area measuring 1,600 miles from north to south, and 1,500 miles from east to west. Its centre was situate in the middle of the Bay of Bengal. At Port Blair the earth-wave was felt at 7.44 A.M.; the first sea-wave arrived at 8.3 A.M., and was followed by others at intervals of a quarter of an hour, the disturbance not subsiding for thirteen hours. There is no means of estimating the depth at which the vibrations originated. A second article, on the microscopic structure of some Himalayan granites and gneissose granites, is by Colonel McMahon. The author describes granites which have the usual composition and character, but all the slices contain schorl, garnets, and a little green mica. Quartz is enclosed in the schorl, and contains liquid cavities with movable bubbles, while the schorl contains cavities with fixed bubbles. Having described the granites, the gneissic rocks are similarly discussed; but the author considers that both are due to the same cause, and have been subjected to great pressure at right angles to the direction of the flow. There is a report by Mr. G. F. Scott on the exploration of the Choi coal, from which it appears the coal is of poor quality, resembles black shale, is a good producer of gas, and the chances of finding it in quantity are small. A paper by Mr. Oldham records the rediscovery of the locality from which the fossil mammals were collected by Sir Proby Catley, which were described by the late Dr. Falconer. It proves to be at the south entrance of the Kalawala Pass, in the Siwalik. There is a report by a Mr. Mallet on the mineral resources of the Andaman Islands; and a short note by Professor Neumayr of Vienna, pointing out the correspondence in age of the basalt known as the Deccan trap with the Laramic rocks of North-western America.

The Meteorological Observations⁸ recorded at Calcutta, Lucknow, Nagpur, Madras, Lahore, and Bombay, from August to December, 1883, have also reached us, and give the same details of temperature, wind, evaporation, humidity, rainfall, cloud, and other atmospheric phenomena, to which we have drawn attention on previous occasions.

In the United States, the appetite for geology develops early. According to Professor Shaler,⁹ it is well to begin at the age of seven, and he has written a book adapted to beginners of that robust mental period. It is a curious book, or rather a twin-book, the first part being addressed to the learner, and the second part to the teacher. This is an excellent and very necessary idea. The author does not expect the teacher to know any science, nor does he apparently think it necessary that he should know his science any better than he knows the other subjects in which the young American is to be trained; and as the teacher is presumed not to know his work, he is instructed in

⁸ "Meteorological Observations recorded at Six Stations in India in the year 1883, Corrected and Reduced." Published by order of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, under the direction of Henry F. Blanford, F.R.S., Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1884.

⁹ "A First Book in Geology." Designed for the use of Beginners. By N. S. Shaler, S.D., Professor of Palaeontology in Harvard University. Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1884.

the method of teaching, not merely generally, but chapter by chapter, so that the directions to the teacher extend to twelve chapters and seventy-three pages. They are perhaps the most valuable part of the book, but when we remember the preliminary training that has to be gone through in learning to draw and estimate distance and space, and, in fact, to learn practically the elements of geography from observation, we find that the little boy has to be helped over rather a high stile before he reaches the geological promised land. Even then he may doubt whether there will be any grapes in it, for the author regards science not so much as a means of education as something to be added to other knowledge. His position in this respect is unusual, so that we would quote the following passage in exposition :—

The truth is, that the *mere facts* of science, important as they may be in an economic sense, have very little value as elements of education. They do not of themselves enter into the whole of human life, as do the facts of history or language. The fact that the trias precedes the jura in the geological succession is of no sort of intellectual consequence to the student. It does not link itself with human interest as the fact that Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453, though in the whole of nature it may be an even more momentous truth.

Such a view would not be likely to commend itself to any teacher in England. The facts of science enter into human life just in so far as they themselves become organic by their connection with law, and if the position of the trias is of no intellectual consequence, it can only be because the reason for its existence in relation to the jura has not been taught, and for our part we fail to appreciate the pleasure of learning the date which linked the Turks with Constantinople. The book itself extends to 250 pages, and is divided into twelve chapters, each of which commonly includes several lessons; and there is an appendix on crystalline rocks. In this country the work would probably be termed physiography, for of the subject-matter of geology it contains no trace, unless it be in the slight appendix on igneous rocks. It is essentially an account of the phenomena of the existing world in relation to their origin. The first chapter treats of river pebbles, sea pebbles, glacial pebbles, sand, sand of the sea-shore, mud, and soils. All these lessons are clear and practical, though they rather suppose out-door work than work in the class-room. The second chapter is divided into lessons on conglomerates, sandstones, mudstones, limestones, and coal, all of which are illustrated with diagrams of the structures or organisms referred to. The third chapter, which treats of the work of air and water, includes accounts of mineral veins, the erosion of the surface of the country, the excavations of caverns, and their characteristic life. The fourth chapter, on the depths of the earth, deals with volcanoes and oceanic circulation; the fifth discusses hills, mountains, and continents; the sixth chapter treats of the origin of valleys and lakes; the seventh chapter discusses earthquakes and level of land. The eighth chapter is on the place of animated beings in the world; while the ninth gives a short account of each of the great divisions of the animal kingdom. The tenth chapter is on the nature and teaching of fossils; the eleventh on the origin of organic life, by which is meant

an explanation of how new species are made, and proofs of the antiquity of the earth. The last chapter gives a brief history of life on the earth, with the object of illustrating its evolution. Altogether the book may be commended to teachers as an excellent example of the method of instruction which is available in the United States. Its name is a misnomer, being rather an introduction to geology than treating of the subject. We cannot doubt that it will exercise an important influence in training the observing powers wherever it is used, especially if teachers take to heart the author's concluding admonition, that they must become interpreters of nature, relegating books to a very subordinate position.

"Rock History"¹⁰ is a small book, designed, not for purposes of education, or even of instruction, so much as examinations. Elementary books in geology rarely attempt more than a statement of fact more or less confused and undigested, and the present attempt is no more successful than its predecessors. It is professedly compiled from Lyell's "Students' Elements of Geology," and, though necessarily containing much excellent information, does not put the knowledge in a form that will make its acquisition either easy or sure. Indeed, exception may be taken to some of the facts themselves, for the older view is followed, which groups the lower greensand with the Cretaceous, while the pre-Cambrian rocks are omitted altogether. The most useful feature of the book consists in the plates of fossils, copied from Lowry's well-known chart and maps of the English strata, which are coloured as tertiary, cretaceous, lower secondary, upper primary, and lower primary. The method of colouring each formation upon a separate map was first introduced, we believe, by Mr. W. S. Mitchell, whose maps were for many years in private circulation among geologists; but the maps now published, being without localities, are not of much service to the student. The volume concludes with a glossary of geological and palæontological terms. The book is excellently printed, and its matter well arranged.

"The Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation"¹¹ appears for the first time with the name of the author. An introduction by Alexander Ireland tells how the secret of the authorship was kept, and how Chambers was suspected to have written it. The book is now issued in popular form, reprinted from the eleventh edition as revised by the author in 1860. The days have long gone by when such an event would be regarded as of any special interest, for the intellectual world has come substantially to accept the interpretation of creation which Mr. Chambers set forth. And the Darwinian teaching, by which it is now dominated, is more logical than the teaching of the "Vestiges;" but we shall not therefore overlook the remarkable way in which the

¹⁰ "Rock History. A Concise Note-book of Geology, having special reference to the English and Welsh Formations." By C. L. Barnes, M.A. With Maps of Strata and Illustrations of Fossils. London: Edward Stanford. 1884.

¹¹ "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation." By Robert Chambers, LL.D. Twelfth edition, with an Introduction by Alexander Ireland. London and Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers. 1884.

"Vestiges" took hold of the public mind, and prepared it for the newer views. The time has hardly come in which the place of Mr. Chambers's book in the history of evolution can be properly estimated, for the method of evolution is hardly yet fully established, nor can we judge of the limits which are inevitably set to its operations by the nature of the geological records. But after all allowance is made, there can be no doubt that the highest credit must be assigned to the "Vestiges" for having made the first attempt to harmonize the phenomena of nature under laws, and to see in the facts of the community of structure of animals the proof of a synthetic philosophy which explained their origin by descent, and in this view the volume may still be read with something more than historic interest. And it is quite possible that the thoroughgoing character of its teaching may yet do something for the advancement of science by inducing its cultivators to inquire how far the evidences available justify the acceptance of Mr. Chambers's or Mr. Darwin's views.

Agriculture¹² is explained in a small handbook of sixty-nine pages, which, however, gives more information in a readable form than any handbook of similar size which we have seen. It is designed as a text-book for board schools, but will enable many dwellers in towns to acquire easily an idea of farming operations. The subjects treated of are, first, soils, concerning which too little information is given; then vegetation and the conditions of its existence, the effects of cropping upon the soil, and the improvement of soils are discussed. Drainage and tillage follow, with some account of manures and manuring. The ground thus prepared, we are led to an explanation of rotation of crops, and the conditions of cultivation of grain, green crops, root crops, and meadows and permanent pasture. Then follow haymaking, ensilage, diseases of crops, insect enemies, weeds and food, and feeding for stock. Under the head of "Live Stock of the Farm" are given the breeds and management of cattle, sheep, horses, pigs, and poultry, the diseases of live stock, and a short account of the management of the dairy.

The names of plants have generally been regarded by the unscientific as exceptionally repellent. Such good people are fortunate in finding a sympathetic friend in Mr. Alcock. He divides his book¹³ into two nearly equal portions, which have little or no connection with each other. In the first place, there is a short history of botany, extending to the time of Linnæus, which is only so far connected with plant names as to mention those by whom names are given, and elucidate the growth and principles of nomenclature. Of necessity most of the cultivators of science among the Greeks, Romans, and Arabs, and of the Middle Ages are here referred to. The second part gives the

¹² "The School and College Handbook of Agriculture. Being the Principles and Practice of Agriculture." Adapted for the use of Board Schools and Agricultural Students generally. By R. M. Ewing. With a Preface by Professor John Scott. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1884.

¹³ "Botanical Names for English Readers." By Randall H. Alcock, F.L.S. Manchester and London: John Heywood. 1884.

derivations and meanings and pronunciation of the different generic and specific names of British plants, frequently including short notices of eminent persons after whom genera are named. It thus becomes a useful companion to a botanical handbook.

"The Sagacity and Morality of Plants"¹⁴ is a title which is not merely fanciful. In an introduction the author insists upon the different degrees of their sensitiveness, habits, and the analogy, which has always been recognized by biologists, between the lower types of plant and animal life. He then goes on to compare the structure of a plant to that of a compound zoophyte like a sertularian, and shows how the leaves store up food material, which the flowers exhaust in the same way as reproduction exhausts the animal. Then after an account of the essential points of structure which are common to plants, there is a chapter on woodcraft, which touches upon the ways in which certain plants attain to the magnitude of forest trees, and thus the author is able to dwell upon the different dimensions which the allies of the *Lycopodium* exhibit in geological time, and the author traces the different methods by which ivy, certain figs, and hoyas climb, though their stems have not developed the strength to support them. Floral diplomacy is the term used to express the methods by which flowers become fertilized. A chapter entitled "Hide and Seek" deals with the ways in which the fruits of plants are placed and protected so as to favour diffusion by birds or other animals. The defences of plants also receive a good deal of attention. The secretion of poison, and the poisonous properties of fruits and seeds, are obvious defences. The efflorescence of wax, known as bloom on fruits, is another defence; and the secretion of unpalatable acids in young fruits, which disappear as the seeds ripen, is a means of preservation. The tannin in various trees is regarded as a defence against enemies; even the perfumes are considered as possibly protecting plants from heat; and there are few external structures characteristic of vegetation which are not found in some way to benefit the plant. Under the title "Co-operation" the gregarious or social plants are discussed; and then succeeds a chapter on the social and political economy of plants, or the ways in which the plant lays up a store to meet its needs, like the embryo of the cocoa-nut or the young plants of the oak. "Poverty and Bankruptcy," "Robbery and Murder," are titles which sufficiently explain the ways in which plants become degraded in their habits; the *drosera* furnishing a well-known illustration of the subtlety of an instinct for destruction. The volume is written with much brightness, is extremely interesting, and is the best of the many works of the author.

Dr. J. C. Brown's book, "Forestry in Norway,"¹⁵ might have been

¹⁴ "The Sagacity and Morality of Plants. A Sketch of Life and Conduct of the Vegetable Kingdom." By J. E. Taylor, Ph.D., F.L.S., F.G.S., &c. With coloured frontispiece and 100 illustrations. London: Chatto & Windus. 1884.

¹⁵ "Forestry in Norway; with Notices of the Physical Geography of the Country." Compiled by John Croumbie Brown, LL.D. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. Montreal: Dawson Brothers.

termed *Physical Geography of Norway* with not less accuracy, for subjects other than forestry occupy the larger part of the little volume, and as the best popular discussion of the physical elements of Norwegian scenery, it may be worthy of the attention of many readers whose interest does not centre in the mysteries of forestry. The volume indeed had been delivered as a course of lectures to the East Lothian Naturalists' Club, and the author has put his information into an interesting form. Opening with a general description of Norway, drawn partly from Paul du Chaillu, partly from personal observation, the author introduces us to a description of the Norwegian forests, quoting freely from Guillemard and Forester, for Dr. Brown always prefers giving good descriptions in the words of the writer. A chapter is devoted to mountain plateaux and mountain ravines. Then succeeds the geographical distribution of trees in Norway, from which we learn that though the alder, beech, and oak occasionally form little woods, the great forests are composed almost entirely of the Norway spruce fir and Scotch fir. The Scotch fir in latitude 70° rarely grows at more than 600 feet above the sea, but in the south reaches a height of about 3,000 feet. The spruce fir is chiefly found in the eastern part of the country, and occurs wild to the south of latitude 62° on the west coast. Large trees are every year becoming more rare; large pine trees may have a diameter of four to five feet, and reach a height of upwards of 100 feet. In the northern part of the country, trees require from 200 to 300 years to grow to good timber, while in the south 100 years is sufficient. Owing to this slow growth it has been calculated that if an acre of ground timber is worth one dollar, that sum invested at five per cent. would amount to 1,024 dollars in 200 years; so that the timber from an economic point of view is worth more to the country than the price which it brings as wood. Forests of birch reach farther north than the pine and fir, willows are found in yet higher latitudes, the beech is the most southern of the trees, and oak comes between it and the fir. The birch in Norway often attains a height of seventy or eighty feet and a diameter of four to five feet; it characterizes the valleys. In the far north, beyond Hammerfest, the willow becomes reduced to the dimensions of a shrub. Various other trees are met with, such as the aspen, alder, wych elm, lime, maple, hazel, and mountain ash. The wild fruits are briefly mentioned, and it is stated that the forest-producing land of Norway amounts to 37,000,000 acres. The author next passes on to discuss the conditions which govern the distribution of vegetation, and consequently treats of the conditions which affect the distribution of plants and trees in Norway, quoting chiefly from Dr. Broch. The temperature at which plants grow is illustrated chiefly by quotations from Schleiden and Broch. Then chapters are given to the rainfall of Norway, its rivers, lakes, winds, geological formations, the mountains, fields, the temperature and altitude of snow-fields and glaciers, the mechanical action of glaciers, the appearances of glaciers and snow-fields. Next succeeds a chapter on Saeter life. Saeters are cheese-making establishments on the mountain

pasture, where young women spend the summer months, far away from the farm-house, in charge of the cattle. But these descriptions are chiefly taken from Du Chaillu. Then the concluding chapters describe the Norwegian valleys, the timber trade, the devastation of the forests, and remedial measures for their improvement. It will thus be seen that the volume is essentially a compilation, but the matter was for the most part not generally accessible, and has been selected with excellent judgment.

The nature of Dr. Brown's works depends to some extent upon the materials which are available for their composition. That on the "Forests and Forestry of Northern Russia"¹⁶ is divided into three parts, termed Forest Lands, Forest Exploitation, and Physical Geography. The forest lands are for the most part those with which the author became familiar during his frequent residences in the neighbourhood of St. Petersburg; hence the chapters in the first section take their names from the geographical areas, Neva, Ladoga, Ivir, Onega, the Falls of Keewash, Olonetz, Archangel, Lapland and the land of Samoides, Nova Zembla, and the lands beyond. All these districts are described in a vivid manner, so as to convey not merely pictures of the forests, but also of the people and their ways of life. The second part is somewhat technical. It at first treats of sarge. This term is used to describe the burning of forests so as to manure the soil, which is then cultivated until its fertility is exhausted. Jardinage is then described: this term signifies the utilization of the forest trees, in which those trees only are cut which are needed. But this method often leads as certainly to the destruction of forests as sarge. Chapters treat of the export timber trade, and especially of the exports from Archangel and the White Sea. Finally, the forest industries are described, by which are understood forest exploitation and clearing of forest lands, the manufacture of tar and turpentine. From a cubic fathom of wood nine hundred pounds weight of black tar and seventy-two pounds of turpentine are obtained by the consumption of half a cubic foot of firewood. Pyroligneous acid is another forest manufacture in which birch-wood is employed. House-building and carpentry are also to be ranked as forest industries, since the houses are generally built of logs. The third section, on physical geography, after a single short chapter on the contour and general appearance of the country, deals fully with its flora; and after a general description of the vegetation, classified lists of plants are referred to their natural orders. There is an interesting section entitled Palæontological Botany, in which the various floras which characterize the Arctic regions and far north of Europe are briefly described, chiefly in the words of Count Saporta. Almost all the great divisions of geological time are well represented by circumpolar floras, which in many cases, like that of the cretaceous period, are rich and varied, comprising many types

¹⁶ "Forests and Forestry of Northern Russia, and Lands beyond." Compiled by John Croumbie Brown, LL.D. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. Montreal: Dawson Brothers.

which are met with in Central Europe, and which also survive in North America in the subsequent tertiary epochs. The great Sequoia, now so well known in connection with the Californian valleys, is met with plentifully in Greenland in association with the *Salisburias* of Japan; and a flora which includes poplars and ficus, magnolias, aralias, trees of the myrtle type, and a multitude of ferns, among which are the South African *gleichenias*. The arctic polar Chalk may be regarded as furnishing the ancestral representatives of many genera which have species in the tertiary rocks of Europe and in various parts of the globe at the present day. The oak, elm, ivy, maple, walnut, plum, and many others, are all found closely represented by fossil forms in the strata referred to. The concluding chapter is devoted to the fauna, and gives full lists of the Coleoptera and Lepidoptera found in Northern Russia. The author has thus brought together a large amount of physical information relating to Russia, which may form a valuable aid in the education of forest officers. With the great interests of this country in forestry, it is to be desired that a national scheme of instruction should be organized in connection with a centre of learning, and that we should be no longer dependent upon the educational facilities in the forest schools of France and Germany; and we trust that these excellent hand-books by Dr. Brown may aid in bringing about this result.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

THE choice of Prussia made by Mr. Tuttle,¹ Professor at Cornell University, as a field for historical labour needs no apology. It may be assumed that readers who are not Prussians have an interest in knowing what was the origin and what the early history of the political system which first came into universal notice through the victories of Frederic, and after a period of eclipse again astonished the world in the second half of the present century. The ground is not altogether new. Few readers have not heard of a book of Carlyle's called "*Frederic the Great*," but the number of those who have made themselves acquainted with its contents is amazingly small. Still delinquents are prepared with ample reasons for their neglect. Dr. Dryasdust they will well believe with Carlyle is as ashes in the mouth; but, they would urge, the quintessence itself of ashes is still but ashes. And not even the genius of Carlyle could infuse life into that first wearisome epitome of the early history of Brandenburg which forms the first volume of his "*Frederic*." We have of late years learnt by his letters what unspeakable labour it cost Carlyle to smelt out the true metal from the much dross of Dryasdust. We have heard with

¹ "*History of Prussia to the Accession of Frederick the Great*." By H. Tuttle. One vol. London: Trübner & Co. 1884.

what tearing of the hair and with what gnashing of the teeth for seven long years this smelting process went on. And, after all, the result of this labour is little cared for. What most impresses the reader in Carlyle's work is the ill-temper and impatience of the writer. There is no living picture of those early times in Carlyle. The characters do not stand out in clear relief. The chaotic nature of the subject was too great even for Carlyle to bring it into form. His artistic sense was too strong for him; he could not reconcile himself to the idea that the past history of any nation is irreducible to form. Still the genius of Carlyle was so great that every subsequent writer is compelled to critically examine Carlyle's work before attempting anything in the same field. Mr. Tuttle at many points joins issue with Carlyle; and, in contrast with him, calmly and philosophically acknowledges the chaos in which the subject is and ever must remain; and he is also content with the more modest task of summarizing the results arrived at by patient research. Carlyle wrote in 1856. Since then much has been done in the way of ascertaining solid facts. Prices of grain, population, the history of industry and commerce, and other economical matters have received much attention during the last quarter of a century. The history of the bureaucracy, of public education, of the arts and sciences in Prussia have been much written of lately. Mr. Tuttle has attempted to gather some of the fruit of such labours as these; and we may be cordially thankful to him for his pains. As regards the spirit in which Mr. Tuttle has done his work, one thing is especially noticeable, and that is a spirit of dissent from much that Carlyle has exaggerated or laid too great stress upon. Here we think Mr. Tuttle is in the right. Carlyle is at times—it is not too much to say it—ludicrously one-sided and prejudiced. At times, too, we will admit, Carlyle's affectations are wearisome. "Heavy Peg," for instance, plays a much more conspicuous part in Carlyle's pages than ever that unfortunate piece of ordnance did in history. But, if we mistake not, Mr. Tuttle's quarrel with Carlyle touches more fundamental matters than these. Readers will remember one famous chapter in which Carlyle furiously inveighs against the Machiavellian theories of certain writers who say that all political power is derived from Beelzebub and the service of him.

These devil-inspired writers proclaim [says Carlyle] that only a keen eye for self-interest, and a habit of riding rough-shod over all the principles of justice and right, in short, only the service of Beelzebub, can and do bring profit and success and power in this world. This damnable doctrine I detest. And on the contrary I hold that all power is divine, and comes not from Beelzebub, but from another quarter.

Mr. Tuttle is too much of an American, too much of a Democrat, too much of a student of Herbert Spencer, to believe so devoutly in the milk of human kindness. The history of the past, take it all in all, shows that classes and individuals are inclined to do evil, and to turn whatever advantages they may possess to their own profit. In short, the Machiavellian theory has unfortunately the weight of evidence in its favour. Hence Mr. Tuttle has brought into stronger relief than

Carlyle thought necessary the brutality, the faithlessness, shamelessness, cruelty, and barbarism of the coarse-minded rascals who successively adorned the Prussian throne. He delights to draw a picture of these swaggering, self-seeking potentates with their beer-mugs and "tabagies," cherishing their soldiers like spoiled children, and kicking their tender children downstairs; and generally stalking through life amongst their devoted subjects with uplifted cane and fist ready for a knock-down blow. Mr. Tuttle, however, does justice to the singular administrative capacity of the later rulers, the Great Elector, Frederick William, and King Frederic I. But, perhaps, Carlyle was right, a nation which submitted to the treatment it received at the hands of these rulers deserved no better. Mr. Tuttle has treated a dry and apparently unprofitable subject with much variety, great moderation, and little prejudice, although he writes from a democratic point of view. His intention has apparently been to re-write the first confused volume of Carlyle's "Frederic the Great."

Of kindred subject with the preceding work is a translation of Prof. Gindely's "History of the Thirty Years' War."¹ Prof. Gindely's work forms part of the series "Das Wissen der Gegenwart." Since its publication last year in Leipsic, it has been recognized as the standard work upon the subject; 20,000 copies have been sold. It is the result of twenty years' labour conducted under the most favourable circumstances—permission to make use of the German, Belgian, French, and Spanish archives. Besides this, the attention paid to seventeenth-century history in this country especially by Prof. Gardiner, and in Germany especially by Ranke, has facilitated Prof. Gindely's labours. It is needless therefore to insist upon the use and value of labours like these. These 900 pages probably contain all that most readers care to know on the subject. It is the cream of Prof. Gindely's work, and of course these pages are not to be skimmed by the reader. It is a mere foretaste of the exhaustive treatise which Prof. Gindely is preparing for students, and which is to be published in due course in ponderous tomes. Prof. Gindely does not belong to the avowedly philosophical school of historians. He is rather a descriptive historian. Possibly, under the influence of such writers as Mr. Lecky and Prof. Rogers, we are growing too much inclined to philosophize upon history. Prof. Gindely gives vivid pictures of man and manners. Not only have we a complete gallery of portraits—of Ferdinand, Khlesl, Frederic, Bethlen Gabor, Tilly, Wallenstein (or Waldstein more correctly), Gustavus Adolphus, Richelieu, &c.—with copies of contemporary prints—but royal progresses are not considered beneath notice. The Palsgrave Frederic married Elizabeth, daughter of James I., a woman whom we have been taught to consider as a person of beauty, energy, and tact. Prof. Gindely's picture of the impression she left in Bohemia, drawn from German sources, is not so complimentary. The festivities and the coronation (of both) at Prague had been completed.

¹ "History of the Thirty Years' War." By Anton Gindely. Translated by A. Ten Brook. Two vols. New York: Putnam's Sons. 1884.

The evil tongue of fault-finders found in him as yet nothing to lay hold of. The Queen, however, was no longer spared. She could express herself but awkwardly in the German language—knew nothing of Bohemian—and her attendants were mostly young women from England, so that she was separated from Bohemian ladies as if by the wall of China. . . . Four days had not elapsed before it was spied out that she had no regard for order, no hour for meals, none for attendance at church. Her toilet was quite unpardonable; at least the modesty of the ladies of Prague was deeply wounded by the low dresses worn by the Queen and her attendants in public. Had it been indeed known in Prague how the Queen turned up her nose at all she saw in Bohemia, she would have made every one her enemy. But her unfavourable judgment was kept a secret.

The course of diplomacy, the incidents of battles are described at length, and even points of etiquette are not neglected. The work bids fair to become popular in England, and certainly deserves to be so. The translation is the work of a good writer, though some mistakes creep in—"war-theatre" and "Chinese wall," are not quite synonymous with "theatre of war" and "wall of China."

Ranke's latest and perhaps greatest work, his "*Weltgeschichte*," is translated by Mr. Prothero. To most minds the general history of the world, and especially that of early times, seems a chaos of inextricable confusion, in which only a few episodes stand out in clear relief. Herr von Ranke furnishes us with a clue to help us through the labyrinth of national histories. The whole past is unrolled before us in grand bold lines. Events fall into their natural places, and what is purely episodic is left on one side.

A collection of national histories, whether on a large or small scale, is not what we mean by universal history [observes Prof. Ranke], for in such a work the general connection of things is liable to be obscured. To recognize this connection, to trace the sequence of those great events which link all nations together and control their destinies, is the task which the science of universal history undertakes.

Empires seem to rise and fall in monotonous succession. First come the throes preceding the birth of national consciousness and life, then the stumbling steps upwards towards independence, then the pride and glory of complete strength and hardly-earned power, all to be followed by decadence and corruption, in every case by ultimate downfall, through whatever cause. And as each successive empire decays and vanishes, all the strenuous effort, the lofty ambition, the patriotic devotion and personal self-sacrifice which make the nation's history, seem to have been in vain. The ever-fresh forces of barbarism triumphantly sweep everything before them. Then, in its turn, barbarism goes through the same evolution, becoming first a settled community civilizing itself, then attaining culture, lastly yielding to corruption, or fresh brute force. But these things only seem. It is the grand task which Prof. Ranke has undertaken of bringing out clearly the great and true lessons of history. Nations, dynasties,

³ "*Universal History*." By L. von Ranke. Translated and edited by G. W. Prothero. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1884.

empires have not passed away without leaving germs from which subsequent progress has sprung. No genuine effort after good has been thrown away. In the course of ages the human race has won for itself a sort of heirloom in the material and social advance which it has made, but still more in its religious development. One portion of this heritage, the most precious jewel of the whole, consists of those immortal works of genius in poetry and literature, in science and art, which, while modified by the local conditions under which they were produced, yet represent what is common to all mankind, and which, combined together, are the best evidence for regarding the world as one progressive community. Prof. Ranke passes over his ground rapidly. Before the close of 100 pages we are already in the old familiar ground of early Greek history. The civilizations, empires, and religions of Egypt, Israel, Phœnicia, Assyria, of the Medes and Persians, of Hellas and its component states, and lastly of Macedonia and Sicily, are unrolled before us in this first volume. Prof. Ranke shows on many occasions how one political or social advance has preceded and paved the way for another, and how one development in religious ideas has given rise to another; but in no case is there a presentation so striking as that of the radical revolution in religious ideas introduced by Moses—a revolution which we are so accustomed to regard as of supernatural origin that we can scarcely realize the force of mind and character which brought it about. So great was the change, that we have lost sight of the very ideas out of which, and in contrast to which, it has been developed. And yet these religious ideas, embodied in the Bible, were a development from the polytheistic conceptions of the Egyptians. From a superficial point of view, the Egyptian conceptions may scarcely indeed seem worthy to be styled a religion. But though the animal-worship of the Egyptians did degenerate into a brutish idolatry, it must not be forgotten that all was symbolical, and worship was always given to the god concealed under an external form. In the Mosaic cosmogony, the *creation* of man is the point in which all centres. The Egyptians said all creatures are generically the same with man. In the Mosaic cosmogony, on the other hand, the elements, plants, and animals are called into being by a supreme intelligent Will, which creates, in the last place, man after his own image. The divergence is immeasurable. God appears prominently as a Being independent of the created world. The idea of Jehovah, far from having arisen from nature-worship, is set up in opposition to it—"Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image," &c. Abraham is not, like the Egyptian kings, himself a god or part of God, but a friend of God. In opposition to the pantheism and polytheism of Egypt was revealed the absolute idea of the pure Godhead, independent of all accident in the mode of its conception—"I am that I am." The decalogue is the outcome of this thought. That which modern states call their constitution is but the development of this idea. It was the inauguration of the first true principles of human conduct, and upon it is based the first solid foundation of society which offers any hope of real permanence. We are accustomed

to put little trust in the accounts which successive historians give us of very early times. Prof. Ranke puts the question in its true light where he says: "Legend invents no facts and describes no characters; it only seizes upon the principal enterprises, and enhances their success or failure by embellishments of a corresponding colour." Therefore we may take Homer, the Zend-Avesta, &c., as faithful pictures of life. The Bible holds a position quite apart in the sobriety of its recital and its lofty inspiration. Many readers may already be familiar with the work in its German form, but in studying a subject like this, the example set by the author himself is the best to follow. He excludes everything that is unessential or of extraneous interest; everything that can in any way divert the attention from the grand matter in hand is left on one side. Many who have read the German may be glad to have the work in an English form, in which, for most at least, the ideas set forth can be grasped with greater readiness and ease. The translator observes that it depends on the reception of this instalment by the public whether the translation will be continued. There ought to be no doubt concerning the reception of a work from a master-hand like Herr von Ranke's. We do not quarrel with the translator's system of spelling, but what are *Periaeki*? *Perioikoi*, surely.

"The History of Antiquity" by Max Duncker,⁴ of which seven great tomes, containing upwards of 3,000 pages, have appeared since 1878, is already known by its colossal dimensions. The first volumes have also been translated into English. Herr Duncker goes over the same ground as Herr von Ranke. But the difference of treatment may be partly judged by the amount of space required by each. The subject-matter of Duncker's first seven volumes is passed over by Ranke in his first 150 pages. It will be understood from this into what amount of detail Herr Duncker enters. We are commenting in no inimical way upon the colossal proportions of Herr Duncker's work. There is no royal road to knowledge. Information which we ourselves have collected from a great variety of sources is here gathered together. Herr Duncker tells the story, and Herr von Ranke, in his brief, trenchant way, may be said to furnish the explanation. The present volume, the eighth, commences a new series, and is engaged with the foundation of the Athenian Empire and the first Peloponnesian War. We wish Herr Duncker would pause for breath at intervals, or at least adopt the usual device signifying the same, and divide his work into chapters, instead of running on without break through a whole volume. The story of events goes straight on, broken only by a section on the reform of Aristides and of Ephialtes, and the volume is closed by a section on poetry, science, and art. On many points Herr Duncker and Herr von Ranke are obliged to treat of the same subjects. It will be found profitable in the present two volumes to compare their respective remarks upon the Greek tragedians and historians. It will be seen how

⁴ "Geschichte des Alterthums." Von Max Duncker. Neue Folge. Erster Band. Duncker & Humblot. 1884.

Herr Duncker is chiefly descriptive and tells the stories of the different dramas of these tragedians, while Ranke assumes that amount of knowledge or sends you to the originals, and then briefly gives his explanation and shows the relation of the ideas expressed in them to the general system of thought. It is needless to urge that the latter is the task which requires the master-hand.

The first volume of M. Duruy's "History of Rome" * came under our notice on a former occasion. We have received the next instalment—vol. ii. The illustrations continue to be the main feature; and form indeed a magnificent collection. They are principally taken from coins and gems, ancient Greek or Romano-Greek works of art, sculptures, friezes, urns, &c., Pompeian paintings, and modern Italian paintings. There are also good and sufficient maps. We observed before, however, that in the previous volume the illustrations were insufficiently described. No attempt at dates or approximate dates is made, and on several occasions M. Duruy has bluntly appended a foot-note of too positive affirmation; as, for instance, an engraving of a marble bust is marked "Cicero," as though there was no doubt left on the subject. Mr. Mahaffy properly fulfils his part of editor in remarking that the bust is of doubtful authenticity, and in other cases makes brief judicious observations, though it was scarcely necessary to note that a coin represented a *conventional* head of Lycurgus. Perhaps it would have been too much to expect the English editor to supply approximate dates—the labour and knowledge required would have been great. The majority of the illustrations are marked "Louvre, Clarac Catalogue," "Cabinet de France," and have been copied straight from these works. Fuller and more accurate notes would have greatly enhanced the value of this set of illustrations, which is undoubtedly the finest ever given in a popular work. As regards M. Duruy's treatment of this portion of Roman history, from the battle of Zama to the end of the first triumvirate, M. Duruy is, as before, in no danger of sinning in the way he dreads so much—after that detestable, so-called scientific style of the Germans! So far from this, M. Duruy continues to cull on every hand the flowers of history. Few entertaining anecdotes or *bons-mots* of the ancients escape him, and few opportunities are lost of pointing a moral and driving a good story well home. Modern comparisons are frequent, and sounding generalizations trumpet forth with much flourishing each new chapter. Manners and customs and matters ornamental take up whole chapters. In short, everything that can tickle the fancy and engage the attention of the unwilling reader is resorted to and set forth in lively anecdotic and antithetic style. The effect on some minds will be that of a series of brilliant essays: and there is in fact a want of cohesion, and M. Duruy may perhaps regret having neglected the deep speculations of such writers as Mommsen. It is not a malicious thing to say, inasmuch as France produced Balzac, that M. Duruy is at times, as in the chapter

* "History of Rome." By V. Duruy. Translated and edited by J. P. Mahaffy. Vol. II. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1884.

[Vol. CXXII. No. CCXLIV.]—New Series, Vol. LXVI. No. II. P P

on "Hellenism at Rome," carried away, in spite of his moralizing propensities, by his Gallic delight in picturing the depravity of which human nature is capable. Hellenism was scarcely so universally corrupting as M. Duruy has described; the humanizing and elevating side might have been dwelt upon with at least equal emphasis. On the other hand, no strength of language could exaggerate the hatefulness of Sylla's character, who, as Seneca observes, "was a reproach to the gods." Mr. Mahaffy continues to translate and to perform his task as editor satisfactorily. M. Duruy does not write with that careful attention to dates which characterizes some writers, and consequently there is not the same chance of error. Still there are errors of an airy kind—some of which Mr. Mahaffy might have corrected. Carneades was a member of the embassy to Rome in 159 B.C.; Cicero lived 106–43. "Carneades," says M. Duruy, "left behind him that philosophy of doubt which *two* centuries later disquieted Cicero." *One* century would have been more accurate.

The author of "Ancient and Modern Britons" commences at a period of which we have but little information—namely, the time when the British islands were inhabited by the races which built the cairns, dolmens, and stone-circles, and used the flint arrow-heads and axes which are so frequently met with; and he ventures to tell us, from the evidence he has collected, something of those races, and to connect some of us Britons with them. Relying on the researches of well-known ethnological and anthropological writers and men of science, Prof. Huxley being largely quoted, he states that the race from which some of us at any rate are descended were a dark people, and that the features of many of us at the present day tend to show how true this theory is, and that it is becoming more apparent every day that we are a "mixed race." The Xanthocroi and Melanochroi, the "fair whites" and "dark whites" of whom Prof. Huxley writes, are the standpoint from which he commences, and he quotes the following remark relative to Prof. Huxley's "Map showing the Distribution of the Chief Modifications of Mankind": "I am much disposed to think that the Melanochroi are the result of an intermixture between the Xanthocroi and the Australioids." The map mentioned above shows that these Australioids consisted of the whole aboriginal population of Australia, of the natives of interior India, and of the inhabitants of Middle and Upper Egypt. The inhabitants of these islands, with whom he chiefly deals, are the Troglodytes or Cave Dwellers, known as Australioids, Mongoloids, and (historically) Iberians, or Luskarrians, and the descendants of the Hunni or Huns whom he identifies as the Hungarians and "ogres" of our nursery tales. These Hunni were of Asiatic origin, and inhabited a country immediately north of the great wall of China; their power being very much broken about 141–87 B.C., they separated into two distinct camps, one of which, consisting of about 50,000 families, went south-

⁶ "Ancient and Modern Britons: A Retrospect." London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1884.

wards, while the other endeavoured to remain in its original seat, but eventually many of them went north and north-west, and aided the Romans and other nations in their wars. Their complexion is described as being almost black, and their appearance deformed, of uncouth gesture and shrill voice. By means of craniological evidence he comes to the conclusion that structurally some of the inhabitants of these islands in former times belonged to the Australioid family, who used the Tasmanian customs of tattooing, smearing the skin with iron ore, and building stone-circles, dolmens, and cairns; that an Australioid family once inhabited Britain, and that there is word evidence in our islands and elsewhere of a time when a conquered race was of black colour. The British Picti he also identifies with these Huns, and shows how they resembled them in their customs, weapons, and features. The history of these British Picti under various names forms the subject of the greater part of the book, and the following, which he quotes from Claudian,

Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos
Edomuit,

gives rise to many suggestions, which he follows up closely. He translates it thus: "He subdued the nimble blackamoors not wrongly named 'the painted people,'" showing that the Picti of that time were a dark-skinned people. He enters into a full explanation of the word *maurus*, which he connects with the word *Moravia*, a name given to two districts in Scotland, one in the north and the other in the south, from which the name "Murray" or "Moray" comes; another form of this name he says is "Morris," existing now as a surname, and remembered as associated with the "morris dance," the origin of it being Moorish. That the Moors' heads as crests are not sufficiently explained by the theory that the founder of the families who bear them as supporters had won their spurs in assisting the Spaniards to expel their Moors, he considers evident, but that their presence in armorial bearings must be due to the exploits of the founder of the family with the dark people of these islands. As regards the colour-agnomens, he assigns them to the complexion and not to the hair, and in the instances of the Black and Red Douglassses, he interprets the "Red" as meaning of tawny complexion, and that "breac" signifies tattooed. To the origin of coats-of-arms, the following interpretation is given—namely, that personating a real animal did not belong entirely to the time when men clothed themselves in the actual hide, but that it was continued after metal armour came into use, and it is said that the ancient Gauls wore helmets shaped into the semblance of beasts. This custom of assuming the skins of animals explains the "furs" of heraldry and the stories of people assuming the forms of beasts. The object of the writer is to connect these races with the gipsies who, under the name of Picti, were the chief opponents of the Romans 1,800 years ago, and that they are common with the "mosstroopers," "black-tinklers," "black-oppressors," "sorners," "jugglers," and "Moonmen," who oppressed the northern parts for so long, and exacted black-mail from

rich and poor alike. The most remarkable characters amongst these gipsies were those of "minstrel," "pugilist," "beggar," and "sorner," and all these characters, with accounts of the lives of some of the most remarkable of these gipsies, taken from valuable histories of gipsy life by the Messrs. Simpson, are given in support of the theory contained in this book, which is one well worthy of a very high place amongst ethnological treatises.

To those historians and others who have persistently stated that there were no massacres in Ireland during the eventful years of 1641-2, and that the stories we read of many thousands of people having perished by the hands of Sir Phelim O'Neil and his followers, are mendacious declamations coined in order to bring that country into still greater disrepute in the eyes of the world, Miss Hickson's work which has lately been published, under the title of "Ireland in the Seventeenth Century; or, the Massacres of 1641-2,"⁷ will at least be a severe blow, but it is doubtful whether they are in a mood to accept defeat at her hands. The book consists of a number of unpublished extracts from State Papers, MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Lambeth Library, and the Library of the Royal Dublin Society, relating to the Plantation, 1610-1639; depositions of eye-witnesses of massacres and records of the trials of those who were implicated in the massacres. The preface, by Mr. J. A. Froude, states that the book is not published for the purpose of a mere counter-statement of opinion against popular Irish theories, but brings forward a mass of facts which have lain either despised as worthless, cancelled heaps of perjury, or entirely unnoticed. Mr. Froude claims for Miss Hickson that she is an unbiased writer; why then should such expressions as "accidental birth," "land grabbing," &c., appear in the work of a dispassionate writer? The main objects of the book appear to be to set at rest the many vexatious questions as to the cause of the "so-called" 'massacres, who were the chief actors in it, whether the Roman Catholic clergy took any part in it, and what effect it had on the country afterwards. As to the charge which was brought against the King—viz., that he had commissioned Sir Phelim O'Neil to make war against the Irish, that question has been entirely set at rest by Sir Phelim himself; the deposition of Dr. Ker, Dean of Ardagh, stating that Sir Phelim cleared him from "this unjust calumny," and that he could not in conscience charge the King with it, though he had been frequently solicited thereto by fair promises and great rewards; "not even the offer of life and liberty from his judges could induce him to state that the King had given him any commission for the levying of war," and he adheres to this statement during the long process of his death. That the cause of the massacre was the introduction of the feudal system with those who were planted there can be but little doubt. The discovery of the reason the lines were drawn across so many of the depositions certainly adds greatly

⁷ "Ireland in the Seventeenth Century; or, the Massacres of 1641-2." By Mary Hickson. With a Preface by J. A. Froude, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

to the value of the work; that they were made a short time after the depositions were taken, in order to assist the official copyist in his report to the King and Parliament, is fully corroborated by the testimony of Mr. Thomas Waring. It is much to be feared that the publication of these depositions will not have the desired effect; better that they had been allowed to remain in the Library of Trinity College, to be scoffed at by the people who say they are untrue. One of the most interesting pieces of evidence produced is a letter from Nicholas, Bishop of Ferns, which clearly shows how widespread was the bigotry of the Roman Catholic clergy concerning the burial of Francis Talbot, "an obstinate heretic, whose body is to be buried with only one candle at the grave at nine o'clock of the night, without a bell in the church or street, without priest, cross, book, or prayer, the place of his burial to be in the alley of St. Mary's churchyard, near to the garden of the parsonage. All which, concerning the said burial, we have ordered to be done, with the advice of men learned in divinity." The trials of Sir Phelim O'Neil, Lord Muskerry, Edmund O'Reilly, and others, are fair examples of the impartiality of the tribunal before which they were arraigned. That the Irish peasantry were in a most degraded state before the Plantation there can be no question, and the advantages the whole of Ireland, especially Ulster, has reaped from the Plantation no one who has any knowledge of that country can doubt. Where the Scotch were planted, there barren lands have been turned into gardens, and the people themselves are an example of industry and peace, though jealous of those rights which recent legislation has placed entirely in their hands.

One of the chief political differences between England and America is brought home to us by the Scudder series of "American Commonwealths."⁸ One gets almost in the habit of talking of states as if they were shires, but the "History of Virginia" has nothing in common with a county history. Instead of being filled with pedigrees, the descents of manors, and descriptions of churches, it is the history of a distinct entity, and treats of political movements, and rebellions, and wars. There is the battle of the Severn, where Protestant Virginia defeated Catholic Maryland, with a loss of twenty killed, and toleration in religion was in a fair way to be driven out of the continent. For Lord Baltimore's Popish colony was the only place where "any person believing in Jesus Christ" could reside with impunity, and the conquerors only guaranteed "to confirm freedom of conscience provided the liberty were not extended to popery, prelacy, or licentiousness of opinion." Then there is Bacon's rebellion, when a commission to arm against the Indians was extorted by force from Governor Sir William Berkeley, and his mis-government protested against in arms, till the leader's death. The rebels had it all their own way, and then the governor took such vengeance for his slighted

⁸ "American Commonwealths." Edited by H. E. Scudder. "Virginia," by John Esten Cooke. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1884.

authority that Charles II. said of him, "That old fool has hanged more men in that naked country, than I have done for the murder of my father." The attitude of the State during the war of Secession is very fairly stated, and the future is pronounced to be full of hope, that mining and manufacture and the other resources of the commonwealth are being developed, "and that the people of the country called Old Virginia seem resolved to erect a New Virginia by energy and labour." The writer has been enabled to use several works on the early history of the State which have been hitherto nearly unknown, and which confirm many of Captain John Smith's much-doubted tales of his own prowess among the Indians. It is suggested that the "Stone House," at Ware Creek, a rough stone tower with loopholes, may have been his work. But how strange that the origin of a building only three hundred years old should be unknown, especially when it is so different to anything round it. But then Mr. Cooke is in doubt about the date of the State seal. At least, on one page, he states that it was ordained by Charles II., and in another place by James II. And he also gives two different versions of the motto. The style is very easy and pleasant to read, but for one blemish—a too great fondness for the use of the historic present, or even the historic future.

The long-expected work of Serjeant Pulling on the history of the English bar has at length appeared, under the title of "The Order of the Coif,"^{*} a designation which contains just that amount of affectation to tickle the fancy of the age. If the title—"Order of the Coif"—sounds not quite Japanese, it smacks at least somewhat of "Early English." But, although the author has been at much pains to collect evidence showing how the coif (or white skull-cap of early men of law) was regarded as a badge of honour, put on with solemn form, and worn even in the Royal presence, and second indeed in dignity only to the earl's coronet and the bishop's mitre; still, he has scarcely justified himself in applying the title "Order of the Coif" to the whole aggregate body of the English bar. He has not clearly made out that the men of law of early times at any period ever knew themselves or called themselves, as a body, by this quaint title. The order of the Garter was instituted in 1330, of the Bath, 1399, of the Thistle, 1540, of St. Patrick, 1783; but it is not chronicled anywhere that there ever was an order of the coif instituted as an honour and dignity. On the other hand, the designation seems to have arisen much in the same way as that of the monastic orders—*e.g.*, the order of the Black and White Friars, the Capuchins, &c. "Brothers of the Coif" may have been a designation by which the early men of law sometimes called themselves. But Serjeant Pulling is certainly assuming too much, and putting the cart before the horse, when he says that the "Brothers of the Coif" *acquired* various designations, such as witen, sages, gentz de loi, lagemanni, loiers, counteurs, serjeants-at-law, apprentices-at-law, &c. These names, obviously, preceded the general

^{*} "The Order of the Coif." By Serjeant Pulling. London: Clowes & Sons. 1884.

term "Order of the Coif." In the royal patents creating a serjeant, he is not ordained a brother of his order, as a knight is, but he is ordained to take upon him the "state and degree of a serjeant-at-law." Such are the words of the ancient as well as modern writ. In short, a serjeant has no *rank* (as Serjeant Pulling, with amiable pride, would have us believe), but only a *degree*. Serjeant Pulling almost seems to go beyond all bounds (he is so *coiffé* with his own idea), and would like to believe that the letters patent summoning a subject to the degree of a serjeant confer a patent of nobility. The mediæval Latin term "*serviens*" means simply "servant," and is applied to a great variety of officials. A "*serviens ad legem*," or "serjeant-at-law," is only a special kind of serjeant. Chaucer knows no "Order of the Coif." On the other hand, he knows many varieties of men of law.

A sarjeaunt of the law, ware and wise,
That often hadde ben at the pervise.

A Frankleyn.

At Sessions there was he lord and sire;
Ful often times he was knight of the shire.

Men of lawe, &c.

Chief Justice Fortescue observes that "there never were degrees of Bachelor or Doctor conferred in the Inns of Court, as in the civil and canon law by the universities; but there is there conferred a degree or honorary estate, no less celebrated and solemn, called the degree of a serjeant-at-law." Serjeant Pulling's contention for the superior dignity of the coif therefore leads him into rather far-fetched and unnecessary argumentation. Serjeant Pulling fights very shy of etymology. We have no etymology given of "coif," or "serjeant," or "pervise" (the name given to the pillars of St. Paul's, where the men of law formerly congregated), though we have four different definitions of the latter term scattered over the book. The imputed analogy between the lofty nature "Grand Serjeantry" and the dignity of a serjeant-at-law would be seen to be absurd on the slightest consideration of etymologies, and etymologically there is no difference between a serjeant-at-law and a military serjeant. The book, however, is full of interest, in spite of the incomplete acquaintance of the author with ancient forms and terminology. Incidentally, there is given the history of many buildings, the old Inns, the four Inns of Court, Temple, Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn, Westminster Hall, &c. There are lively descriptions of ceremonies, feasts, callings within the bar, &c. It is only in his main contention that Serjeant Pulling seems to have gone far astray, and the chief interest of the book fortunately does not lie in that. In style the work is lively and relieved by a judicious cantankerousness, particularly concerning Lord Campbell and his opinions, which is highly entertaining to the lay reader.

The learned Professor of History at the University of Czernowitz has shown by the comparison of parallel passages from the works of both writers¹⁰ how deeply John Hus was indebted to Wiclif for the

¹⁰ "Wiclif and Hus." From the German of Dr. Johann Loserth. Translated by Rev. M. J. Evans, B.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1884.

principles he advocated, and even for the words in which he uttered them. For instance, a passage in the "De Ecclesia" is found almost verbatim in Hus's "De Ablatione Temporalium a Clericis," *Rex Angliæ* being altered into *Rex Boemiæ*, and the statement that a quarter of the land is in mortmain is adopted without alteration. That their doctrines were the same was well known, but Hus's indebtedness to the English teacher had not hitherto been thoroughly worked out. For some time there had been frequent communication between England and Bohemia. Adalbert Ranconis de Ericinio, who held high offices at the Universities of Prague and Paris in the middle of the fourteenth century, had given an endowment for the support of Czechian youths at Paris and Oxford, and, after Richard II.'s marriage with Anne of Luxemburg, many of her countrymen entered the service of English nobles. It appears to be about this time that Wiclif's writings became commonly known in Prague. Then again, a few years after, Peter Payne, the vice-principal of St. Edmund Hall, went to Bohemia, where he took an active part in the discussion on religious questions, which was certainly stimulated by Wiclif's theological works, whoever it may have been who first brought them there. The University of Prague, like others in Europe, and like the Knights of St. John, was ruled by the votes of "nations," the native Bohemians being powerless against a coalition of the others. When Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. were about to be deposed by the cardinals, King Wenceslas ordered the University, as well as the clergy, to remain neutral. This the other nations refused to do, and Hus, taking advantage of the King's irritation, obtained an alteration in the manner of voting which restored their lost power to the Bohemians. From this period Hus placed himself at the head of those of his countrymen who were followers of Wiclif, and "his Latin writings of the years immediately following are nothing but a meagre abstract drawn from the abundant treasury of the English theologian." Contemporary satires acknowledge the connection. The "*Missa Wiclefitarum*" says: "*Liber generationis maledictionis omnium hereticorum filiorum: —Diaboli filius Wikleph, Wykleph genuit Swevia (Petrus de Zuoyma) Swevia genuit Stanislaum, Stanislaus genuit Hus,*" &c.; and again, "*Credo in Wykleph ducem inferni, patronum Boemiæ, et in Hus filium eius unicum, nequam nostrum.*"

"*Quorum pars magna fui.*" This is the text of Mons. de Maupas' "*History of the Coup d'Etat.*"¹¹ It is the account of his "performance of a great duty in co-operating to the saving of his country."

A vast demagogic conspiracy threatened public tranquillity; at the same time civil war and revolution were at the gates. The mission of the Prefecture of Police was to avert this double explosion, to leave nothing untried to prevent these dire calamities. This mission we fulfilled with firmness. My conscience was at rest. I remained within the right, and within the law.

He represents himself as resolved to conquer (the Republican party is always spoken of as an enemy), but by making resistance impossible.

¹¹ "*The Story of the Coup d'Etat.*" By M. de Maupas. Translated by Albert D. Vandam. Two vols. London: Virtue & Co. 1884.

He attributes the bloodshed on the 3rd and 4th of December as due to the military advisers of Louis Napoleon, and especially to General Magnan, who deliberately withdrew his troops from the streets with the avowed intention of leaving the insurgents to construct their barricades that they might be knocked down by artillery in the morning. The author is, of course, able to quote official documents, and deny the authenticity of those referred to by Victor Hugo and M. Veron in his "*Mémoires d'un Bourgeois de Paris*." As to Hugo, the quondam Prefect of Police asserts that he "went in search of glory by groping about in the obscurity of some dark back shops of the Faubourgs," instead of by going to the barricades, and that he might have been arrested a dozen times if there had been any motive for doing so. The translation is on the whole well executed, but a few Gallicisms occur, such as *injury* for *insult*, *support* for *endure*. "Fix bayonets," not "cross bayonets," is the order given before a charge. Nor is *smocks* an adequate translation of *blouses* in the sense of artisans, for the simple reason that English workmen don't wear smocks. It would have been better to have left the word in the original.

Readers of Heine will find much to interest them in the memoirs of his early life which have just been published for the first time. Nearly half the book is filled by a very readable essay on "Heinrich Heine's Life and Works."¹² The fragments of his writings with which the volume closes are few and short. Dr. Evans, in his essay, draws a comparison between Heine and Byron. Both had a disadvantage clinging to them from their birth, which greatly affected their character and writings. Heine was born a Jew at a time when Jews were treated very severely, and Byron was extremely sensitive about the deformity of his foot. Both were disappointed in love, and hence the poems of both are to a certain extent alike. Byron's poems, however, are without "the weird, the horrible, the delight in the ghastly mysteries of the tomb," which characterize some of Heine's work. The poems of the German poet are more lyrical, but Byron excels in descriptions of scenery. Though Byron's writings "are filled with irony in regard to others, there is little or no self-irony to be found in them. Heine, on the contrary, although he also is embittered against the world, . . . often distrusts his own feelings." Most of the poems are quoted from the translation of Charles G. Leland, the rest from that of Edgar Alfred Bowring. "Sie Erlischt" (p. 125) and the ballad on page 222 illustrate Heine's love of the weird. The sonnet to his mother (p. 31) is very beautiful—full of affection and tenderness. Through his terrible illness, which lasted eight years, he kept all knowledge of his sufferings from her, and every month wrote her bright cheery letters through a secretary. Heine's political and religious views have received careful and adequate treatment at Dr. Evans's hands. The reader's attention is called to the ode "Peace" (p. 62). As the editor says, "it is perhaps the most poetical tribute

¹² "The Memoirs of Heinrich Heine, and some newly discovered Fragments of his Writings." With an Introductory Essay by Thomas W. Evans, M.D.

to Christ extant." Heine's boyhood was spent under French influence, and when we remember what Napoleon did for the German Jews we cannot wonder at Heine's admiration for him. In the *Reisbilder* he says, "I pray, dear reader, do not mistake me for an unconditional Bonapartist; my adoration is not for the deeds but for the genius of the man, may this man be called Alexander, Cæsar, or Napoleon." When a boy, Heine found in a garret a note-book of his great-uncle Simon de Geldern, who was a great traveller, and led a very wild, remarkable, and not at all desirable life. Such an impression was made on the boy's mind "that often in clear daylight an uncomfortable feeling seized me, and it seemed to me as if I were myself that deceased great-uncle who died long ago, and that my life was only the continuation of his." A good part of the memoirs is taken up with the history of Josepha, an executioner's daughter, called "little red Sefchen" from the colour of her hair. She lived with a woman who drove a trade as witch and sorceress. This girl was Heine's first love, but he says his passion for her was "only the prelude to the tragedies of my later life." These memoirs, though written in his illness, share with the author's other works the delightful quality of never being dry. The description of his father is particularly humorous. Heine's wit did not forsake him at the last. A few hours before his death a friend asked him how he stood with God. "Don't trouble yourself," said Heine, smiling: "Dieu me pardonnera, c'est son métier."

Mr. W. L. Leitch,²⁸ one of the last of our classical landscape painters, began to work at his art on the scenes of a theatre, like Clarkson Stanfield, David Roberts, and Patrick Nasmyth. After working in Scotland for twenty-five shillings a week, and that not well paid, he came to London to the Queen's (now the Prince of Wales's) Theatre, in Tottenham Street. While working there, an opportunity of seeing some of Stanfield's work at Drury Lane, and an interview with the artist himself, first started him on the right road, according to his own account. When young he had never had any lessons, but, while in London, went to Copley Fielding,

who lent him a drawing, and told him to try his hand at copying it. It appeared wonderfully simple in execution, and he thought he would have little difficulty with it. The sky looked to him as if it had been all done by one wash. But when he came to try he was much disappointed. He brought his copy to Mr. Fielding, and told him how hard he had tried, and yet had made so little of it. "Yet," he said, "I went over that sky six times." "Ah, there it is," said Fielding; "you think it looks very simple because it does not show any labour in it. You say you went over the sky six times. I believe I am within the mark when I say that I went over mine twenty times."

In his later years, when he had become one of the greatest teachers of landscape painting, he would insist strongly upon the study of Nature; but an intelligent study. Some very pertinent remarks are quoted, to an artist who had worked at a landscape for several weeks without

²⁸ "William Leighton Leitch, Landscape Painter." A Memoir by A. Mac-George. London: Blackie & Son. 1884.

noticing that the light and atmospheric effect had constantly changed, and therefore the result pleased neither him nor his friends.

Very likely you have been painting away earnestly, and not noticing that what you have done at eleven in the forenoon cannot be reconciled with what you did at four in the afternoon. Nature is continually moving, while your work, if tolerably well represented at the time, stands still; and you go to another part under a different quality of light, which has come in upon you gradually without your taking notice of the different phases of the transition. . . . Nature is consistent in all her different changes, but your representation of Nature is a jumble of a great many changes, all more or less in contradiction to one another; and of course the whole put together is disappointing.

Mr. Leitch was introduced to the Queen by Lady Canning, and gave lessons to the Royal family for many years.

Under Mr. Leitch's instruction Her Majesty attained to great proficiency in painting. On the occasion of one of his visits, Mr. Leitch saw a drawing of a subject behind Buckingham Palace, which Her Majesty had done entirely by herself, and which Mr. Leitch described to me as "really admirably done." He liked it so much that he obtained leave to take it away, in order to have it properly mounted. It was lying in his studio for this purpose when Stanfield called, and observing the drawing he asked by whom it was painted. Leitch said it was by a pupil of his. "Oh, nonsense," said Stanfield. "Yes," said Leitch, "and it is by a lady." Stanfield looked at it again and said, "Well, she paints too well for an amateur. She will be soon entering the ranks as a professional artist."

The book is illustrated with a few engravings of some of Leitch's most characteristic works.

Mr. Conway has produced an exhaustive catalogue of the works of the woodcutters of the Netherlands,¹⁴ beginning with the *Biblio Pauperum* in 1487, and finishing with the cuts used by the printers of Antwerp, Brussels, and other places in 1500. In the previous century, the records of Bruges show that the art was already practised in that city, but no examples of this early date have yet been discovered. The first specimens known, such as the *Biblio Pauperum*, are cut in pure outline. As they were intended to be coloured, hardly any shading was attempted, but the lines were clearly and carefully cut. Rude as they are, they give the impression of honest and skilful work. But Mr. Conway has hardly a word of praise for the later workmen; "the figures wooden;" "a dead want of feeling;" "incapable of producing graceful lines"—these are the descriptions of most of the works of art which he catalogues. Meantime the French school had developed a different system. They left more of the original surface of the block standing, and broke up the spaces with delicately cut lines of shading. Besides this difference in manipulation, they had some principles of composition and design which made their work very popular. The Netherland workmen tried to imitate these foreign cuts, but only succeeded in losing the good qualities of their own work, so that Mr. Conway's catalogue is rather an account of the decline than of the progress of the art.

¹⁴ "The Woodcutters of the Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century." By William Martin Conway. Cambridge: University Press. 1884.

Another book on forestry¹⁵ from Dr. Brown. After a few chapters treating of the evil effects on climate of the careless destruction of forests, which produces dry seasons and floods instead of a moderate distributed rainfall, he gives an account of the various systems of training forest officers pursued in different countries of Europe, and gives the preference to that in use in Germany. In that country

Forestry, and particularly the management of forests by the State, has been carried on for hundreds of years—not the mere planting of a few hundred acres here, or reserving a few thousand acres there, but a general system of forest management, commencing by a careful survey, stocktaking, definition and commutation of all rights and servitudes, careful experiments in the rate of growth, the best soil for each description of tree; in fact, in every branch of the subject, and resulting in what we find to-day in Hanover, for instance—hundreds of thousands of acres mapped, divided into periods and blocks, and worked to the best advantage both with regard to the present and future, and the annual yield of which now and for many years to come is known and fixed to within a few hundred cubic feet. I do not think we have much to learn from the Germans with regard to the planting and rearing of young trees, but it is with regard to the best methods of managing groups of plantations or masses of forests that I consider we may with advantage take a leaf out of their book.

And this may not be so necessary in England, where forests are small, but in India it is of paramount importance.

The United Kingdom Alliance will no doubt thank Mr. French for his "farrago libelli"¹⁶ about drink and the results thereof in England. But the advocate of temperance will find it more useful than the historian or the antiquary. Who will reasonably distrust an author who seriously writes, in a chapter on the beverages of the Plantagenet period, "Recipes are found for making Bishop, Cardinal, Pope, and Lawn Sleeves:" the directions for the latter being, "Proceed with the Sleeves as with the Bishop, substituting madeira or sherry for port wine, and adding three glasses of hot calves-feet jelly." So this was what the knights of old drank through their helmets barred. Coming down to a later period, it is quite a new thing to be told that Henry VIII. was "constantly intoxicated;" that he was prone to other vices is well known, but not even the Emperor's ambassador, Eustace Chapneys, who suspected him of a desire to poison his wife and daughter, and took the worst possible view of his actions, ever hints at habits of drunkenness. Again, the "misericord" in a convent was not, at least in England, exoneration from duties, but an addition to the regular allowance of food which was given certain days in the week in a special dining hall. It must be remembered that the Benedictine and other orders originated in a warm climate, where a spare and vegetarian diet was easier endured than in our foggy depressing island. There are plenty of statistics given about the amount of money annually spent in drink, but it is very doubtful

¹⁵ "Introduction to the Study of Modern Forest Economy." By John Croumbie Brown, LL.D. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1884.

¹⁶ "Nineteen Centuries of Drink in England." By R. V. French, D.O.L., LL.D., F.S.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1884.

whether an increase in the "drink bill" means an increase in drunkenness. It is far more likely due to a rise of wages and general prosperity, when a greater number of persons habitually spend a little more on luxuries of all kinds. Mr. French gives a *résumé* of the recent legislation on the subject, and is not in favour of prohibition, as he quotes with approval Mr. Mill's comments on the "Alliance." The object of all liquor laws should be to protect sober people from drunkards at the cost of the drunkards, not to protect drunkards from themselves at the cost of sober people.

What do temperance people and vegetarians think of John Howard's words to Admiral Priestman when he was dying of fever at Cherson?

My mode of life has rendered it impossible that I should get rid of this fever. If I had lived as you do, eating heartily of animal food and drinking wine, I might perhaps, by altering my diet, be able to subdue it. But how can such a man as I am lower his diet, who has been accustomed for years to live upon vegetables and water, a little bread, and a little tea? I have no method of lowering my nourishment, and therefore I must die. It is such jolly fellows as you, Priestman, who get over these fevers.

Which means, being interpreted, that vegetarianism and total abstinence kept him too weak to resist illness. Dr. Stoughton, for his new life of the philanthropist, has had the advantage of seeing family documents at Southill, a correspondence of Howard and his friends,¹⁷ besides collecting personal recollections at Bedford and Cardington. Where possible he tells the story of his travels in Howard's own words, which sometimes correct and even contradict his biographers. For instance, here is the generally received account of his visit to the Bastille:—

He boldly drove up to the gates in a handsome carriage and four, with several servants in livery, dressed himself like a gentleman of the Court. Stepping out of the carriage, with an air of authority he desired to be shown over the building. The officials, taken by surprise, and never doubting from his deportment his right to be obeyed, permitted him to examine everything he chose.

But this is what he says himself of it:—

I knocked hard at the outer gate, and immediately went forward through the guard to the drawbridge before the entrance of the castle. I was some time viewing this building, which is round, and surrounded by a large moat. None of the windows look outwards, but only towards a small area. And if the State prisoners are ever permitted to take the fresh air it must be on the leads, which have high parapets. But whilst I was contemplating this gloomy mansion, an officer came out of the castle much surprised; and I was forced to retreat through the mute guard, and thus regained that freedom which, for one locked up within those walls, it is next to impossible to obtain.

A striking example of the growth of a story. The French prisons which he did visit were in much better condition than the English—no one in chains, and more cleanliness and order. In Holland, even then, prisoners were allowed to work at their trade, and received a portion of their earnings on their release. The want of order in

¹⁷ "Howard the Philanthropist, and his Friends." By John Stoughton, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1834.

England is illustrated by a curious story which Dr. Stoughton quotes from a Mr. Edwards, a minister at Ipswich, a contemporary of Howard's, telling how two condemned criminals were actually allowed to go into the town to his chapel, "with their fetters and shackles on;" that he and a crowd of friends were allowed to go and exhort them in prison, and attend on them at their execution, for which the deputy-sheriff said "there was no time particularly fixed." It is a wonder that prisoners lived to be executed, for Howard found the effect of the poisonous effluvia to be so strong upon cloth "that without changes of raiment he could not bear the inside of a postchaise, and therefore felt obliged to travel on horseback. He also found the leaves of his memorandum-book so tainted, that he could not use it till he had spread it an hour or two before the fire." His sanitary rules were these when visiting prisons,—to smell vinegar and change his apparel; never to enter a hospital before breakfast, and in offensive rooms never to draw his breath deeply; and they seem to have answered the purpose, as he never suffered seriously from infection, except a painful headache, which lasted an hour after leaving the place. •

The reprinting of historical articles from periodical literature is very unsatisfactory. When they appeared in the *Saturday Review*, Mr. Oxenham's essays¹⁸ had the charm of suggesting new ways of looking at old facts, illustrated by the results of great research and learning. But in book form, as permanent, not ephemeral, literature, there is a strong sense of disappointment when the end of each essay is reached. There is not enough of it, and what is merely hinted at might have been treated more fully. The subjects range from Hadrian to Archbishop Tait, from Miracle Plays to the revival of Gothic architecture. Some readers might think the writer is inspired by a love of paradox, but it is rather a desire to show the neglected side of facts, and to upset popular superstitions, which are as injurious in history as in religion, or perhaps even more so now, as they have more bearing on politics.

Mr. H. E. Walden has classified the martyrdoms recorded by Foxe according to counties, and the conclusion he has come to is that, Lollardy being dead, sixteenth-century Protestantism came from abroad, and was therefore more prevalent in the southern and eastern counties than elsewhere in England. Another reason for this, to which he does not allude, is that Tyndale and other of his friends went to the Low Countries to print their works, which were brought over in large numbers to London and the ports of Essex by Flanders merchants, in which county the Christian Brotherhood flourished. The counties which were most Catholic in the Tudor period were most Cavalier during the Stuarts. But now, as manufacture has gone northwards, conservatism has come south. In the same number of the Historical Society's Proceed-

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¹⁸ "Short Studies in Ecclesiastical History and Biography." By Rev. H. N. Oxenham. London: Chapman & Hall. 1884.

ings¹⁹ there is the commencement of a history of the Cape Colony, by Sir Bartle Frere, which is too good to be left in the obscurity of a society's journal.

Among the multitudinous "Series" which are springing up like weeds in every field of literature, there is one, unpretending enough in its appearance and name, which deserves to grow and flourish. The object of the "Round Table Series"²⁰ is to publish studies of the teachings of eminent modern authors, the subject-matter being not so much the literary form or artistic excellence, as the philosophic and ethic import of the works they treat of. The first number was devoted to Emerson. This we have noticed. No. II. is the best study of the works of George Eliot, from an ethical point of view, that has yet appeared. The writer, a woman surely, shows how she applies the law of evolution uniformly to all phases of life, that she looks upon each human life as bound by numberless ties to every other, and resolves morality into sympathy. In her remarks on subjective immortality, on the future life of the individual being merely the "transmission to all succeeding ages of the influences we impress on the common life of humanity," the writer does not seem to see that the lot of the majority of human beings prevents their impressing any influence whatever on the common life, that all they can do is to earn their living and take enough rest and recreation to fit them for their work. To many men and women whose lives are of this kind, the belief in a future life is not a wish for happiness, but an incentive to cultivate powers and capacities which they know they cannot use here, but hope to hereafter, in some different sphere of activity. The loss of this belief has a tendency to make people mere machines; a tendency which is too serious to be disregarded, and which fine words about "the choir invisible" will not counteract. No. III. is a brilliant defence of Ruskin, not as an art critic, but as a political economist.

We have found [says the writer] that while the stronghold of orthodox political economy turns out to be little better than an air castle of mediæval metaphysics, collapsing at the slightest breath of scientific criticism, Mr. Ruskin furnishes much solid material to the required new construction. . . . Exceeding all other economists in clear vision of physical realities, in insight and criticism of the quality of production and of life, he is more than any other writer the legitimate continuator of the physiocratic school, and the forerunner of its complete re-systematization by the aid of physical and biological science.

The centenary of Diderot, July 30, 1884, was celebrated amongst other things by the publication of a selection from his writings.²¹ This volume is included in a series entitled the "*Bibliothèque des Sciences Contemporaines*." The volume is preceded by a notice on Diderot. The selection of his writings made is fairly representative.

¹⁹ "Transactions of the Royal Historical Society." New Series, Vol. II, Part I. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1884.

²⁰ "The Round Table Series." No. II., George Eliot. No. III., John Ruskin. Edinburgh: W. Brown.

²¹ "*Œuvres choisies de Diderot*." Paris: Reinwald. 1884.

Any one for the small sum of 3 francs 50 may furnish himself with good specimens of his writings. This is not the place to descant upon Diderot's place in literature. That to most English readers he should be but a name is a reproach which is no longer excusable.

It is with pardonable impatience that we notice a biographical essay, which does not rise above mediocrity, on a reviewer and essayist, Léon Dumont,²² who never rose above mediocrity. If we are all to print a couple of hundred pages about one another, our foolish early ideas and petty achievements, our puerile panaceas for all the ills of life and society, our crude and shallow theories of philosophy, and display all the humiliating worthlessness to which the vast mass of mankind can alone lay claim—where is to be the end of it? Suffice it that M. Dumont wrote essays on "habit," "sensibility," "civilisation comme force accumulée," &c., and that he was an intimate friend of the author's and corresponded with him regularly.

A series of historical studies by Carl von Noorden²³ furnish a specimen of the thorough kind of work turned out by a German professor. The subjects are disconnected—William of Orange, Madame de Maintenon, Bolingbroke, Swift, Foxe, Frederick William I., &c., form a very varied list. The collection is preceded by a biographical account of the author, and a list of the subjects lectured upon during Noorden's professorship from 1863 to 1883, the year of his death. Noorden's principal published work, "History of the Eighteenth Century," has been found of much value by Mr. Lecky. The present volume consists of scattered essays—chiefly resulting, it will be observed, from his eighteenth-century studies.

Mr. Tillinghurst, a Cantab "*alterius orbis*," has brought out a translation of Dr. Ploetz's "*Auszug aus der Altern, Mittleren und neuern Geschichte*,"²⁴ which has such a deservedly high reputation in Germany. The portions concerning English and American history have been re-written and considerably enlarged by the translator, who has also added the chief events in the histories of China and Japan, Persia and Parthia. Without the book being unwieldy in size, the matter is presented in the form of a condensed narrative, the salient points being emphasized by the use of capitals and italics. As far as can be judged without a close examination, the statements of fact and dates are accurate, and the copious index greatly increases the usefulness of the book.

²² "*Léon Dumont*." Par A. Büchner. Paris: Alcan. 1884.

²³ "*Historische Vorträge von Carl von Noorden*." Edited by W. Maurenbrecher. Duncker & Humblot. 1884.

²⁴ "*Epitome of History*." By Carl Ploetz. Translated by W.H. Tillinghurst, Harvard College. London: Blackie & Son.

BELLES LETTRES.

"KILDROSTAN"¹ is a novelette in verse. The plot turns on the well-known device of an infant betrothal, by means of which lands and title are to go together. Of course, the destined lovers are far apart when the time for wooing arrives, and the hero must win for himself his own lady love, a minister's daughter with the inevitable golden hair, and find a fortune notwithstanding. The Crofter question not only supplies a purpose for the story, but suggests a dramatic situation which is happily taken advantage of. At the Annual Hillside Communion the evicting factor appears to mock, and is only saved from being thrown down Tod's Hole (a natural funnel in the rocks) by the timely appearance of Sir Diarmid, the poor but benevolent chieftain of the district. The sympathy of the reader is, of course, enlisted in favour of the crofter, and we only regret that the author has abstained from slaughtering a "reafforesting" landlord by way of *dénouement* to the story. A neopagan poet, who gets his letters and newspapers every day by post, is somewhat rudely dragged into the narrative, we suppose by way of a foil to the virtuous simplicity of the unsophisticated Highlanders. An explanatory chorus, which assists the development of the drama, is a pleasing innovation. Many of these lyrical pieces, though occasionally defective in rhythm, are singularly pleasing, and the use of unfamiliar metre is for the most part happy and successful. We quote some verses from Kenneth's song, in which he speaks for his fellow-crofters (p. 153):

There is no fire of the crackling boughs
 On the hearth of our fathers,
 There is no lowing of brown-eyed cows
 On the green meadows,
 Nor do the maidens whisper vows
 In the still gloaming,
 • Glenaradale.

Ah ! we must leave thee, and go away
 Far from Ben Luibh,
 Far from the graves where we hoped to lay
 Our bones with our fathers,
 Far from the kirk where we used to pray
 Lowly together,
 Glenaradale.

Content with the croft and the hill were we,
 As all our fathers,
 Content with the fish in the lake to be
 Carefully netted,
 And garments spun of the wool from thee,
 O black-faced wether
 Of Glenaradale.

¹ "Kildrostan." A Dramatic Poem. By Walter C. Smith. Glasgow : Maclehose & Sons, Publishers to the University. 1884.

But the big-horned stag and his hinds, we know,
 In the high corries,
 And the salmon that swirls the pool below
 Where the stream rushes,
 Are more than the hearts of men, and so
 We leave thy green valley,
 Glenaradale.

In his "*Idylls and Lyrics of the Ohio Valley*,"² Mr. Piatt attains a certain measure of success. He draws his inspiration from the romance which always clings to the childhood of men or nations—to the mystery of the beginning. The earlier settlements in the West, which were made in the memory of living men, belong to the remote past of American history. A ruined cottage that was built only half a century ago may be as rich with associations, may beget as many fancies, as the ivy-grown castle which has existed as a ruin for centuries. Nay, in a land where all things are new, the deserted settlement will excite feelings of love and regret which may seem unnatural to those with whom antiquity has grown commonplace. Moreover, the human interest lingers for a long while where once the hand of man hath been, but it will depart after many days; and hence it may be that the American has, after all, a fuller source of inspiration in his ruins of yesterday than the Highlander whose remote ancestors were born among the relics of a vanished civilization. But to return to Mr. Piatt. His verses, which are free from any taint of folly or false taste, breathe the freshness of the Western scenery with which he is familiar; and while they suggest that touch of melancholy which is characteristic of all poems descriptive of American scenery, they are to be commended for a wholesome moderation in style and sentiment. It would be difficult to select any short piece for quotation, but we read with pleasure, and notice for approval, the "*Apple Gathering*" and the "*Morning Street*."

If Mr. Minot J. Savage had named his "*Poems of Modern Thought*,"³ "*Poetical Reflections by a Thoughtful Person*," he would have given them a more exact title. His verses are carefully expressed, they exhibit a delicate fancy, and they testify to the author's belief in a religion which has outlived the creeds. The following lines are a happy reproduction of the style of "*In Memoriam*," and no doubt justify to the author his claim to speak as an authority on modern thought.

Old gods, old systems, and old creeds,
 Stem but as playhouse schemes and ways,
 Such as amused his childhood days,
 To one now ripe for manly deeds.

² "*Idylls and Lyrics of the Ohio Valley*." By John James Piatt, author of "*Western Windows*," &c. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., Paternoster Square. 1884.

³ "*Poems of Modern Thought*." By Minot J. Savage. London: Williams & Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden. 1884.

The gods are dead ! but God abides !
And man and his high hopes are here !
Cringe to the ghosts no more in fear ;
But 'tween the ghosts and God choose sides !

The opening lines of a "Sonnet on Evening" are more original :—

After the noisy day, with rush and roar,
Has all the chambers of the soul possest,
Its holy nooks disturbed with rout unblest,
How sweet the lengthening shadows on the floor
As soft the old nurse, Night, shuts to the door,
Draws down the star-pinned curtain of the West,
Hushes the birds and all the flowers to rest,
Puts out the lights and brings us peace once more.

We also read with pleasure "The Cat Bird," "The Coming Ship," and "If a Ship a Sea." We noticed some defects of judgment. In "The Universe Lost for Love," the refrain, "Thou could'st entice me with a single hair" is far from happy ; and what must we say of the last stanza of "The Hand" (page 104)? —

That hand with soft caressing,
Now lies on pussy's head.
Oh, would that puss were human,
And I were puss instead !

And this is a suspicious line as to metre and pronunciation :

A *dénouement* to solve the mystery.

But to that narrow and decreasing class of readers who prefer verse to prose for the expression of beautiful and interesting thoughts, we recommend this little volume with confidence.

"Poems by Arthur Reed Ropes"⁴ are selections from a larger mass of unpublished matter written between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five. It follows that they who live in an age must breathe the spirit of the age, and we admit that it is a healthier sign in a young writer to be manifestly swayed by contemporary models than to affect a simplicity or a formality which does not come to him by nature. These verses are entirely *à la mode*. The earliest model which the style recalls is Mr. Swinburne, and the latest, Mr. Andrew Lang. We do not say that Mr. Ropes has not studied the French originals, many of which he skilfully translates, but he follows a track where others have passed before him. We need hardly say that Mr. Ropes has discovered that the world is a sham, and that his doll is stuffed with sawdust, or that infinite weariness and eternal sorrow lie in his meditations. When a young writer begins a sonnet with such lines as these :

In silent pauses of the pulseless night,
In thrilling pulses of the pauseless day,

we know, to use a vulgar phrase, "where he has been to school," and we cannot help being amused at that young writer's aptitude for

⁴ "Poems by Arthur Reed Ropes." London : Macmillan & Co. 1884.

catchwords. But we should be doing him an injustice if we did not hasten to admit that his verses are skilfully composed, that they are melodious, and that they contain a vast number of poetical images. We believe that the affectations are natural, and that the work, though not to our taste, is honest work. The *Barcarolle*, which is the most ambitious attempt, is also the most successful. The following lines are gracefully expressed :—

Night, that flies with wings of blue,
Spread above the earth asleep,
Blesses all the lands with dew,
And with starlight all the deep ;
Giving rest from toil and wrong,
Quiet sleep and dreams of bliss,
To the lover like a kiss,
To the poet like a song.

"The Conscience, and other Poems,"⁵ by the Rev. Charles W. Stubbs, is a thin little volume, printed on rough paper, and bound in a white parchment cover. It contains some verses of a quasi-theological character, composed in a crisp and taking style. "Conscience," "The Angel of Truth," "A Parable of Bouddha," are all worth reading. "Mindstuff" we have read before in the *Spectator*, we believe. It is a clever skit on metaphysical word-puzzles, and bears reprinting.

"Measured Steps,"⁶ by Mr. Ernest Radford, are, as they must be, *slow*. There is more thought and more originality in "Fits and Starts." The following lines are irresistible :—

If you never write verses yourself,
Dear reader, I leave it with you ;
You will grant a half-inch of your shelf,
If you *never* write verses yourself.
It was praised by some lenient elf ;
It was damned by a heavy Review ;
I'm a bit of a critic myself,
But, reader, I leave it with you.

"On the Tow-path" and "Cigar Lights" have the merit of *vraisemblance*, which is all that is claimed for them. As to the translations from Heine, they are like all other translations from the same source, a little more or a little less unlike the original.

"A Minor Poet, and other Verse,"⁷ by Amy Levy, contains verse of considerable merit. The conception of Xantippe as *une femme incomprise*, who longed to share her husband's thoughts and to enter into his wisdom, but was repelled by his indifference, and stung into lifelong bitterness, is original, and the blank verse in which the poem

⁵ "The Conscience, and other Poems." By Charles William Stubbs, M.A., Vicar of Stokenham, South Devon ; Author of "Village Politics," &c. London : W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Paternoster Square. 1884.

⁶ "Measured Steps." By Ernest Radford. London : T. Fisher Unwin, 26, Paternoster Square. 1884.

⁷ "A Minor Poet, and other Verse." By Amy Levy. London : T. Fisher Unwin, 26, Paternoster Square. 1884.

is written rises to the height of poetry. But most of the poems are grievously sad, and we hold that the mood of blank despair is not a fitting subject for artistic treatment. There is a reticence of sorrow as there is of cruelty or of sexual passion, and, however skilful or melodious the verse may be, we do right in resenting revelations of feeling which lie on the further side of art.

"*Marcia: a Tragedy*,"⁸ by Pakenham Beatty, is dedicated to the "greatest of living dramatists—the one English epic poet since Milton—Richard Hengist Horne." This somewhat extravagant dedication is misleading. The worst that can be said of "*Marcia*" is that it is rather dull, and fails to excite our enthusiasm for the subject, the wrongs of Poland. *Marcia*, the great Czar's mistress, falls in love with a Polish conspirator, Michael Stolskoi, poet and assassin. Scorning her at first, on account of her relations to the Emperor, he forgives and loves her in turn. In the end, *Marcia* poisons herself, and Michael, having drunk of the same cup, shoots the Czar and dies also. The blank verse is good; the lyrics are fairly successful. The great defect of the piece is that whereas the plot is one of intense passion the diction is unimpassioned. The author has not risen to the height of his subject.

"*A Poetry of Exiles, and other Poems*,"⁹ by Douglas B. W. Sladen, is the work of an Australian patriot, who in rugged, but vigorous style, sings the glory of his adopted country. This volume would bear compression, and we cannot refrain from saying that Mr. Sladen writes too fast, and takes too little pains about the composition of his verses. He has an eye for the picturesque, and reproduces the local colouring with some skill and success. His tone is manly and sensible, but his subjects are too numerous and too varied, and many of them do not lend themselves to poetic treatment at all. The descriptive sonnets give a vivid picture of Australian scenery.

"*The Daisy Chain; Poems and Translations* by Baroness Swift, reminding us of "the grin without the cat," is a book without a publisher. The translations from Heine, Uhland, Goethe, are fairly well executed. The poems which are not translations are hardly worth printing.

"*Scientific and Poetical Works of the Last of the Hereditary Bards and Skalds*"¹⁰ would strike terror into the heart of the boldest reviewer. They consist of some tremendous apothegms on things in general, most of which are quite beyond our comprehension, some extravagant poems, music, essays, jests. And yet, strange to say, there is undoubted talent in "*Fragments of the O'Niell*," a Drama in Four Acts; and, when reasonably sane, the "*Last of the Bards*" displays a

⁸ "*Marcia: a Tragedy*." By Pakenham Beatty. London: M. M. Clark, 2, Coleherne Terrace, Earl's Court. 1884.

⁹ "*A Poetry of Exiles, and other Poems*." By Douglas B. W. Sladen, an Australian Colonist, B.A. Oxford. London: Griffith & Farran, St. Paul's Churchyard.

¹⁰ "*Scientific and Poetical Works of the Last of the Hereditary Bards and Skalds*." Chicago: The J. M. W. Jones Stationery and Printing Company. 1884.

certain poetic fervour which is wanting in some more polished effusions. "The Death Chant of a Condemned Murderer," horrible as the subject is, contains some vigorous stanzas.

Mrs. Horace Dobell has reached the third of her eighteen volumes, which she has written in the "Watches of the Night,"¹¹ and names accordingly. Her verse is smooth and pleasant, but we have searched in vain for the burning thoughts which alone could justify eighteen volumes of rhyming matter. Still, if form pleases, and substance is not missed, these verses may give pleasure to others besides the author.

"Three Hundred English Sonnets,"¹² edited by D. M. Main, cannot fail to give pleasure to all true lovers of poetry. A selection which contains, for instance, nineteen sonnets of William Drummond and fourteen of Hartley Coleridge, is on a different principle from any work of the kind hitherto published. Amongst the sonnets of Hartley Coleridge is one of rare excellence, hitherto unpublished. It is a valuable feature of this collection that many single sonnets by comparatively unknown authors are included amongst the three hundred.

An edition of Keats,¹³ in one volume, with a critical introduction by Mr. William T. Arnold, follows close on the magnificent four-volumed edition of Mr. Buxton Forman, which we noticed in the April number of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW. The later and less ambitious edition, whilst it does not attain to the completeness, or approach the splendour of its earlier rival, bids fair to be of more general acceptance. Mr. Arnold's preface is written with praiseworthy moderation, and he is able to mention Keats without foaming at the mouth or taking leave of his senses. He sets himself in the first place to defend his author against the charge of describing Nature at second hand, and then goes on to trace the influence of elder and contemporary poets, Spenser, Chaucer, Milton and Leigh Hunt, on the earlier and later style of Keats. In his note on the text he justifies his omission of some of the posthumous poems, but claims to follow faithfully the editions of 1817, 1818, and 1820. The volume is beautifully bound in white parchment, curiously emblazoned. As the book is published so may it lie a "thing of beauty" and "a joy for ever."

"The Hollanders in Nova Zembla" is a translation of the well-known Dutch poem of Hendrik Tollens by Daniel Van Pelt.¹⁴ An

¹¹ "In the Watches of the Night." Poems (in eighteen volumes). By Mrs. Horace Dobell. Vol. II. "The Cavern by the Sea, and other Sea Songs and Traditions."

¹² "In the Watches of the Night." Vol. III. "An Incident in His Life." "No More!" London: Remington & Co., Henrietta Street, W.C. 1884.

¹³ "Three Hundred English Sonnets." Chosen and edited with a few Notes. By David M. Main. Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1884.

¹⁴ "The Poetical Works of John Keats." Edited by William T. Arnold. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1, Paternoster Square. 1884.

¹⁵ "The Hollanders in Nova Zembla: an Arctic Poem." Translated from the Dutch of Hendrik Tollens. By Daniel Van Pelt, A.M. With a Preface and Introduction by Samuel Van Campen, F.R.G.S. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. London: 25, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden. 1884.

historical introduction by Samuel Van Campen briefly records the events of the celebrated voyage of Heemskirk and Barents in 1596-97, when they wintered on the newly discovered coast of Nova Zembla after an unsuccessful attempt to discover the North-west passage. The translation of this remarkable poem, the national epic of the Dutch, is thoroughly good. There are but few traces of foreign idiom, and the English version can be read with pleasure. The description of the Building of the Huts, the Battle with the Polar Bears, the Arctic Night, and the Aurora Borealis may be mentioned as specimens of the translator's skill.

A translation of "Lucretius"¹⁵ into rhyming couplets of fourteen syllables is a prodigious undertaking, but Mr. Baring has accomplished it, with what measure of success will be variously decided. For our own part we prefer in every way the prose version of Mr. Monro, but to others the swing of the original may be more completely realized by the help of a metrical version. No doubt it is an intellectual effort to read Lucretius in the original, but to read him in Mr. Baring's translation, of which we would speak with unfeigned respect, is beyond the strength of "men as they are now-a-days."

A translation of Dante's "Purgatorio"¹⁶ into Greek verse by Musurus Pasha is, on the lowest estimate, a literary curiosity of great interest to the learned reader. The metre employed is a loose Iambic Trimeter, to be read by accent and not by quantity. The translation is characterized by simplicity and a direct faithfulness to the original.

In his Preface to "Poetry: its Origin, Nature, and History,"¹⁷ Mr. Frederick Hoffmann, assures us that he is contributing to literature both a treasure and a curiosity. The first of these bulky volumes contains numerous selections from the poets of all ages and nations, to which, in each instance, a critical introduction is prefixed. Selections from the poets are always good to read, and, in his various criticisms, Mr. Hoffmann, does not fail to say "what a owt to ha' said." We can hardly fancy a genuine lover of poetry taking his opinions bodily from a work of this kind, but for the unlearned and ignorant this book would be a treasure indeed. It is also suitable for being used and abused for cramming purposes. The second volume contains a Chronological Index of English and Foreign Poets and a Compendium of the writings of many of the more famous. As a work of reference the second volume would be more useful than the first.

"The College Greek Course in English"¹⁸ by William Cleaver

¹⁵ "The Scheme of Epicurus." A Rendering into English Verse of the unfinished Poem of Lucretius. By Thomas C. Baring, M.A., M.P. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1884.

¹⁶ "Dante's Purgatorio." Translated into Greek Verse. By Musurus Pasha, D.C.L. London: Williams & Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden. 1884.

¹⁷ "Poetry: Its Origin, Nature, and History," to which is added a Compendium of the Works of the Poets of all Times. A Chronological Digest and a Copious Index. By Frederick A. Hoffmann. Vols. I. and II. London: Thurgate & Sons, Paddington, W. 1884.

¹⁸ "College Greek Course." In English. By William Cleaver Wilkinson. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 1884.

Wilkinson, is the third issue of a series of four volumes, the first of which we have already noticed in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW. It is well that all, from the least to the greatest, should know something of the masterpieces of Greek literature, and we believe that popular works of this kind, so far from degrading classical literature, or making the ignorant fancy that they have the key to all knowledge, are genuine cultivators of the public taste. When we remember that Keats turned to Lemprière for inspiration we cannot limit the effect of classical literature even when it is studied at second hand.

Our space does not permit us to do more than mention three School Books of more than average excellence, one from America "Latin Lessons"¹⁹ by John Tetlow: a book for Beginners; "First Lessons in Latin"²⁰ by K. Macaulay Eicke; and a most useful guide to Latin prose composition, "Latin Prose Exercises, based upon Cæsar's Gallic War,"²¹ by Clement Bryans. The latter volume contains a classification of Military, Nautical, Geographical Phrases and Grammatical Uses taken from Cæsar. "Sallust's Catilinarian Conspiracy,"²² edited by A. M. Cook, with Introduction, Prefatory and other Notes, and the "Ninth Book of the Odyssey,"²³ with a Commentary by Professor Mayor, are added to Messrs. Macmillan's Classical Series.

"A Selection from Cicero,"²⁴ by G. E. Jeans and A. V. Jones, with Maps, Notes, and Vocabularies, and "Select Epodes and Ars Poetica of Horace,"²⁵ with notes by the Rev. H. A. Dalton, are fresh contributions to Messrs. Macmillan's Elementary Classics.

From Macmillan's Primary Series we have received Perrault's "Contes de Fées,"²⁶ with Notes and complete Vocabulary by M. G. E. Fasnacht. The grammatical remarks and explanations which are prefixed to the stories are excellent, and the notes and vocabulary full and complete.

Mr. Massé's "French Spare Moments"²⁷ is a useful little work. It contains, says the preface, I. Three hundred short extracts for unseen translations, which are divided into three categories; *easy, moderate,*

¹⁹ "A Progressive Series of Inductive Lessons in Latin." By John Tetlow, M.A. Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1884.

²⁰ "First Lessons in Latin." By K. Macaulay Eicke. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

²¹ "Latin Prose Exercises, based upon Cæsar's Gallic War." By Clement Bryans, Assistant Master in Dulwich College. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

²² "C. Sallusti Crispi Bellum Catilinæ." Edited by A. M. Cook, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co.

²³ Homer's "Odyssey," Book IX. With Commentary. By John E. B. Mayor, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

²⁴ "Stories of Roman History from Cicero." By G. E. Jeans, M.A., and A. V. Jones, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

²⁵ "Select Epodes and Ars Poetica of Horace." By the Rev. H. A. Dalton, M.A., Assistant Master of Winchester College. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

²⁶ "Contes de Fées." Par Charles Perrault. With Notes and complete Vocabulary by G. Eugène Fasnacht. Macmillan's Primary Series.

²⁷ "French Spare Moments in Junior and Senior Classes." By J. F. P. Massé, Principal of the London School of Commerce, &c. London: Henry Frowde, Amen Corner, Paternoster Row.

and difficult. II. One thousand idiomatic expressions, accompanied by their equivalent renderings in French. III. The orthographic changes which are embodied in the latest edition of the "Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française." The only fault we have to find with the extracts is, that they are, in our opinion, too short. The idiomatic expressions form a very useful feature, rendered still more valuable by their equivalents being given in French instead of English; for we quite agree with M. Massé that, for those who wish to learn French, the less they dwell on English words and idioms the better.

From Messrs. Blackwood's "New Educational Series" we have the following—"Standard Authors adapted for the Use of Schools;"²⁸ Defoe's "Robinson Crusoe" with a frontispiece and notes; a volume of selections from two of Miss Mitford's most charming and graceful works—"Our Village" and "Village Tales;" and Nathaniel Hawthorne's "Tanglewood Tales," in which the old Greek myths are retold in a form especially suited to youthful readers, yet with all that dramatic power and fineness of touch in which Hawthorne excelled. The notes by which all these volumes are accompanied are concise, clear and well adapted to their purpose.

Another educational work of a much more advanced class is "A Method of English Composition,"²⁹ by Mr. T. Whiting Bancroft, Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in Brown University, U.S. It is, as stated in the preface, "an attempt to methodize instruction in English composition." The first division of the work, after defining Rhetoric, and its relations to mental science, to logic, to grammar, to ethics, and to æsthetics, treats of style and composition under three heads—explanatory, argumentative, and persuasive, and shows with clearness and precision the distinctive attributes and requirements of each. The second division is devoted to "Practice in Composition," and its most valuable and novel feature appears to us to be the rules laid down, with models appended, for narrowing general themes, or subjects for essays, so as to render them susceptible of definite and effective manipulation. But little justice can be done to Mr. Bancroft's work by a hasty recapitulation of its leading features; nor can its merits be fairly tested by even a careful perusal. It is not a literary exposition of the author's opinions about English composition, but a systematic and practical test book for the students, and as such we are disposed to believe that it will be found eminently useful.

"The Logical English Grammar,"³⁰ by F. G. Fleay, M.A., is—we

²⁸ "The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe." Adapted for Use in Schools. "Our Village. Country Pictures and Talks." By Miss Mitford. "The Tanglewood Tales." By Nathaniel Hawthorne. Blackwood's Educational Series. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1884.

²⁹ "A Method of English Composition." By T. Whiting Bancroft. London: Trübner. Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co. 1884.

³⁰ "The Logical English Grammar." By F. G. Fleay, M.A., Trinity College. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Paternoster Square. 1894.

quote from the preface—"meant for those who desire in the simplest form an exposition of the grammar of present English nineteenth century speech, for school boys and school girls as well as adults." We learn, from the same source, that it is founded on a syllabus printed in 1859 as a manual for Mr. Fleay's pupils, and that the manual was received with commendation by the late Professor De Morgan, Dr. Latham, Professor Max Müller, and Mr. Fitch. Before such an array of authority, in favour of Mr. Fleay's grammar on the one hand, and on the other more than twenty years' practical experience of its usefulness among his pupils, all cavil is silenced; otherwise, if we had judged from the work itself, without being influenced by the preface, we should have said that its system, though possibly logical, was assuredly difficult, and that though it might be studied and discussed with interest and profit by those who to a competent knowledge of the English language added a taste for grammatical niceties, it was hardly a hopeful method of learning English, being itself more difficult than the language it professes to teach.

On an entirely different plan is General Alejandro Ybarra's "Practical Method for learning Spanish,"³¹ which, by means of lists of serviceable words, phrases in common use, and idioms of constant occurrence, brings the student surely and rapidly to that stage of practical proficiency in the language which enables him to understand and profit by the complicated rules of systematic grammarians. General Ybarra's method is the most complete and efficient we have seen. It consists of fifty lessons; their contents and plan are best stated in the author's own words:—

Each lesson is divided into three parts. The first part is composed of important words and phrases, idiomatic constructions peculiar to the language, and exercises in the conjugation of the verbs. . . . The second part is a reading exercise, which, having the translation opposite, teaches the pupil how to translate with facility without a dictionary. . . . The third part is a practical conversation.

We have only to add that the lessons are so progressive and so admirably arranged that we feel sure that they would, with a little *vivâ voce* instruction in pronunciation, enable a pupil of ordinary aptitude for languages to not only read, but express himself fluently and intelligibly in Spanish without further teaching.

Dr. Stormonth's "Dictionary of the English Language"³² has now reached the Eleventh Number, Letter S. It fully maintains its promise of thorough efficiency within a moderate compass; the explanations are concise, but sufficient and well considered, and the system of grouping the derivations round the parent word greatly facilitates and expedites research.

Messrs. Cassell's "Encyclopædic Dictionary of the English Lan-

³¹ "A Practical Method for Learning Spanish." By General Alejandro Ybarra. New York and Chicago: Ginn, Heath & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1884.

³² "A Dictionary of the English Language." By the Rev. J. Stormonth. Nos. IX. X. XI. Edinburgh & London: Messrs. Blackwood.

guage,"³³ of which the Third Volume of the Second Part (Est—Gloss) has reached us, is an admirable book of reference, equally available for determining the correct use of a familiar word, or discovering the meaning and pronunciation of one which is so old or so new as to be unfamiliar. Of words in current use, each separate shade of meaning is carefully defined, and exemplified by apt and well-chosen quotations. Archaic forms of spelling follow immediately on the modern word, thus epitomizing its history into a couple of lines. Next comes the etymology and the parallel words in cognate languages. The explanations and definitions of scientific, technical, and special terms of all sorts are necessarily short as compared with the treatment of such words in an encyclopædia, but they are accurate and comprehensive, and amply sufficient for ordinary purposes. The merits of the work are greatly enhanced by the material perfection with which it is produced—the extreme clearness of the type, the ample spaces between the paragraphs, the beauty of the paper, and the neatness and solidity of the binding. It is also enriched with numerous well-executed illustrations.

We have received the first instalment of the "New English Dictionary,"³⁴ edited by James A. H. Murray, LL.D. Part I., which is a large quarto of 351 pages, ends with the word *Ant*. Our readers will remember that this noble dictionary, destined to rival the French dictionary of M. Littré, was originally projected by the present Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Trench) in the year 1857; that it was first taken in hand by the late Mr. Herbert Coleridge, the first general editor, and afterwards by Mr. F. J. Furnivall, his joint editor and successor. The dictionary in its present form is due to the labours of Dr. Murray, assisted by thirty sub-editors and by some thirteen hundred readers in England and America. In Dr. Murray's own words, "the aim of this dictionary is to furnish an adequate account of the meaning, origin, and history of English words now in general use or known to have been in use at any time during the last 700 years," and for this purpose some three and a half millions of quotations have been brought together from the works of more than 5,000 authors of all periods. In the General Explanations, which may be commended for the marvellous lucidity with which they set forth the system on which the vocabulary is arranged, the editor points out the difficulty of drawing a line in the inclusion or exclusion of words. In every language there is a mass of common words which clearly belong to that language, but there are foreign, technical, and dialectical words, &c., which have established themselves, or seem to be about to do so, which are familiar to a few, but are not the common possession of all, and concerning these no arbitrary rule can be laid down. Their inclusion or exclusion must rest with individual judgment. As a

³³ "The Encyclopædic Dictionary." Vol. III. Part II. London, Paris and New York: Cassell & Co. (Limited). 1884.

³⁴ "A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles." Edited by James A. H. Murray, LL.D., President of the Philological Society. Part I., A—Ant. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1884.

specimen of arrangement, we subjoin a brief abstract of the treatment of main words. A fourfold division is adopted. I.—Identification includes (1) the main form (*i.e.*, the actual spelling); (2) the pronunciation; (3) the grammatical designation, as verb or adjective; (4) the specification, as *mus.* in music; (5) the status, as obsolete or colloquial; (6) earlier forms of spelling; (7) inflexions, as plurals of substantives. II.—The morphology, which is sub-divided into (1) derivation, or etymology; (2) subsequent form history; (3) miscellaneous facts. This is included in heavy square brackets. III.—The signification or definition of a word, as in the word "*agrimony*:" "a genus of plants (*N. O. Rosaceæ*) of which one species (*A. Eupatoria*), to which the English name is usually attached, is common in Britain." Each sense has, of course, a separate definition. IV.—Quotations extending from the twelfth century to contemporary authors. Variations of type are employed to assist the eye and make the sub-divisions easy to follow. This late fulfilment of a long-delayed hope, an exhaustive English dictionary arranged on scientific principles, will be universally welcomed at home and on the continent.

Mr. Vernon Lee's "*Euphorion*"³³ is a striking and picturesque book. The following sentences from the introductory chapter at once explain its title and indicate its subject-matter:—"Euphorion," says Mr. Lee in his opening sentence, "is the name given by Goethe to the marvellous child born of the mystic marriage of Faust and Helena." And further on, at page 7, ". . . the beautiful allegory prepared by the tradition of the sixteenth century for the elaborating genius of Goethe can have a real meaning only if we explain Faust as representing the Middle Ages, Helena as Antiquity, and Euphorion as the child of the Middle Ages, taking life and reality from them, but born of and curiously nurtured by the spirit of antiquity, to which significant accident has given the name of Renaissance." Mr. Lee disclaims any attempt to give in these studies a complete history of the transition through the Renaissance from mediævalism to modern civilization. His essays do but embody, if we rightly understand him, the personal impressions he has received from certain aspects of this vast subject which have more especially appealed to his feelings or his imaginations. He seems, from some passages in the epilogue, to doubt whether his studies complete and elucidate each other in the manner and degree which he had hoped and intended that they should; but we think that no careful and intelligent reader will fail to see, and still more to feel, their interdependence as separate scenes in a series of tableaux, which combine to form a sort of panoramic picture, not so much of the things themselves as of their effect on the mind of the author. The essays are entitled "*The Sacrifice*," "*The Italy of the Elizabethan Dramatists*," "*The Out-door Poetry*," "*Symmetrica Prisca*," "*The Portrait Art*," "*The*

³³ "*Euphorion*: being Studies of the Antique and the Mediæval in the Renaissance." By Vernon Lee. Two vols. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 26, Paternoster Square. 1884.

School of Boiardo," and "Mediæval Love." Probably the first, two and the last will possess most interest for the majority of readers, as they treat in a purely modern spirit of important social topics; whereas such essays as "Symmetrica Prisca" and "Portrait Art" can be adequately gauged and appreciated only by those who are familiar with the art questions on which they turn. The book is overflowing with thought; and, on the whole, the thought is of good quality. The opinions and theories propounded are often novel and ingenious—notably, the theory of the origin and nature of "Mediæval Love." The influence of long residence in Italy is very apparent, but that can hardly be imputed as a fault, though it sometimes imparts a bias to the author's comparisons of the free towns of Italy with those of Flanders and Germany. The real defect lies, in our opinion, in a want of comprehensiveness and philosophic breadth of thought. Mr. Lee is somewhat narrow in his modernness. Far be it from us to advocate reaction in any form, but to be modern in the best sense is to judge by the light that modern science has placed at our command, not to reprobate or extol ancient social conditions merely for their likeness or unlikeness to our own. From this narrow spirit Mr. Lee is entirely free in his discussions on art; but it is glaringly shown in his admiring pictures of Italian life during the early Renaissance, and still more in his diatribes against Feudalism—his *bête noire*—which, after all, was no monstrous and unnatural growth, but the natural outcome of previous conditions, and itself the parent of much that is precious in our existing civilization. Again, the question of race enters largely now-a-days into all our attempts to explain exceptional, social, or psychical phenomena; yet, in discussing the strange anomalies attending the depravation of morals in the Italian Republics of the Renaissance, Mr. Lee never speaks of race, which is, nevertheless, as it seems to us, the only valid explanation of the monstrous acts committed by men who yet were not monsters, and of the indifference with which such acts were regarded by the virtuous part of the community. From one sentence in the essay on Mediæval Love (Vol. II., p. 173) we utterly dissent. After commenting on the story of Tristram and Iseult, whom, by the way, he treats rather too much as though they were the respondent and co-respondent in a modern divorce case, Mr. Lee says: ". . . making us forget that love has in itself no moral value, and that, while self-indulgence may often be innocent, only self-abnegation can ever be holy." We venture to maintain, on the other hand, that real love *has* a moral value; that any great and true affection is both noble and ennobling. Whether self-abnegation is, or is not, holy, we can express no opinion, for we have none; but we have no hesitation in asserting that unless strictly limited by common sense, and subordinated to practical utility, it is both foolish and mischievous.

Mr. J. W. Hales's "Notes and Essays on Shakespeare" is a

³⁶ "Notes and Essays on Shakespeare." By John W. Hales, M.A. London: George Bell & Sons, Covent Garden. 1884.

collection of articles that have appeared from time to time in one or other of the literary journals and magazines. By far the best essay in the collection is, in our opinion, "Chaucer and Shakespeare," from the *Quarterly Review*, 1873, and next in merit, the essay on "King Lear," from the *Fortnightly Review* for January, 1875. In the first named, Mr. Hales passes in review most of the great names in English Belles Lettres, from Chaucer down to George Eliot, and his criticisms are appreciative, discriminating, and, for the most part, singularly just. In only one case does his verdict disappoint us. He denies the pathos of Sterne, which he says is mere trick, adducing, as the supreme example of Sterne's pathos, the death of Lefevre, and as his one memorable creation, Uncle Toby. In this he shows less than his usual keen insight and varied receptiveness. Any one thoroughly *en rapport* with Sterne must feel that his pathos does not obtain its deepest expression in a studied scene like that of the death of Lefevre—exquisite as that is, especially in what we may call the by-play—but in numberless small incidental touches scattered throughout "Tristram Shandy" and, in a less degree, in the "Sentimental Journey." Take, for instance, the little quarrels between the Brothers Shandy, and their simple, touching reconciliations. Again, we cannot accept Uncle Toby, lovable and estimable as he is, as Sterne's greatest creation. Mr. Shandy is, to our mind, the *chef d'œuvre* of Sterne. Subtle, whimsical, brilliant, witty, at once wrong-headed and sagacious, learned, eloquent, caustic, and withal loving and tender-hearted, he is, we venture to maintain, one of the most difficult, complex, and thoroughly living creations to be found in the whole range of our literature, Shakespeare's characters alone excepted. Nevertheless, it must be allowed that, if Mr. Hales errs in his estimate of Sterne, he errs in good company; he has on his side the general feeling of his countrymen, and the judgment of no less an authority than Thackeray. We have often wondered why such hard measure has been dealt out by English critics to one whom we regard as the most original and *spirituel* of English novelists. Is it *tartufferie* (foreign writers, not without some show of justice, accuse us of it) which makes us strain at a gnat in "Tristram Shandy" and swallow a camel in "Tom Jones"? The essay on "King Lear" is highly interesting, and contains some criticism of a high order, dealing not with the letter but with the spirit of the play. The theory that in "King Lear" Shakespeare meant to portray the Celtic temperament, in all the untrammelled wildness of a pre-historic age, is ingenious, and has far more verisimilitude than most new Shakespeare theories. Read by its light, Lear's words,

Come not between the dragon and his wrath,

have a new significance, when we remember that the ancient Cymric chiefs bore the title of "Pendragon." Of the remaining "Notes and Essays" some, like the opening essay, have but little real connection with Shakespeare, some are mere *pièces d'occasion*, and others turn on small historical and verbal questions; but all are thoroughly good of their kind and show a profound knowledge of Shakespeare and his

time, as also of the vast mass of critical literature of which he has been the subject.

To an entirely different category belongs the anonymous "New Study of Shakespeare,"²⁷ in which an extraordinary amount of pains and learning is thrown away on an attempt to prove that Shakespeare's plays are not what they seem, the most wonderful representation existing of human life in all its phases; but that they form with the poems a sort of allegory with esoteric meaning dimly unfolding the doctrines of the Platonic Philosophy. If, in thus briefly resuming the purport of the ponderous volume before us, we have failed to give the author's real meaning, our excuse must be that this is the only tangible result left on our mind from the clouds of erudite mysticism through which we have painfully waded. And yet, strange to say, the writer of the "New Study of Shakespeare" is evidently deeply convinced that his theory tends to the increase of Shakespeare's renown, and that only when it is accepted will the great Poet of humanity be duly and intelligently honoured! Can he not see that "mere plays" (as he calls them), when they are such as these, are incomparably greater than the greatest allegories; and that to "hold the mirror up to Nature" as it was held by Shakespeare, is a greater thing than the Platonic Philosophy?

"The Fate of Mansfield Humphreys"²⁸ is a reprint of "Mr. Washington Adams in England," which we noticed a few months ago, followed by the second visit of Mr. Humphreys to Toppington Hall (the scene of his unseemly practical joke), where he now appears *in propria persona*, makes some apology for his didactically-motived masquerade, and is speedily forgiven, and received on a footing of intimacy. The result is that he falls in love with Margaret Duffield, a niece of Lady Toppingham's, and she with him. He proposes for her to her guardian, Lord Toppingham, his suit is rejected on the score of his being an American, or, rather, of his not being an Englishman, and he returns to the United States. The young lady, meanwhile, is heart-broken, her health fails, and Mr. Humphreys is recalled. They are married, and, after some months spent in England, recross the Atlantic, and, after a short sojourn in New York, settle in Boston. They are perfectly happy *en ménage*, but Margaret never grows reconciled to American life and manners. After a time money difficulties arise. Mansfield Humphreys' fortune, invested in Railway Stock, is imperilled by the opening of a rival line; he tries to retrieve matters by speculation, and is totally ruined. At this juncture Lord Toppingham appears as the *Deus ex machina*. He announces that, by the death of a distant cousin, Margaret is now heir-presumptive to Milton Duffield, her ancestral property. So they go home, as she says, and

²⁷ "A New Study of Shakespeare: an Inquiry into the Connection of the Plays and Poems, with the Origins of the Classical Drama, and with the Platonic Philosophy through the Mysteries." London: Trübner & Co.

²⁸ "The Fate of Mansfield Humphreys, with the Episode of Mr. Washington Adams in England, and an Apology." By Richard Grant White. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1884.

no doubt live happily ever after. This is the bare skeleton of the story, but the story is like the Washington Adams impersonation, purely didactic. It is but a peg whereon to hang a series of lectures to us benighted Islanders on our ignorance of our own language, and, above all, of that greater and more English England across the sea, which our instructor never deigns to call America without putting the word in inverted commas. We do not mean to re-open the discussion of the comparative purity of insular and transatlantic accent and pronunciation; the subject has already been treated at greater length than it deserves; but we must find room for the following astounding statement—"There are no physical traits or habits of speech which are of American origin" (page 433). We can only reply, "Why, then, Bohemia's nothing." There are no Americanisms, no Americans, no America! The whole thing is a myth, which Mr. White has once for all explained away. Well would it be if he could explain away, too, the laxity of political morals, the all-pervading corruption, the cynical mammon-worship, and the disregard of the rights of minorities and of individuals which are a standing reproach against the United States. But both in the body of the story and in the "Apology" which follows it, Mr. Grant White is unsparing in his exposure and denunciation of these hideous evils which have, he says, grown with the growth of democracy, whether they are or are not to be regarded as its inseparable concomitant. If we in England would not wish to "Americanize" our institutions we should "shun," says Mr. White (page 443),

First of all, a paid legislature, the unavoidable consequences of which are, that politics become a trade, and that trading politicians must surely soon become corrupt. Next, the caucus, which places the management of politics entirely in the hands of professional politicians, who manage them in their own interests. Next, manhood suffrage, which, by making every man articulate, makes the halls of legislature vocal with the speeches and the votes of venal legislators. Next, frequent elections and changes in office, which serve the ends of professional politicians, keep up petty political excitement with no higher purpose than the struggle for office, and divert the attention of people from other and better affairs. Last, not least, an elective judiciary, the absurdity and the evils of which need not be pointed out to any reasonable, observant man. In a community so pure and so intelligent that its judges may be safely elected, judges are not needed. Let them shun these changes in their political constitution, and, do what else they will, they may dismiss all fear of the Americanization of their society and their politics.

Among the American authors who have been introduced to English readers in the charming pocket editions of Mr. David Douglas, we have from time to time made most favourable mention of Mr. John Burroughs.²⁰ We have now received a full collection of his works: "Winter Sunshine," "Locusts and Wild Honey," "Birds and Poets," "Pepacton," "Wake-Robin," in the same portable and convenient form, with the additional advantage of a plain solid binding in cloth.

²⁰ "Mr. John Burroughs's Works." Five books of Nature, Animal Life, and Literature. Winter Sunshine, Locusts and Wild Honey, Birds and Poets, Pepacton, Wake Robin. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1884.

Mr. D. Douglas has also added to his series : "Mingo and other Sketches,"⁴⁰ by Joel Chandler Harris. The volume consists of four short stories. They are Georgian stories, and in most of them the slaves, either before or immediately after the general emancipation, play an important part. The "lingo" (we can give it no other name) spoken by most of the characters is very singular, and quite unlike any English dialect, notwithstanding Mr. Grant White's assurance that "there are no habits of speech which are of American origin;" and yet it bears all the marks of being studied from nature. Indeed the chief merit of the tales is that, with all their *bizarrie*, both of incident and of character, they have an indescribable air of reality.

"On the Borderland,"⁴¹ by Harriette A. Keyser, is not up to the level of most of the novels which come to us from America. Its subject is the "borderland" between sanity and insanity. It is a well-intentioned book, but that is nearly all the praise that can be awarded to it; for the author does not possess either the knowledge or the grasp of mind which her subject demands, nor yet the ability and experience requisite for literary composition. The consequence is that the book abounds with nonsensical notions, such as the pooh-poohing of heredity in mental disease, and awkward terms of expression, amounting not infrequently to bad grammar; as, for instance, the use of "will" for "shall," "would" for "should," and many more that might be quoted if it were worth while. One "Malaprop" is too good to be passed in silence; it is at page 32, where a man is described as a "flashing blonde!"

Mr. Maccoll's "Christian Legends"⁴² of the Middle Ages is not a very attractive *recueil*. Stories as impossible as that of "Jack and the Beanstalk," and far less interesting, are narrated with all the prosaic baldness of a ship's log, as though they were the most simple and ordinary matters of fact. The moral of the book seems to be that holiness is incompatible with family affection, usefulness in the world, industry, cleanliness; or indeed with virtue or decency of any sort.

Though the title sounds rather sickly, the Rev. J. G. Wood's "Pet Land Revisited"⁴³ is by no means a foolish or insipid book. Many of the anecdotes about pet animals—from dogs and cats down to lizards—are interesting and evidently genuine. Of the spirit of the book we cannot speak too highly. Mr. Wood strongly inculcates that those who keep pet animals incur serious duties and responsibilities.

The right education of pets is not (he truly observes) a very easy matter, requiring a combination of qualities that are not very often found invested in the same person. . . . The fortunate possessors of these qualities exercise an

⁴⁰ "Mingo and other Sketches in Black and White." By Joel Chandler Harris. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1884.

⁴¹ "On the Borderland." A Novel. By Harriette A. Keyser. One vol. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1882.

⁴² "Christian Legends." By William Maccall. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Paternoster Square.

⁴³ "Pet Land Revisited." By the Rev. J. G. Wood, M.A., F.L.S., &c. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1884.

influence over their pets that seems almost magical in the rapidity with which it is gained, and the irresistible authority which it exerts. . . . Still, although every one may not be possessed of all the qualifications for a successful education, whether of human beings or those creatures which rank lower in the scale of animal life, all have the power of exercising kindness, all, at least, of abstaining from wanton cruelty. . . . Man is the highest being that the lower creatures can comprehend, and stands before them as a visible deity, bearing in his hands illimitable power to bless, to injure, or to destroy. It is a high position, and carries with it no light responsibility. We are kings and emperors over the lower creation, and it rests with us whether we shall be benevolent rulers, enabling them to develop the highest qualities of which they are capable; or whether we shall be heartless tyrants, forgetful that all created things are our fellow-beings, and, as such, have a claim upon our sympathy.

Mr. Grenville Murray's "High Life in France under the Republic" is exactly described by its sub-title: "Social and Satirical Sketches in Paris and the Provinces." The sketches are satirical, but not in most cases outrageously so, and they bear evidence that their writer at least knows thoroughly what he satirizes. No one could have penned such sketches as "Political Sermons," "Bachelor Life," "Poodle Newspapers," "Noblemen Officers," "Poet Worship," and many others, without a profound knowledge of French life and literature both in Paris and the provinces. The writing is good, but, above all, *smart*. Mr. Grenville Murray has certainly "a tongue with a tang," but he is very amusing, and not, in the present volume, bitter or ill-natured.

"The Master of Aberfeldie" is from the pen of Mr. James Grant, author of the "Romance of War," a novel which some twenty or thirty years ago obtained considerable success. His present work is constructed on much the same lines; has the same qualities and the same defects. Though it turns upon very recent events, and takes note of the manners, the fashions, and amusements of the passing hour, its spirit and inspiration belong to the past. Nor do we say this by any means in disparagement. We confess that Mr. Grant's simple, unquestioning, patriotic pride in the great deeds of the British army, and especially his own native Highlanders, is to us the salt of the book. All the rest is somewhat commonplace, and even slightly vapid; yet there is plenty of adventure, and two stories of true love whose course certainly runs anything but smooth. But with all these emotional and sensational elements, the sensations and emotions evoked are but languid. The delineation and contrasting of character lacks fineness, and the same thing may be said of the style.

"Lucia, Hugh and Another," is a significant title for a novel, for it inevitably excites curiosity concerning the third personage, who is

¹⁴ "High Life in France under the Republic." By E. C. Grenville Murray. One vol. London: Vizetelly & Co., Catherine Street, Strand. 1884.

¹⁵ "The Master of Aberfeldie." Three vols. By James Grant. London: Hurst and Blackett, Great Marlborough Street. 1884.

¹⁶ "Lucia, Hugh and Another." By Mrs. J. H. Needell. Three vols. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons. 1884.

given no name, but is mysteriously styled "Another." He certainly is the "T'otherest Governor" of the party, and as a psychological study is both subtle and original. "Lucia" is a sweet creation, but far "too bright and good, for human nature's daily food;" and Hugh, though meant to be a fine character, is so warped by mad and unreasoning jealousy, that he seems to lose every generous impulse, and to become brutal and unmanly. The story is certainly clever, and holds the reader fast to the very end, notwithstanding its poignant and miserable *péripéties*.

"The Amazon,"⁴⁷ is an English translation of an æsthetic Dutch novel. Its author, Carl Vosmaer, is, as we learn from the preface by George Ebers, "a poet by the grace of God, as he has proved by poems both grave and gay; by his translation of the 'Iliad' into Dutch hexameters, and by his lovely epos 'Nanno.' His numerous essays on æsthetics, and more especially his famous 'Life of Rembrandt,' have secured him an honourable place among the art historians of our day. As Deputy Recorder of the High Court of Justice, he has, during the best years of his life (he was born March 20, 1826), enjoyed extensive opportunities of acquiring a thorough insight into the social life of the present, and the labyrinths of the human soul. That 'The Amazon,' perhaps the maturest work of the author, should, like Vosmaer's other writings, be totally unknown outside Holland, is owing solely to the circumstance that most of his works are written in his mother tongue, and are therefore accessible only to a very small circle of readers." After all this flourish of trumpets the book itself falls rather flat. It is by its very nature and spirit adapted to interest but "a very small circle of readers;" for it deals not with the common characteristics of human nature, but with the emotions and idiosyncracies of a small and quite exceptional class. There is a want of solidity and reality in its standpoint. Life is not, we are told, "all beer and skittles," but neither is it wholly made up of æsthetics. And even on the subject of æsthetics the views and aspirations of the little group of persons who figure in Vosmaer's story are strangely artificial and unoriginal. Why should Dutch and American artists of the nineteenth century devote themselves exclusively to depict the life of ancient Greece, with many of whose details and accessories they must of necessity be imperfectly acquainted? Had the Greeks themselves been inspired by the same retrospective zeal they would not assuredly have left so many masterpieces, to be the admiration and despair of succeeding ages. Another serious flaw is that the story is too often interrupted by irrelevant talk, sometimes by long art disquisitions, which do more credit to M. Vosmaer as an art critic than as a novelist, and again by lengthy descriptions of well-known places like Rome and Naples, which have been more strikingly, if less gushingly, described by other writers, as, for instance, by Mr. Howells in his "Italian Journeys."

⁴⁷ "The Amazon." By Carl Vosmaer. Translated by E. J. Irving. With an Introduction by George Ebers. London: T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square. 1884.

"Heart Salvage,"⁴⁸ is the name given by Mrs. Cooper to a collection of short stories, some very brief indeed, but all of more or less merit. They treat generally of simple people and things, but are told with a tender pathos which is very attractive. For the most part the stories are well named, but the title of the first, "By the Stone Ezel," is totally unmeaning; it would be far-fetched if applied to the Biblical episode from which it is taken, but here it is curiously misplaced, for there is no analogy between the love of David and Jonathan and the lukewarm and intermittent affection of Mrs. Cooper's personages.

"Friend Ellwood,"⁴⁹ is not an inviting name for a novel. A Quaker may form the subject of a very edifying biography, but is hardly qualified to figure as a hero of romance, and indeed the absence of romance makes itself painfully felt in Mrs. Hibbert Ware's book. It is in many ways a creditable performance, but, alas! it is dull. "Friend Ellwood" is an estimable man, worthy of all respect, but he is exasperatingly smug, solemn, and pragmatical, and as the monotonous record of his sober and neutral-tinted career "drags its slow length along," one grows weary of his undemonstrative and unsuccessful courtships, and impatient rather than sympathetic over his repeated imprisonments, deliberately and wantonly incurred and exulted in as occasions for "testifying." The picture is no doubt a true one, both of the man and of the times in which he lived. Thomas Ellwood was a real character and a contemporary of Penn, but it would require other and more brilliant treatment to make the book entertaining.

There was a time—ah, woful when!—more than a quarter of a century ago, when Rosa Mackenzie Kettle thrilled and charmed her readers more than almost any other writer of fiction. We well remember our own sensations over "Smugglers and Foresters," which in its wild adventure and romantic situations reminded us, and not unworthily, of the Brontës. There was much of the originality, the romantic glamour of those gifted sisters, and some of their genius too. "Lewell Pastures" was nearly as good as "Smugglers and Foresters," and was honoured with long and exhaustive notices in some of the leading Reviews—notably the fastidious *Saturday*. But in "Leithay's Banks"⁵⁰ the charming novelist's hand has forgotten her cunning, for the story is tame and never rises beyond the commonplace. Still there are many passages in it proclaiming her past mistress of her art, and Rosa Kettle, though she has no fresh leaves to add to her laurels, may still remember with pride that they "crowned her long ago."

"My Ducats and my Daughter"⁵¹ is anonymous, but is assuredly

⁴⁸ "Heart Salvage, by Sea and Land." By Mrs. Cooper (Katharine Saunders). Three vols. London: Chatto & Windus, Piccadilly. 1884.

⁴⁹ "Friend Ellwood. A Tale of Real Life in the Seventeenth Century." By Mrs. Hibbert Ware. Three vols. London: J. V. White & Co., Southampton Street, Strand. 1884.

⁵⁰ "On Leithay's Banks. A Highland Story." By Rosa Mackenzie Kettle. One vol. London: James Weir, 283, Regent Street. 1884.

⁵¹ "My Ducats and My Daughter." Three vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1, Paternoster Square. 1884.

the work of no "prentice hand." Not only is it extremely well written, but it treats several widely diverse phases of human life with a sureness of delineation and fulness of detail only to be acquired from actual experience. Many of the characters are finished studies, and all are thoroughly human and life-like. Two of them are so finely drawn as to call for more especial notice; one is a rigid Scotch Puritan, narrow, bigoted, austere, yet underneath this repulsive crust the real nature of the man is lovable and estimable; he is just, faithful, affectionate and grateful. Under extreme stress of affliction, his unyielding armour of self-righteousness falls from him shattered, and leaves him humbled and perplexed. It is an unusually keen and delicate psychological study. The other is a literary celebrity, editor of a London daily paper, and author of a book called "Martyred Humanity," a man of consummate ability, but a charlatan. Too often in novels we have to take the author's word for the cleverness and learning with which certain of his personages are accredited, but such is not the case here; the reputation of the editor of *The Forum* is fully borne out by his conversation, which is really brilliant, and must be regarded as a most difficult and successful *tour de force* on the part of the anonymous author.

In "Goddess Fortune"⁵² the author, Mr. Thomas Sinclair, seems utterly purposed to puzzle and perplex his readers. Amidst a tangled web of raw material—the greater part of which is shoddy—a thin thread of story runs, which might under other auspices have developed into a creditable novel. We believe Mr. Sinclair to be an advocate of Protection, and a devout worshipper of the House of Lords, but neither one nor the other need hope for a useful defender in him. His diction and his epithets are often suggestive of the poem of the "Jabbarwock," only not half so pregnant of meaning: truly this author may be said to be sadly wanting in "lucidity."

The title "Lancelot Ward, M.P."⁵³ would lead one to anticipate a political novel; but the alternative title informed us that it is "a Love Story." In truth it is something of both, and we cannot say that it is a brilliant success in either; for we have to toil through whole chapters of dull electioneering details, unrelieved by a single exciting or even amusing incident; while the "Love Story" is flat and unimportant, culminates in a loveless *mésalliance*, and is closed by a revolting suicide.

The author of "A Drawn Game"⁵⁴ has been more successful in writing his book than in naming it. From first to last we see nothing to justify the title; but the story is interesting, and the general texture of the work is above the average, showing considerable powers of thought and observation, and, still more conspicuously, bearing the

⁵² "Goddess Fortune." A Novel. Three vols. By Thomas Sinclair. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1884.

⁵³ "Lancelot Ward, M.P." A Love Story. One vol. By George Temple. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons. 1884.

⁵⁴ "A Drawn Game." By Basil. Three vols. London: Chatto & Windus, Piccadilly. 1884.

marks of a widely varied acquaintance with books. Another noticeable feature is the skilful use to which the author turns his unusual knowledge of the technical details of railways and especially of engine-driving. There is a thread of railway adventure running through the tale, and it is extremely well done—as realistic as a photograph, yet with all the charm of an ideal picture. To throw the glamour of romance over the prosaic locomotive is no easy task, but the readers of “A Drawn Game” must admit that it is not impossible.

“In Sunny Switzerland, a Story of Six Weeks”⁵⁵ by Rowland Grey, is an unimportant little work whose principal characteristic is certainly not sunshine. The scene is laid in Switzerland; but the actors are entirely English, and the events might just as easily have occurred in Fitzroy Square, where the family live when they are at home.

“Singleheart and Doubleface”⁵⁶ by the late Mr. Charles Reade, is in his best style: direct, homely and outspoken, with a vein of humour which is peculiar to him. Indeed we know of no English novelist who has the *note personnelle* so strongly accentuated as had the late Charles Reade. We will not wrong his last work by any attempt to summarize it. The story is sufficiently shadowed forth in the title. It is in one volume, and is both interesting and entertaining from the first page to the last.

We think the first criticism that will occur to most people after reading Mr. Oswald Crawford’s novel “The World We Live In,”⁵⁷ will be: “It may be the world the author lives in, but is certainly not the world *we* live in.” No; a world where ironmasters retire on £500,000 a-year, and where a man can, at the age of five or six-and-twenty, quit the service with the rank of colonel of Engineers, returning to England five years later with a pocket-book full of diamonds as big as bird’s eggs, earned by placing his professional skill and prowess at the service of the ruling classes in Beloochistan, is certainly no ordinary work-a-day world. The book is throughout, with a great show of realism, utterly fantastic. The characters, the situations, the accessories, all alike want the solidity and coherence which are only to be obtained by working from real models. Still it has its merits. It is by no means unamusing, and the *dénouement*, which is skilfully led up to, gives evidence of dramatic power.

The authoress of “Jill”⁵⁸—E. A. Dillwynn—shows some ingenuity in investing bad material with a certain degree of interest and effectiveness, but she has not succeeded in presenting her readers with a pleasant or wholesome book. Why choose for a heroine a girl entirely devoid of moral sense? She has indeed steered clear of one sort of immorality by representing her heroine as a sexless creature

⁵⁵ “In Sunny Switzerland. A Story of Six Weeks.” By Rowland Grey. One vol. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., Paternoster Square. 1884.

⁵⁶ “Singleheart and Doubleface. A Matter-of-Fact Romance.” By Charles Reade, D.C.L. One vol. London: Chatto & Windus, Piccadilly. 1884.

⁵⁷ “The World We Live In.” A Novel. One vol. By Oswald Crawford. London: Chapman & Hall. 1884.

⁵⁸ “Jill.” By E. A. Dillwynn. Two vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

untouched by any feminine weakness; but she falls into the much more heinous fault of painting a young woman of good birth and education as an habitual liar, an anonymous letter-writer, a forger, and a thief.

"Under the Lilies and Roses"⁵⁹ might seem at the first glance an innocent and perhaps even a sentimental title; but the state of things which Mrs. Francis Lean (Florence Marryat) affects to reveal as existing beneath the flowery surface is anything but innocent; it is, in plain words, immorality aggravated by vulgarity. It is to be regretted, in the interests of probability, that she does not lay her scenes in a class of society with which she is really conversant; for the manners and conversation which she lends to countesses and other ladies of rank are, in real life, only to be found in a social stratum where countesses *de bon aloi* are unknown.

"The Red Cardinal"⁶⁰ is a sort of modernized "Mysteries of Udolpho." There is the vast, gloomy, and incredibly magnificent Italian palace, lost among weird and lonely woods, and darkened by the mysterious crime of a wicked ancestor; there is the ghost with bleeding wounds—in short, all the well-known stock properties are forthcoming. One rather new feature, which must be looked upon as an innovation, is that the trees nod their heads, "tremble and beat themselves about violently," and even "shut themselves up like a box," in their efforts to hold communion with the heroine, who is, by-the-bye, the daughter of the bleeding ghost. She, herself, is within an ace of being turned into a ghost by her cousin, the proprietor of the haunted palace, but she escapes and marries his brother; whereupon, as his attempt to murder has failed, and as the ghost must have a victim, the Marchese falls back upon suicide, or is himself murdered by the avenging ghost; at any rate, he is found dead the same night, in the supernaturally nodding ilex grove. The narrator and eye-witness of these stirring events—an Englishman, an old school friend of the Marchese—asks himself, near the end of the second volume, whether his friend is mad, or he (the narrator) is a fool. Both questions may be confidently answered in the affirmative. The descriptions of Italian scenery are the redeeming feature of the book; they are really good.

⁵⁹ "Under the Lilies and Roses." A Novel. Three vols. By Florence Marryat (Mrs. Francis Lean). London: F. V. White & Co., Southampton Street, Strand. 1884.

⁶⁰ "The Red Cardinal." A Romance. By Frances Eliot. Two vols. London: F. V. White & Co., Southampton Street, Strand. 1884.

INDIA AND OUR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

INDIA.—The impending demarcation of the Afghan frontier is a step of considerable import to India's future. There have not been wanting here and there hints that to trace a frontier line is an easier task than to ensure its being observed, but Her Majesty's Government may on the whole congratulate themselves on the avowed or tacit approval with which the announcement of this step has been received. Several years ago it was clear that the definition of a well-recognized line of separation between the dominions in Central Asia, over which the British and Russian Governments respectively exercised influence, was a step of increasing necessity. It was accordingly arranged between Prince Gortchakoff and Lord Granville that the course of the Oxus from its source in Lake Victoria as far as the ferry of Khojah Saleh, on the confines of the Turkoman desert, should form that line. There was undoubtedly some verbal confusion in the definition of the line, and it is said on good authority that this unfortunate blunder has transferred Shignan from the position of an Afghan dependency to that of a State owing allegiance to Bokhara or Russia. Such a result if irremediable is no doubt to be deplored, but on the other hand it may be doubted whether the inhabitants of these bleak and barren uplands care very much to which rulers their nominal allegiance is rendered ; all that they wish is to be left alone as much as possible, and whatever the shortcomings of Russian rule may be, there can be no doubt that their influence on Bokhara has been productive of great good. Shignan is so close to the Russian province of Ferghana that any act of oppression would soon come to the ear of the paramount power. We may therefore fairly assume that the consequences of this imperfectly defined boundary will not be such as to raise any important diplomatic difficulty.

From Lake Victoria to Khojah Saleh it was understood, rightly or wrongly, that the Oxus river would form the line of demarcation, and the reason of the adoption of this line was because Russia's advance was at that time confined to that part of Central Asia. But since the construction of the Trans-Caspian railway the expediency of completing the definition of the frontier from Khojah Saleh to the eastward has become more and more urgent. The annexation of Merv has supplied Russia with a *pied d terre* connected with Afghan territory by the line of the Murghab river, and the cession of old Sarakhs has brought them to a point dangerously near to Herat. It is only due, however, to Russia to say in regard to this, that M. de Giers and M. de Zinovieff, the head of the Asiatic Department of the Foreign Office at St. Petersburg, have both held the same language, that Russia would frankly welcome the co-operation of England in the task of demarcating

the northern Afghan frontier. Our Government have not been slow in responding to this appeal, and it is decided that a mission with an adequate escort of Bengal infantry and cavalry, supplemented by a larger force of Afghan soldiery during their progress through Afghan territory, shall proceed with all despatch to the scene, whither General Sir Peter Lumsden, the British Commissioner, is now hastening, and where he will be joined by the Russian Commissioner. The route adopted will be pretty much that followed by Captain Christie in 1810, from Quetta to Nushki and then through the desert to the Helmand, striking the latter river about Rudbar, after which the advance northward will probably follow one of the usual caravan routes of the country to Herat.

It must not be supposed that the mere demarcation of a frontier line, by the joint agency of England, Russia, and Afghanistan, will remove all future difficulties. Frontier broils are sure to arise, especially when we call to mind that the province of Badghiz and the adjacent regions have been the favourite hunting-ground of Turkoman rovers for time immemorial. But it will be easier to lay the responsibility of future raids at the right door, and responsibility for such occurrences is the first step towards their prevention. It is probable that this Boundary Commission may entail more anxiety, more trouble, and more expense on the Amir, and it is possible that it may prove difficult for him to deal with the question of the government of this distant but important part of his dominions, without the direct advice and assistance of the British Government. If so, it will be a delicate task to render such advice and assistance, without unduly trenching on his privileges as ruler. But we may rest assured that unless we co-operate to the utmost with the Amir in his endeavour to make his sovereignty firm and undisputed among his scattered subjects, we shall be failing not only in an obvious duty to a dependent State, but also in taking the best means to secure the peace of our own frontier.

It may not be out of place here to draw attention to a project formulated by a military authority in one of the Indian journals. In view of the approach of the Trans-Caspian Railway to Afghanistan, it has been suggested that the most intelligible method of subsidizing the Afghans would be to abolish the present subsidy (which is regarded by Orientals generally as nothing more or less than ordinary black-mail), and offer the Amir instead a co-partnership in a line of railway, 400 miles long, to Herat. The details of such an arrangement are ingeniously discussed by its author in the columns of the *Allahabad Pioneer*, and involve *inter alia* the payment to the Amir of a premium of Rs.20,000 on every mile opened for traffic within two years from signature, Rs.10,000 for every mile within three years, Rs.5,000 within four years, and so on. The indirect benefits conferred firstly on the working population, during the construction of the line, and, later on, on the people at large, by the development of commerce and the creation of a bond between them and the British Power, are promising enough to attract the general consideration of the

scheme. It must not be forgotten, moreover, that the activity with which the railway from Sibi to Quetta is being pushed forward on our side, is rapidly supplying a means of communication that will bring the need of the extension above referred to into more prominent relief.

Within the Amir of Afghanistan's dominions the course of the past few months has been marked by hostilities waged against some refractory subjects. A brief campaign against the Mongols, a restless and troublesome tribe, who caused serious annoyance to us during our tenure of the Kuram valley, appears to have terminated indecisively, but in Afghan Turkestan the arms of the Amir have met with bloodless but important success, Maimenah having been quietly occupied by Sirdar Muhammad Ishak Khan on the 20th of May last. The former ruler of the place was known to be a warm adherent of Ayub Khan, whose pretensions to the sovereignty of Afghanistan some four years ago caused us such trouble and disaster, and it was undoubtedly with the object of repairing to Maimenah that Ayub Khan has for some months been pressing the Persian Government for leave to set out for Bokhara. At the urgent instance of our Minister this leave was refused by Persia, but a solatium had to be provided in the shape of a grant of a substantial pension to Ayub, and though this is a security for his good behaviour, it is certainly an additional relief that Abdurrahman has been enabled to turn his rival's friend and co-plotter out of Maimenah.

In connection with frontier matters it should be mentioned that the unruly behaviour of Shah Jehan, the chief of the Zhob country, has necessitated the despatch of an expedition from Quetta under Brigadier-General Sir O. Tanner, with the object of quelling the disorderly tribes inhabiting this tract. The route will be the old Kafilā road from Quetta to Thul-Chotiali, and probably from thence to Luki, whence the Zhob and Bori valleys are easily reached. The district is one that is so completely independent of Afghanistan that no inconvenience is likely to arise from the occurrence of hostilities at the same time that a peaceful mission is traversing Western Afghanistan.

The intelligence that the Earl of Dufferin is to succeed the Earl of Ripon as Governor-General of India has been received in all quarters, both British and Anglo-Indian, with such unanimous and unexceptional approval, as to engender in the minds of the more cautious a fear that the new Governor-General may possibly, through no fault of his, disappoint these expectations. There will be several important and thorny questions to grapple with during the next four years, such as the armies of the native princes, the increase of elementary education, the extension of local self-government, the Bengal rent question, and the Afghan frontier problem, with the important dependent consideration how far we can make ourselves responsible for its being respected. To expect that Lord Dufferin should give universal satisfaction in the way in which he deals with these knotty matters is to ignore their difficulty and the diversity of interests involved. All we are justified in asserting is that the

reputation he has acquired in the posts he has filled with such high and signal success is an excellent guarantee that he will bring to the task of administering India the same unflagging industry, brilliant sagacity and lofty independence that he has hitherto shown. It is not to be expected that Lord Ripon's vicerealty should at present meet with the dispassionate judgment of the public. The bitter controversy of the Ilbert Bill, with its concomitant exaggerations and misrepresentations, which we are bound to acknowledge were by no means confined to its opponents, are too recent to allow of a calm estimate being made of the events of the last four and half years. India's well-wishers will content themselves with the knowledge that history will record that Lord Ripon's tenure of office was marked by a conscientious and fruitful endeavour to carry out the liberal policy which the Crown has ever pursued, that of raising the natives of India to the standard which shall fit them to participate more in the government of their own country.

The last report of the Director-General of Indian railways shows that on the 31st of March last the total extent of railways open for traffic in India was 10,832 miles, of which 6,406 are in the hands of companies, 3,922 are State lines, either imperial or provincial, and 503 miles belong to native States. The whole capital outlay on the railways and connected steamer services amounted on the 31st of December, 1883, to £148,305,646 (at the conventional exchange of two shillings to the rupee), of which over a hundred millions have been expended by Guaranteed Companies. In the important item of the net earnings there is a satisfactory increase observable over the figures of the preceding year—viz., £5 13s. 6d. per cent. as against £5 7s 3d.; the total number of passengers carried showed a rise though the receipts diminished; while as regards goods the quantity carried and the receipts from the traffic both displayed a substantial increase over the corresponding figures for the preceding year. On the whole, readers will feel inclined to agree with the Director-General that the returns indicate very healthy progress in railway enterprise.

The mention of this annual report brings us to the consideration of the report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, which dealt last session with the general subject of railway communication in India, the necessity for its more rapid construction, and the means by which that object might be best accomplished, having special reference to the report of the Famine Commissioners and to the financial condition of India. It is not many years since the subject was investigated by a Select Committee—*i.e.*, that which sat in 1878 and 1879; but the important report of the Famine Commissioners had since been issued, and their recommendations, coupled with those of the Chambers of Commerce and various concomitant circumstances, had forced the subject on the attention of the Government.

It is satisfactory to peruse the evidence which the best and most recent experience has to tender, but it cannot be said that the recommendations of the Committee present any very new feature of

interest. The collective weight of their authority will, however, be useful in strengthening the hands of the Government in the course to be pursued in future. For instance, the Committee deliberately pronounce against break of gauge, and with almost equal confidence against metre gauges in the abstract, which they think should be reserved for places where that system is already in successful operation, and to local lines where the traffic is exceptionally light. This dictum will probably bring to an end a curiously persistent difference of opinion, which has owed its vitality to the fact that the principal exponent of the metre-gauge policy has been in an exceptionally favourable position for pressing his views. The battle of the gauges has undoubtedly done a good deal hitherto to retard the development of railways in India. The Committee pronounce generally in favour of both State operations and of those conducted through the agency of companies. Both are good according to circumstances, and it is quite possible, they add, that new railways may come to be made by unassisted private enterprise; a view in which they find themselves confirmed by the fact that irrespective of loss by exchange (a rather large *minus* we would venture to observe!) the return last year on the whole railway investment of India was 5·68 per cent. It is less easy to approve unreservedly of this latter deduction than of the conclusion following thereon, that both State railways and companies' lines are good in their respective ways. The recommendation that the terms should be simple so as to induce companies to come forward readily will command universal approval, and the same may probably be said of the opinion that the rigid technical distinction hitherto laid down between protective and productive lines cannot be maintained. As to the amount to be annually borrowed in future for the construction of public works the Committee refrain from making a definite recommendation, beyond expressing an opinion that the limit of £2,500,000 fixed by the Committee of 1878-9 might safely be enlarged, but they emphatically agree with the Government of India that the proposed extension of railways should not involve extra taxation.

There are therefore no very rigorous and precise injunctions in the report for Government to follow, but it is satisfactory to find the increased development of railways generally recommended. The value of railways in promoting the welfare of the people has been insisted on over and over again by witnesses of authority, and in face of the recent extraordinary development of the export wheat trade, especially, which has risen from a little below two millions sterling in value to close on nine millions sterling within the last eight years, and of the export trade generally, which during the last twenty years has jumped from fifty-seven to eighty-eight millions sterling, the paramount necessity of fostering this production of the national resources by proper railway and road accommodation, cannot for a moment be contested.

1

OUR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

Two and forty years ago a writer in this REVIEW * commenced his political retrospect of the years 1830-41 by setting forth the claims to greatness possessed by the United Kingdom. At that date it was no vain boast that, as mistress of the seas, England was almost without a rival; and the administration of an empire comprising two hundred millions of human beings, was felt with justice to carry with it a degree of glory commensurate with its success. The less we boast of our naval supremacy at the present time, the better for the sake of truth. In the one quarter of the world where current events point with probability to the early employment of our navy, both to maintain the dignity of our flag and to preserve inviolate our dependencies and trading stations—namely, in the eastern seas of Asia—our warships are inferior to those of the French in size, weight of armour and metal, in number, and in speed. Deploable as the fact is, it is beyond dispute; and although the daily and weekly press have been unwearied in asserting that the country only waits to be asked to consent to a vote sufficient to restore to us our lost supremacy, we greatly doubt whether ministers will be wise in time and avert possible disaster by a timely accession of naval strength. When one considers the stupendous figures representing our stake in the world's history, it appears incredible that, for the sake of an infinitesimal addition to the taxation per head of our home population, our rulers should dare risk defeat at sea, the command of which element alone secures for us our commercial supremacy and our position in the comity of nations. The total area directly or indirectly under the authority of the British Empire may be taken at nearly ten millions of square miles, or about one-fifth of the habitable globe. The dimensions of this area have been ascertained by professional surveys, of which the progress has kept pace with the expansion of the empire. Not less than two and a half millions of square miles have been topographically surveyed, and of this area nearly all has been minutely surveyed, field by field. Of the ten million square miles hardly one-fifth is cultivated or occupied in the widest sense of the term occupation. But the area capable of being brought under cultivation, and of sustaining the future increase of population, is enormous. In Canada and Australia it is computed that about 2 millions of square miles remain suitable for cultivation, capable of supporting at least 200 millions of people. The population inhabiting the regions within the empire number over 300 millions, an increase of 100 millions within the last forty years! Of this multitude of beings about 40 millions are Anglo-Saxons, including German colonists; 3½ millions are Celtic (mainly Irish); 1½ millions are French Canadians; half a million are Dutch in South Africa; 188 millions are Hindoos; 3 millions are Sikhs and Jains; 50

* The WESTMINSTER REVIEW, No. lxxiii., April, 1842, Art. vii.

millions are Mahomedans in India; and about 7 millions, mostly pagans, including the North American Indians, the Australasian natives, and the African tribes of the Cape. The number of men trained to arms far exceeds the number actually enrolled at the present time, but the latter body may be fairly stated at 850,000, including the regular British forces at home and abroad, the militia, and volunteers in the United Kingdom and in the colonies, and the British native forces in India and other countries. No count is taken of the 300,000 to 400,000 troops maintained by the feudatory States of India, notwithstanding the boast of their rulers that they are ever available for the service of the Empress of India. The number of men in the imperial navy is about 60,000. It appears, then, that the military and naval forces of the British empire are much smaller relatively to the territory and the population than those of any other great State, excepting only the United States of America. It is important also to remember that these forces are raised entirely by voluntary enlistment. Their cost amounts to 41 millions sterling annually, or 20 per cent. of the total of revenue and receipts, a less proportion than that shown by any great State, except the United States. Comparing the expenditure to the whole population of the empire, it amounts to less than four shillings a head. Coming now to the statistics of commerce, we find that the British mercantile shipping consists of 30,000 ships, with a tonnage of $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions, manned by 270,000 sailors. The tonnage is divided between steamers and sailing vessels in the proportion of 3 millions to $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions. Under the flags of other nations there are $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of tons in steamers and $9\frac{1}{2}$ millions in sailing vessels—that is to say, the British empire surpasses all other nations together in respect of steamers, and is in proportion of $5\frac{1}{2}$ to $9\frac{1}{2}$ in respect of sailing vessels. Of 55,000 ships in the world over 100 tons, 21,000 are British. Of 129 millions of tons carried yearly by the shipping of the world, 63 millions are under the British flag. Of 133 millions of pounds sterling earned from freight and passengers, 73 millions are earned by British ships. The total value of the import and export trade of the United Kingdom in 1882 was 719 millions sterling. The ocean-borne trade of India was valued at 148 millions sterling for 1883; that of the colonies and dependencies at over 300 millions sterling. One-third of the world's commerce pertains to the British empire. The ratio of sea-borne commerce is £31 per inhabitant yearly of Australia, £20 of the United Kingdom, £9 of Canada, and £6 of the United States. In Europe the British ratio is excelled by Holland alone and equalled by Belgium. The average of earnings per inhabitant is, in Australia, £43 4s.; in the United Kingdom, £35 4s.; in the United States, £27 4s.; and in Canada, £26 18s. The average rate for the continent of Europe is only £18 1s. The wealth of the United Kingdom in land, cattle, railways, public works, houses and furniture, merchandise, bullion, shipping and sundries, is valued at 8,720 millions sterling. For the British empire there must be added 1,240 millions for Canada and Australia, and at least 2,500 millions for India and other dependencies. Thus we arrive at the enormous total of 12,460

millions sterling as representing the combined wealth of the empire of Great Britain, and as justifying the boast of its being the richest State the world has ever witnessed. But the practical question that inevitably presents itself to the student of these imperial statistics is, how is the greatness of this magnificent empire to be maintained and advanced? So far back as the year 1879 this question was exhaustively discussed in a series of Articles * that appeared in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW under the title of "The Federation of the English Empire," and though at that date the voice of the writer was generally regarded as that of one crying in the wilderness, events of late have progressed so rapidly that we are almost inclined to venture the prophecy that during the next lustrum this subject will receive more attention and be more thoroughly threshed out than any question that has ever agitated the empire. Certainly within the past three months a wonderful expression of the unanimity on this matter of both parties in the United Kingdom has been witnessed. On the 9th of July a complimentary banquet was given at Willis's Rooms to the Marquis of Normanby, on the occasion of his return to England on the termination of his colonial service. The Earl of Kimberley presided, in the absence of Lord Derby who was suffering from illness, and, in replying to the toast of his health, he made the following remarkable utterance :—

No speech has given me greater pleasure than that of my right honourable friend and political opponent, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. He is perfectly right when he says that the question of the union of the Colonies with the Mother Country has passed out of the domain of controversial questions. There is no party in this country at this moment, which is not vying with every other party to say that they desire to strengthen this relation. It is an important fact—it is part of our political life and interest, that we should all say we are alive to the enormous importance of this matter, and that it is our duty and interest to promote the union by every means. It is not the profession of a party; it is the common property of all our public men. It has not by any means always been the case. There have been controversies, and at the end of a controversy we have arrived at an agreement, *and all we have to do is to apply the principles we profess.*

When it is borne in mind that Lord Kimberley has twice been Secretary of State for the Colonies, and that he was applauding the sentiments of the ex-Colonial Secretary on the Conservative side, we think it will be admitted that the quotation we have made merits the distinction of being regarded as remarkable. "The union of the Colonies with the Mother Country has passed out of the domain of controversial questions," "it is our duty and interest to promote the union by every means!" What do these statements in the mouth of Lord Kimberley mean but that an enormous stride has been made in the education of the Liberal party during the past five years, and that they are now as keenly alive as they were formerly indifferent or averse to the supreme importance of welding together

* The WESTMINSTER REVIEW, New Series, Nos. cx., cxi., cxii., April, July, and October, 1879.

into one harmonious, all-powerful whole, the various scattered, isolated portions of our world-wide Empire.

Whatever administration shall develop a policy which results in binding us so closely with the Colonies, that a blow struck by a Foreign Power at us or any of the Colonies shall instantly bring down upon the enemy the united force of the Empire, will thus ensure for itself lasting fame. We believe many of the foremost politicians of the United Kingdom have at length resolved to put their hands to the plough, and to labour zealously in the cause of what is styled, for lack of a better term, "Federation of the Empire," yet are we fully alive to the inherent difficulties of securing that Great Britain and her Empire shall continue a great living power. There is no possibility of a scheme of federation being adopted until and unless the Anglo-Saxons of the Empire both realize, and resolve to use, the wondrous potentialities of their race. But difficulties need only to be faced to be overcome by the genius of the English people ; and it is not from open foes that we anticipate any serious hindrance to a strengthening of the bonds of union. It is from those who, rightly or wrongly, exaggerate the difficulties, and who give themselves up to wearying criticism in place of action, that we apprehend the chief danger. To inform the uninstructed, to incite the indifferent, to stimulate the slothful, and to encourage the zealous is clearly the course to be adopted and undeviatingly persevered in by all who are desirous of helping forward the all-important consolidation of the forces of the Empire : and in the hope that the Resolutions, passed at the Conference held at the Westminster Palace Hotel on the 29th of July, are in reality preliminary to a sustained and fully developed effort to bring home to the masses of the population of the British Isles the necessity of a closer organization of the Empire, we sincerely rejoice to find that so many influential members of both political parties were present and took part in the proceedings. And we thoroughly appreciate the courage and approve the conduct of Lord Rosebery in taking as the theme of his address to the Trades Union Congress at Aberdeen, on the 11th of September, the subject of Federation of the Empire. It is instructive to observe that, while Lord Rosebery was eliciting the cheers of the Trades Union delegates, in response to his appeal to them to make the question the subject of their special consideration and study, and to give the impulse to the movement that springs alone from the popular will, M. Ferry was confidently asserting that "the future will belong to the peoples who, leaving their own countries, will spread themselves over the world ;" and that "the colonial policy is the policy of the future."

As a link in the chain that binds the Empire, we may mention the late meeting of the British Association at Montreal. The remarks in the speech of welcome to the members by the Governor-General of Canada on the Colonial connection were received with enthusiasm, and were read with hearty approval in the columns of the London papers on the following morning. "We feel," said Lord Lansdowne, "that one more step has been taken towards the establishment of that closer

intimacy between the Mother Country and her offspring, which both here and at home all good citizens of the empire are determined to promote." We may even refer to the friendly rivalry that has been witnessed between the English Volunteer Artillery team and the picked Canadian gunners, as helping to cement the feeling of kinship. It is indubitable that the annual visits of the English cricketing teams to Australia, and the return visits of the Australian cricketers to this country, have been largely instrumental both in arousing the interest of hundreds of thousands of good citizens, whose sentiments could have been so directly appealed to in no other manner, and in bringing home to people the wonderful accessibility of the old country to those of her descendants who dwell at the Antipodes. It is by such incidents that the masses of our population become familiarized with the fact that steam and electricity have brought the outlying portions of the empire next door to the fatherland.

But the very immensity of the Empire, and the varied interests of those dwelling within its limits, render unavoidable an occasional exhibition of irritation or petulance on the part of some one or other of its members. At the present time the West Indian interests are causing considerable clamour by reason of the long-continued depression of the sugar industry. A prolonged correspondence, published in the columns of the *Times*, culminated in a deputation to the Secretary of the Colonies. At the head of the deputation was Mr. Neville Lubbock, chairman of the West India Committee, who urged that the crisis in the West Indies was growing more serious, and the sugar industry was being carried on at an increasing loss. This was mainly caused, in his opinion, by the large bounties given in Germany and other beet-producing countries in Europe, on the exportation to Great Britain of beet sugar, which practically excluded West India sugar from the British markets, as the bounties paid to the foreign producers constituted a protection with which no British West India sugar colony could possibly compete, and which threatened the very existence of this and other British sugar-growing colonies. He stated that resolutions and petitions had been sent from the West Indies, asking for the most-favoured-nation treatment with the United States, and that England should allow the West India colonies to make reciprocal tariff arrangements with the United States, whereby a market for their principal production might be found. They would like to see an international conference on the subject of the sugar bounties; and the present depression in the sugar industry all over the world would induce foreign governments to lend a favourable ear to any propositions emanating from Her Majesty's Government. He and his Committee had been in communication with the Board of Trade on the question, but they regretted to say that their negotiations with that department had ended fruitlessly. It had been suggested that if sugar ceased to pay, the West Indies might devote their attention to other products, such as cocoa, coffee, vanilla, &c. But, in his opinion, this course was impracticable. He expressed a hope that there would be a reduction in the expenditure on public works, and

also in the administration of British Guiana and Trinidad, and that only men of tried ability should be sent out as governors.

In his reply, Lord Derby looked the whole matter fairly in the face. He entirely agreed with Mr. Lubbock as to the reality of the crisis and as to the grave distress consequent upon it. But how to alleviate it was a very difficult question, and his lordship might have added that it did not fall within the province of the Colonial Office to concern itself with questions on one side of which the interest of the consumer was concerned, and on the other side of which the interest of the producer presented itself in direct opposition. Such questions must right themselves, but Lord Derby was very tender in his dealing with the vested interests, and agreed with them as far as he possibly could. On the question of administrative economy he was at one with the deputation; but he wisely warned them that economy might degenerate into an unwise niggardliness, by which public works and the good of the common weal might materially suffer. But, passing over the matter of the deputation, as one that will have no particular effect either in ameliorating the condition of those whose welfare depends upon a good price being paid for the produce of the sugar cane, or in altering the general policy of this country in the matter of foreign sugar bounties, we would particularly point to one or two remedies that have been suggested by correspondents, and that on the face of them present a practicable solution of the present difficulties. In the first place, we completely agree with Mr. Bathorne Gill in his statement that the cardinal error of the main body of West Indian sugar growers lies "in boiling of syrups that should be evaporated." Moreover, owners of sugar estates may assure themselves that, in the absence of owners from their estates, which are left in charge of overseers liable to dismissal on the briefest notice, the management of such estates cannot be either efficient or economical. A further cause of West Indian depression, and one more generally recognized, is the transaction of the business of the Encumbered Estates Court in England, and not on the spot. We can imagine the enormous loss and inconvenience resulting from this procedure, by supposing that all sales by auction of land in England were by law allowed only to be held in the island of Jamaica! Finally, so long as food and raiment continue to be taxed on entering the West India Islands we shall find the condition of the negro population correspondingly depressed, and evidence of its reaction on the profits of the sugar planters will make itself increasingly manifest. We can only hope that wise counsels may prevail with the planters, and that while they prepare themselves for the day when they will be compelled to follow the example of Ceylon, and supplement their staple manufacture by the production of other articles of consumption, they may yet improve their process of manufacture, and so tide over a period of unexampled depression.

If there is any quarter of the world wherein an enemy could find apparent signs of the decay of our influence and moral power, it is surely our South African dominion. There, indeed, current events cannot fail to bring to the cheek of true Englishmen the blush of

shame and humiliation. Our conduct in relation to Bechuanaland, Zululand, and indeed wherever we find ourselves in contact with the Boers, is simply inexplicable. We may say of our South African policy, as witnessed during the past few years especially, it is worse than a crime—it is a blunder! Who is there that has any knowledge of the Boers but admits without reserve that, by yielding to their encroachments on the neighbouring native states, we encourage them to fresh acts of arrogance and brutality. That such is the case is clearly seen on a review of the events that have occurred since the Convention was ratified by the Transvaal Volkraad. Mr. Mackenzie, having made himself more than ever obnoxious to the Boer freebooters invading Bechuanaland, by his honest discharge of his duty to the imperial authorities and to the natives under his care, instead of being strengthened and supported to the bitter end in the fulfilment of his functions, was recalled from his post, and Mr. Rhodes (who was then in Cape Town) became sole Commissioner. But before Mr. Rhodes reached Bechuanaland there had been a fierce attack made on Montsoia, the chief of the Batlapins, who had long been harassed by the Boers hungering for his lands and stock. With Montsoia, however, were two Englishmen, Mr. Christopher Bethell and Mr. Walker, and they of course were foremost in repelling the assault of the Boers on a chief under the protection of the British flag. Both were wounded, and, whether the report is true or not that Mr. Bethell was afterwards shot in cold blood and Mr. Walker beheaded while still alive, we have it on the authority of Mr. Rhodes himself that Mr. Bethell's body was mutilated, and Mr. Walker's body, when recovered, was headless. By this act of wanton and unprovoked warfare the British flag has been grievously insulted, and it remains to be seen what course will be adopted to avenge the indignity and to check further outrage. Mr. Rhodes, having returned to Cape Town, has reported that the Transvaal has the power, but will never use it, to stop the continued violation of the western frontier, and that he had warned the Boers of the consequences of carrying on war against protected British subjects. Nevertheless Montsoia has been forced to submit, and he and what remains of his people are now declared by Mr. Joubert to be under the protection of the Transvaal government! Similar indignity is reported from Stellaland, at the chief town of which, Vrijburg, the British flag had been hauled down and hidden away to avoid its being further insulted. The news as to the feeling of the Cape Colonists themselves appears somewhat conflicting, as we learn that Mr. Upington, the Cape premier, had declined to accede to the request to send a small force to Bechuanaland to defend the honour of the British flag and to enforce the imperial protectorate, on the ground that the Cape government could not take part in what would become a race quarrel! On the other hand, we learn by telegraph that on September 24 an enthusiastic public meeting was held in Cape Town, which was addressed by Mr. Mackenzie (whose resignation had been accepted by Lord Derby), and at which a resolution was passed declaring that the failure by the imperial government to

maintain its just rights under the Transvaal Convention would be fatal to British supremacy in South Africa. It is all very well for the Anglo-Dutch colonists to call upon the Home Government to fight what are really their battles, but, unless they themselves show a spirit that will not be restrained (by the fear of becoming embroiled in a *race quarrel*) from hastening to defend the honour of the English flag, they must not be surprised if in the near future they find themselves face to face with the Boers, whilst Great Britain, mindful of the denial of help from Mr. Upington, leaves them to work out unassisted their own destiny. That the Boers are acting supremely undismayed by the fear of British wrath is further shown by their having proclaimed a Republic in Zululand, under the protection of their government—a course practically indistinguishable from its annexation to the Transvaal. However, Lord Derby's despatch to Sir H. Bulwer, dated August 19 last, whilst it dismisses Usibepu's claim to receive active help from this country, and refuses all countenance to the interference of Great Britain in the concerns of Zululand outside the limits of the Reserve territory, expressly declares the integrity of the Reserve must be maintained. Finally, the Boers have entered upon a quarrel with the Swazies, claiming a strip of land which they allege they purchased from Panda. Considering how full they have their hands with the absorption of the territories of the Bechuana chiefs on the east, and the establishment of their power in Zululand on the south-west, it is not improbable that this last venture may prove too much for the stability of their bankrupt State, and that the mere show of imperial troops prepared to support our rights under the Convention may prove sufficient to put an end to the present unprecedentedly unhappy and disgraceful state of affairs.

In conclusion, we come to the affairs of *Australasia*. Here, indeed, we find only matters for congratulation. Already five of the colonies (*Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, and West Australia*) have affirmed the proposals of the Sydney Convention in favour of confederation. *New South Wales* has been behindhand in the matter, owing to the discussion of their Land Bill, and the wish of their Ministry not to give the Opposition a fresh peg on which to hang discussion. *New Zealand* has gone through the excitement of yet another change of Ministry, and no opportunity of carrying the Resolutions has been afforded the Legislature.



